

# sacris erudiri

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# An Assessment of Byzantine Codex and Catalogue Research

Towards the Construction of a New Series of Catalogues  
of Byzantine Manuscripts\*

by

Stefan Mattheus ROYÉ

(*Amsterdam*)

## INTRODUCTION

### *The idea behind the catalogue project*

The aim of this article is to introduce the conclusions and recommendations set out in the doctoral thesis by the present author to an academic readership. In this thesis an alternative route is proposed towards the construction of a catalogue of the Byzantine manuscripts, through which the existing classifications of the Greek NT manuscripts (Gregory/Aland), Greek OT manuscripts (Rahlfs/Fraenkel), and Homiletic codices (Ehrhard) are reevaluated and rearranged, according to the parameters of what is termed a *codico-liturgical* approach.

The main idea behind the codico-liturgical approach is that the codicological forms of the Byzantine manuscripts which accommodate the biblical, patristic and liturgical texts, are closely related to the liturgical function of these texts. The co-

\* This article is the first presentation to the academic public of the Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts Programme, financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO, Free Competition). The Programme will commence in Januari 2009 and is based on the author's thesis: *The Inner Cohesion between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition. Towards a Codico-liturgical Approach to the Biblical and Patristic Manuscripts*, Tilburg: Orthodox Logos Publishing, 2008, of which this article is an extract.

dico-liturgical approach stems from what I call a *liturgical hypothesis*. It is in the Byzantine liturgy of the Eastern Orthodox Church that one can still find these codex forms in liturgical use today. Here one can trace the tradition of those factors that contributed to forming the manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> The intended approach, which is closely related to modern manuscript studies and especially to codicology, offers, in my view, a key to understanding the position of and opinion concerning the biblical and patristic writings as transmitted and studied in the Eastern Orthodox churches.

Before I present the codico-liturgical approach and the liturgical hypothesis in more detail however, I will provide a short impression of how the Eastern Orthodox churches look upon the biblical and patristic manuscripts.

*The patristic context of Eastern Orthodox biblical hermeneutics*

Characteristic of the Orthodox vision are: (1) the close connection between the Scriptures and the interpretative framework of the fathers; and (2) the anchoring of the biblical writings in the liturgy of the Byzantine church.

It is a given that the overwhelming majority of Byzantine and later Eastern Orthodox church fathers, as well as modern Orthodox scholars keenly advocate that biblical research should not be separated from the interpretative framework of the fathers of the church.

So intimate was the connection between Scripture and the fathers that Maximus could quite unabashedly cite as his authorities ‘the holy apostle Paul and...Gregory [of Naziansus], the great and wondrous teacher’. The difference between the apostle and the theologian seems to have been one more of degree than of kind.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presupposed in this article is a certain familiarity with the Byzantine liturgical tradition of the Eastern Orthodox Churches. For more information and bibliography, see the study mentioned above, esp. Ch. 2 (‘The Byzantine Liturgy and the Biblical and Patristic Manuscripts’) and Ch. 3 (‘The Byzantine Lection System – a Patristic, Liturgical Hermeneutics of Scripture’).

<sup>2</sup> J. J. PELIKAN, ‘Council or Father or Scripture: the concept of authority in the theology of Maximus Confessor’, in *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays*

I do not intend to dwell on this subject. There is a whole body of literature of scholars from Greece, Russia, Romania and other Orthodox countries,<sup>3</sup> as well as Orthodox scholars living in the West who have identified and written on this issue in depth.<sup>4</sup> And also in Western scholarship attention has been paid to the subject.<sup>5</sup> In order to illustrate the Eastern patristic point of departure, we will recall three recent conferences held in the last decennium: the first, the *West-östlichen Neutestamentler|innen-Symposiums von Neamt* (*Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive*) in Romania in 1998;<sup>6</sup> the second, *Zweiter Europäischer Orthodox-Westliche Exegetenkonferenz* (*Das Alte Testament als Christliche Bibel in Orthodoxer und Westlicher Sicht*) in Rila, Bulgaria in 2001;<sup>7</sup> and the *Third East-Western Symposium of European NT Scholars (Unity and Diversity*

*in Honor of Georges Florovsky*, ed. D. NEIMAN and M. SCHATKIN, Rome, 1973, p. 282-283.

<sup>3</sup> T. ATHANASOPOULOS, *Ἐκκλησία: ὁ ἀθένητος φύλακας καὶ ἐρμηνεύτης τῆς Ἀγίας Γραφῆς*, Athens, 1998; P. K. CHRESTOU, *Ἑλληνικὴ Πατρολογία*, T. I-V, Thessaloniki, 1976-1992; ID., *Greek Orthodox Patrology. An Introduction to the Study of the Church Fathers*, ed. and trans: G. D. DRAGAS, Rollinsford, New Hampshire, 2005; H. ALFEYEV, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition* Oxford, 2000; ID., *The Spiritual World of Isaac the Syrian*, Kalamazoo, Mich., 2000.

<sup>4</sup> T. G. STYLIANOPOULOS, *The New Testament. An Orthodox Perspective*, I: *Scripture, Tradition, Hermeneutics*, Brookline, Mass., 1999; G. V. FLOROVSKY, *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View*, Belmont, 1972; ID., *The Eastern Fathers of the fourth Century*, Vaduz, 1987; ID., *The Byzantine Fathers of the fifth Century*, Belmont, 1987; ID., *The Byzantine Fathers of the fifth-eighth Centuries*, Belmont, Mass., 1987; ID., *The Byzantine Ascetic and Spiritual Fathers*, Belmont, MA, 1987, translated and extended revisions of *Византийские Отцы V-VIII* [The Byzantine Fathers of the fifth-eighth Centuries], Paris, 1933, and *Восточные Отцы IV-го Вѣка* [The Eastern Fathers of the fourth Century], Paris, 1931; V. LOSSKY, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, Cambridge & London, 1973.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. C. KANNENGIESER (ed.), *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, 2 vols., Leiden - Boston, 2004; P. M. BLOWERS, (ed. and trans.), *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity*, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> J. D. G. DUNN et al. (eds.), *Auslegung der Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Perspektive*, (*Akten des west-östlichen Neutestamentler|innen-Symposiums von Neamt vom 4.-11. September 1998*), Tübingen, 2000.

<sup>7</sup> I. Z. DIMITROV et al. (eds.), *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht: Zweite europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz, im Rilakloster vom 8-15 September 2001*, Tübingen, 2004.

*in NT Ecclesiology*) in St. Petersburg by the newly founded Biblical Institute of the Philological Faculty of St. Petersburg State University in 2005,<sup>8</sup> which show very clearly how the topic of the place that the fathers and tradition in general receive in Eastern Orthodox theology is still very high on the agenda of biblical scholarship. We need only to look at the conference agenda of the Neamt conference to confirm this: (1) the meaning of the church fathers for the interpretation of the Bible; (2) the authority of the Church and the interpretation of the Bible; (3) Western scientific methods of Bible exegesis and their reception through Orthodoxy; (4) the inspiration of the Bible and its interpretation.

In his concluding resumé to the conference held in Rila, Bulgaria in 2001, K. W. Niebuhr suggests that: ‘... there is hardly any difference between Orthodox and non-Orthodox exegesis when it comes to the valuation and application of philological and historical methods, whilst the differences between the theological interpretations of exegetical findings continue to be considerable’<sup>9</sup> [trans: Ed.]. Niebuhr does not enter into the whole area of philological and historical research in more depth to explain his statement, but we feel that this should be nuanced somewhat. If one takes into account those aspects of biblical and patristic studies such as palaeography and codicology,<sup>10</sup> textual criticism, criticism of the canon, and linguistic and literary research, then one can only but

<sup>8</sup> [www.bibliothecabilica.unibe.ch/Petersburgspecial.htm](http://www.bibliothecabilica.unibe.ch/Petersburgspecial.htm).

<sup>9</sup> K. W. NIEBUHR, ‘Zu den Ergebnissen des Rila-Symposiums’, ed. I. Z. DIMITROV et al., *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht: Zweite europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz*, Tübingen, 2004, p. 365.

<sup>10</sup> E. E. GRANSTREM, ‘Zur byzantinischen Minuskel’, in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. HARLFINGER, Darmstadt, 1980, p. 77-78: ‘Die Mehrzahl der angeführten Gelehrten (mit Ausnahme von B. de Montfaucon, V. K. Ernstedt, E. M. Thompson und G. F. Cereteli) betrachteten die Paläographie lediglich als Summe von Kenntnissen, die für das Lesen und die richtige Datierung von Texten notwendig sind. Viele Paläographen beschäftigten sich mit den paläographischen Gegebenheiten inhaltlich verwandter Texte, was eine Sichtung und den Vergleich der verschiedenen Schrifttypen miteinander, wie sie [...], beim Kopieren von Handschriften unterschiedlicher Bestimmung und verschiedenen Inhalts gebraucht wurden, ausschloß’.

conclude that the differences in the practice and application of different approaches to the interpretation of the Bible in East and West are not to be neglected. One is confronted with a complex phenomenon, which can be traced back to differences in philological methodology and style that are closely linked to the theology and hermeneutics of the different backgrounds to which they belong. In the field of Western philology of the Bible, which was deeply influenced by classical philology since the Renaissance,<sup>11</sup> research has led to a major focus on the biblical text, separated from patristic and liturgical frameworks, and the production of critical editions of the Bible. In the East, where Byzantine philology persistently dominated the field of biblical studies, one generally speaking finds an adherence to ecclesiastical practices in the transmission of biblical and patristic texts, reflected not only in the continuing manuscript tradition,<sup>12</sup> but also in the forms of the printed editions based on these manuscripts. This should be explained in more detail.

*The contemporary Orthodox position on the philology of the Bible*

Elucidating the contemporary Orthodox position on philology of the Bible is not easy. Conservative forces in Greece<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> E. E. GRANSTREM, 'Greek Palaeography in Russia', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (University of London), 17 (1970), p. 124-135, esp. p. 126: 'The foundations of the nineteenth-century study of Greek palaeography in Russia were quite other than those on which the discipline rested in Western Europe. There – and especially in Latin countries – the revival of interest in Greek manuscripts was above all connected with the activities of the humanists who studied the works of classical authors and of the printers who published them, i.e. with the rise of classical philology'.

<sup>12</sup> Descriptions of Byzantine manuscripts since the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries have selectively been adopted in the catalogues of Aland, Rahlfs, Ehrhard and more completely in the catalogues at location of the individual libraries in East and West. This considerable group of later manuscripts have been less studied. Cf. D. HOLTON et al. (eds.), *Κωδικογράφοι, συλλέκτες, διασκευαστές, και εκδότες. Χειρόγραφα και εκδόσεις της όψιμης βυζαντινής και πρώιμης νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας. Copyists, collectors, redactors and editors : manuscripts and editions of late Byzantine and early modern Greek literature*, Heraklaeion, 2005.

<sup>13</sup> A. DELICOSTOPOULOS, 'Major Greek Translations of the Bible', in *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC,

and Russia<sup>14</sup> can be very strong, precisely in the areas of manuscript studies of Scripture, Bible edition or translation.<sup>15</sup> Eastern Orthodox biblical scholarship, both in Greece as well as in Russia has only participated “moderately” in the critical branch of textual research, in so far as we are able to discern. In general, there has been a concentration first and foremost on exploration of the codices and their holdings and the cataloguing of these manuscripts. It should be noted that critical editions of the Bible have not been produced by Eastern Orthodox themselves.<sup>16</sup> In Russia palaeography and philology of the Bible was occupied primarily with textual research of the Slavonic Bible and interest in the Byzantine text – the Greek manuscripts since the ninth century – in so far as the Slavonic translation was based on that text. A well-organised editorial committee of Russian philologists was in an advanced stage

Sheffield, 1998, p. 304: ‘The Greek State, however, in conjunction with the Church of Greece, exercise a certain degree of control. Our state constitution (Article 3 §3) mentions: “The text of the Holy Scriptures is kept unaltered (Αναλλοίωτον). Any rendering in any other official linguistic form of the Greek language is forbidden without the approval of the Church of Greece and the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople” E. G. PANTELAKIS, ‘Les Livres ecclésiastiques de l’Orthodoxie. Étude historique’, in *Irénikon*, 13.5 (1936), p. 537; cf. N. MILASCH, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche. Nach den allgemeinen Kirchenrechtsquellen und nach den in den autokephalen Kirchen geltenden Spezial-Gesetzen*, Mostar, 1905.

<sup>14</sup> A. IVANOV, ‘К вопросу о восстановлении первоначального греческого текста нового завета’ [Towards the Question about the Restoration of the Original Greek Text of the New Testament], in *Журнал Московсклй Патриархии*, 3 (1954), p. 38-50; cf. R. P. CASEY, ‘A Russian Orthodox View of New Testament Textual Criticism’, in *Theology*, 60.439 (1957), p. 51 [Ivanov is quoted in Casey’s report]: ‘In textual questions, as in other matters, the Orthodox theologian must be guided by the dictum: nihil aliud probamus nisi quod Ecclesia’.

<sup>15</sup> E. BRYNER, ‘Bible Translations in Russia’, in *The Bible Translator*, 25.3 (1974), p. 327 [in referring to one of the basic criteria for a translation of the Scriptures]: ‘The translation, which is intended for Russian Orthodox readers, must be published with the blessing and under the direct control and supervision of the Russian Orthodox Church’.

<sup>16</sup> This fact has been recently confirmed by the Greek NT scholar J. Karavidopoulos, Professor of NT at the University of Thessaloniki, in a communication with us, in November 2006.



of producing a critical edition of the Slavonic Bible at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, until the Russian Revolution interrupted the endeavour.<sup>17</sup> It would be an interesting exercise indeed to retrace their principles and procedures, but this is beyond the scope of the present article. Critical textual research is remarkably also a lesser explored field by Orthodox scholarship in the West. Yet this area of biblical studies deserves major attention by Orthodox academia, especially where it concerns Byzantine (and Church Slavonic) codicology and manuscript studies.

*The Byzantine manuscripts and the Byzantine text*

Eastern scholars have a broad understanding of the terms 'Byzantine manuscripts' or 'Greek manuscripts', incorporating in their remit manuscripts from the fourth/fifth century onwards, including the period in which the majuscules (the great codices A, B and S/Ⲛ) among others) were dominant (until the ninth century) and continuing into and including the period in which the minuscules evolved (since the ninth century).<sup>18</sup> Moreover the term 'Byzantine text' is regarded as a family of related texts, rather than the 'one', standard Byzantine text ('Einheitstext').<sup>19</sup> The study of the Byzantine text is still in an early stage of development. It includes different categories: (a) Byzantine lectionary manuscripts; (b) Byzantine text manuscripts; (c) Byzantine commentary manuscripts. In anticipation of further exploration of the textual problem (dis-

<sup>17</sup> F. J. THOMSON, 'The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament', in *The Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. Krašovec, Sheffield, 1998, p. 619-631.

<sup>18</sup> E. E. GRANSTREM, 'Zur byzantinischen Minuskel', in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. HARLFINGER, Darmstadt, 1980, p. 76; B. L. FONKIĆ, 'Griechische Kodikologie', *Ibid.*, p. 14-21, esp. p. 16: 'Bis in unserer Zeit haben sich ca. 55 000 griechische Handschriften vom 4.-19. Jh. erhalten'. See IRHT Project (Paris, July 2007).

<sup>19</sup> A. DELICOSTOPOULOS, 'Major Greek Translations of the Bible', in *The Interpretation of the Bible*, Sheffield, 1998, p. 305-306: 'For those studying the tradition of the Greek New Testament text there is much to be done in discovering and establishing the various groups of manuscripts that constitute the "K" text (Κωνσταντινουπολιτικόν). Furthermore, they need to know better the history of the text of our Church, and also to find out the influence of the Byzantine text on the other texts'.

cussion of this topic seems premature at this moment) I want to say that codicological research of the manuscripts could throw new light on the status of the Byzantine textual forms.

*The permanent value of the “Koine Edition” of Scripture*

Another issue that requires explanation is the weight that Eastern Orthodox place on the so-called Koine Edition (ἡ κοινὴ ἔκδοσις<sup>20</sup> or simply ἡ κοινή) of Scripture. The denotation ‘Koine Edition’ came into use among the early Byzantine fathers (Origen, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianz, Jerome among others), was used for later Byzantine editions of the Scriptures (resulting in the text form of Constantinople - Κωνσταντινοπολιτικόν at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries), as well as for the printed editions of Scripture in Venice since the sixteenth century and later in Constantinople, and finally for recently published ‘koine editions’ by the Great Church of Constantinople and the Church of Greece. Although these different editions display the developments in textual history, and the diversity of underlying Byzantine text forms, the persistent use of the term ‘koine edition’ indicates an ‘ecclesiastical (liturgical) consensus’ of what was considered a common standard of scriptural text (‘κατὰ πάντα σύμφωνον πρὸς τὸ παραδεδεγμένον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀρχέτυπον κείμενον’<sup>21</sup>). This implied both the text of the Greek OT books, as well as the Greek NT books, authorised by liturgical use and an age-long practice of reading and homiletic interpretation. Other denotations also came into being: the ‘ecclesiastical’ edition (ἐκκλησιαστικὴ

<sup>20</sup> E. NESTLE, ‘Septuagint: Printed Editions’, in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 (1906), p. 437-454: ‘A frequent designation among the old Greek writers was also ἡ κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, or merely ἡ κοινή, ‘the common, the Vulgate edition’, in contradistinction to the Hebrew text and the later Greek versions; (cf., for instance, Basil, on Is. 22<sup>2</sup>, i. 447D, col. 438).

<sup>21</sup> This can be seen in a recent Greek edition of Scripture, which was approved by the Holy Synod as being ‘in agreement with the transmitted Archetype Text by the Church’, see Πρόλογος Α’, in Ἡ Ἀγία Γραφή - Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη καὶ ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη, ed. P. BRATSIOTIS, Athens, 1999 [reprint].

ἔκδοσις<sup>22</sup>), the ‘Constantinopolitan’ edition, the ‘Lucianic’ edition (the latter especially with regard to the LXX), and the ‘liturgical’ edition.<sup>23</sup> This last denotation is especially interesting for our thesis. One of my overriding conclusions in studying the Eastern Orthodox tradition is that it does not presuppose the absolute maintenance by the Church of “one”, “original”, “uniform” Byzantine text/edition.<sup>24</sup> Since there were many different variations of the sacred texts,<sup>25</sup> the corruption of manuscripts (the phenomenon of textual variants) since early stages in the textual history of the Greek Scriptures was regarded as a textual *reality*: ὅποιος γράφει παραγράφει (‘he who writes miswrites’).<sup>26</sup> The notion of a completely

<sup>22</sup> E. NESTLE, ‘Septuagint: Printed Editions’, in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 (1906), p. 438 (Gregory of Nyssa, *In Psalm 8*).

<sup>23</sup> I. D. KARAVIDOPOULOS, ‘L’édition patriarchale du Nouveau Testament (1904). Problèmes de texte et de traduction dans le monde orthodoxe’, in *Kleronomia*, 20 (1988), p. 198: ‘Si, en fin de compte, nous préférons la désignation du texte comme “ecclésiastique” ou “liturgique”, c’est qu’elle s’approche d’avantage de la réalité’.

<sup>24</sup> K. I. LOGACHEV, ‘The Problem of the Relationship of the Greek Text of the Bible to the Church Slavonic and Russian Text’, in *The Bible Translator*, 25.3 (1974), p. 313-318, esp. p. 316-317: ‘Today, Russian biblical scholarship takes a position which accepts, on the level of the whole church, all Greek forms of the biblical text, excluding of course only those which were the result of a known activity of heretics. Thus it questions the individual importance of any one form at national church level. This excludes a one-sided preference either for the late Greek forms or for the oldest forms of the biblical text. The concept of a “later corruption of the original text” is likewise excluded’.

<sup>25</sup> R. DEVREESE, *Introduction à l’étude des manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1954, p. 85-86: ‘Il n’existe probablement pas de manuscrits sans corrections, et l’on peut retenir que la très grande majorité ont été relus et amendés. Certaines portent mention expresse de collation-révision (Δ = διόρθωσεν)’. Cf. B. D. EHRLMAN, ‘The Text of Mark in the Hands of the Orthodox’, in *Lutheran Quarterly*, 5.1 (1991), p. 143: ‘while we have literally thousands of biblical manuscripts, none of them is an autograph and all of them contain mistakes’; A. A. ALEXEEV, ‘Holy Scripture and its Translation’, in *The Interpretation of the Bible. The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Sheffield, 1998, p. 1394: ‘The text of the Scripture is not yet fixed in its final form. In fact there are more than 5,000 Greek witnesses of the NT from the second to sixteenth centuries that differ more or less’.

<sup>26</sup> An ancient scribe’s proverb, quoted in I. ŠEVČENKO, I. CHERNUKHIN, and N. CHERKAS’KA, *Грецькі рукописи у зібраннях Києва. Каталог* (Greek

“pure” and “authentic” text is unrealistic for textual reconstruction,<sup>27</sup> both from a practical as well as from a scientific point of view.<sup>28</sup> This said, however, it was the ‘common edition’ (κοινὴ ἔκδοσις) of the Bible that was transmitted by the Church throughout its history (taking into account the difference between the transmission of Greek OT<sup>29</sup> and NT<sup>30</sup> cor-

Manuscripts in the Collections of Kiev. Catalogue), Kiev-Washington, 2000, p. 382.

<sup>27</sup> H. P. S. BAKKER, ‘Corruption is Rife in Old Slavic Manuscripts’, in *Towards a Critical Edition of the Old Slavic New Testament. A Transparent and Heuristic Approach*, Amsterdam, 1996, p. 6: ‘Corruption of the transmitted text occurs inevitably and is attested in other traditions as well’; and the reference in n. 3 on p. 9: ‘The anti-Lachmann schools therefore claim that a text comprising words taken now from one partly corrupt manuscript, now from another – i.e. a composite critical text – is in fact merely an example of composite corruption’.

<sup>28</sup> B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, Ch. 8 ‘Complications in Establishing the Original Text’, p. 272-274, and especially the complication remarked upon with regard to the collection of Paul’s writings, p. 274 n. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Exact and concise information on this issue can be found in E. NESTLE, ‘Early History of the Septuagint’, in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 (1906), col. 442. With regard to the LXX is said: ‘This variety of texts, strange as it may appear, is not difficult to account for. (1) G was liable to all the dangers connected with transmission to which literary works were exposed in the days before the invention of the printing-press. (2) These dangers were increased in the case of works which were frequently copied and used not only privately but also in public service. (3) G is not an original text, but a translation, or rather a series of translations, and therefore much more exposed to alterations than an original text; for every reader possessed of some knowledge of Hebrew, or of a different exegetical tradition from that embodied in G, might change his text (cf. the changes introduced in many MSS of the OT from the quotations in the NT, e.g. in Ps 13<sup>3</sup> from Ro 3<sup>10-18</sup>). (4) If the situation was bad enough before, it became worse when other Greek versions of the OT, especially those of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, appeared and began to influence G.’

<sup>30</sup> E. NESTLE, ‘Early History of the Septuagint’, *Ibid.*, col. 442: ‘Even the *New Testament*, with its great number of quotations, does not permit of any very definite statements, except that it proves again that textual corruption had already found its way into the copies used by the writers of the NT (cf. He 3<sup>9</sup> ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ, 12<sup>5</sup> ἐνοχλή). Cf. ORIGEN, ‘A Letter from Origen to Africanus’, in *The Writings of Origen*, trans: F. CROMBIE, I, Edinburgh, 1868; M. HARL and N. de LANGE (eds.), *Origène: Philocalie, 1-20 sur les écritures, introd., texte, trad. [du grec] et notes. La lettre à Africanus sur l’histoire de Suzanne, introd., texte, trad. [du grec] et notes*, Paris, 1983.

pora), basically unaltered and unmodified, in other words, “uncorrupted”. If the original text is a problematic issue,<sup>31</sup> then the origin and measure of “corruption” (either heterodox or orthodox) is problematic too.

*Eastern and Western notions of a TEXTUS RECEPTUS*

This Eastern Orthodox concept of ‘koine text’ can not immediately be equated with the *textus receptus* (NT), which was based, as is well-known, on a limited group of Byzantine manuscripts (reflected in editions of Erasmus, Stephanus, Elzevir) adopted in the West as the original text until far into the nineteenth and even the twentieth century (*‘textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus’*<sup>32</sup>). The *textus receptus* did not evolve from a common ecclesiastical practice, as the ‘koine text’ used in the Greek Orthodox churches did,<sup>33</sup> but from a printed text tradition.<sup>34</sup> One could say that the concept of a ‘critical edition’ evolved during the making of the *textus receptus*, in striving for an original textual form, which could be reconstructed by conjectural emendation and other philological aids.<sup>35</sup> The

<sup>31</sup> E. J. EPP, “The multivalence of the term “original text” in New Testament textual criticism”, in *Perspectives on New Testament Textual Criticism. Collected Essays, 1962-2004*, Leiden - Boston, 2005, p. 551-593.

<sup>32</sup> That is: “[the reader has] the text which is now received by all, in which we give nothing changed or corrupted”, quoted in B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 152. These words come from the Preface to the second Elzevir edition of the NT (1633), cf. p. 152 n. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Textual differences are indicated in the preface to the The “Patriarchal edition” of the NT, ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη ἐγκρίσει τῆς μεγάλης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας, ed. B. ANTONIADIS et al., Athens, 2004, first edition, Constantinople, 1904), ζ’: “The text of the present edition, prepared and printed as above described, differs from the Textus Receptus distributed by the Bible societies in about 2000 readings and 1400 passages, specifically: Mt. 150, Mk. 175, Lk. 260, Jn. 100, Acts 125, Pauline Epistles 165, Catholic Epistles 65, and the remainder in the Apocalypse’ [Transl. Rife].

<sup>34</sup> E.g. the recent edition by the Trinitarian Bible Society, ‘Η Καινή Διαθήκη. *The New Testament, the Greek Text underlying the English Authorised Version of 1611*, London, 1991, which is a reprint edition of Beza (1598) and Scrivener (1894 and 1902).

<sup>35</sup> E. J. EPP, “The Multivalence of the Term ‘Original Text’ in New Testament Textual Criticism”, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 42 (1999), p. 245-281.

many editions produced since the sixteenth century (*‘No one knows exactly how many separate editions of the Greek Testament have come from the press since 1514...’*)<sup>36</sup> are sufficient evidence indeed to re-evaluate the search for the original text. Parallel to the NT editions the “Sixtine Edition” of the OT Greek version of the Seventy Interpreters (O’ or LXX)<sup>37</sup> was considered too as the *‘textus ab omnibus receptus’* in Western scholarship.<sup>38</sup> In my conviction, the evaluation of the Byzantine ‘koine text’ of Scripture is a task that should be set up afresh, in the context of codicological research of the manuscripts.

*Bible criticism and the Eastern Orthodox canon of Holy Scripture*

In the context of such a substantial reorientation towards the basic Scriptures of the Church, as this proposed catalogue project aims to achieve, it is not inappropriate to sketch the boundaries of the canonical Scriptures, as maintained in Eastern Christianity. These boundaries (ὄροι) reflect the critical consciousness of the fathers and of the Church through the ages. In other words, the canon itself displays the permanent criteria of Bible criticism of the fathers fixed and implied for ever. The given of boundaries, however, should not be understood rigidly, but dynamically, as with all the canons of the Church. In Eastern Orthodoxy, the Scriptures are divided into three groups: the books known as canonical books (κα-  
νονιζόμενα), the books that are recommended by the Church ‘to be read’ (ἀναγινωσκόμενα) and the apocrypha (ἀπό-  
κρυφα).<sup>39</sup> The New Testament comprises only canonical books. The ‘ἀναγινωσκόμενα’ (non-canonical – in the strict

<sup>36</sup> B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 194.

<sup>37</sup> A. CARAFA et al. (eds.), *Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum*, Rome, 1586 (1587).

<sup>38</sup> E. NESTLE, *Septuagintastudien*, Ulm, 1886, I, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> Nicodemos’ Handbook of Orthodox Canon Law, the Πηδάλιον, ed. AGAPIOS THE PELOPONNESIAN and NICODEMOS THE HAGIORITE, Leipzig, 1800, p. 585 for this threefold division (with regard to Athanasius the Great, Festival Letter 39): *Ἐἰς τρία διαίρεῖ ὁ Ἅγιος τὰ Βιβλία ἐν τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ, εἰς ἀπόκρυφα, εἰς κανονιζόμενα καὶ εἰς ἀναγινωσκόμενα*.

sense of the word) of the OT,<sup>40</sup> i.e. *1 Esdras, Tobit, Judith, 1-3 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus/Sirach, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremias*, additional parts to *Daniel* [*The Story of Susanna, The Song of the Three Children, The Idol Bel and the Dragon*], and such texts as the *Prayer of Manasse* and other smaller variations), were acknowledged for reasons of elementary catechetical teaching and private study since the early days of Christianity and have been maintained in Orthodox tradition.<sup>41</sup> These books have a high status in Orthodox patristic tradition which comes close to that of canonical.<sup>42</sup> The inclusion of this category of Scriptures as books of the Church is clearly demonstrated in the Byzantine Greek manuscript tradition of the Old Testament.<sup>43</sup> The apocrypha comprise a group of books that was clearly determined non-canonical and that is generally known as the pseudepigraphical books of the Old

<sup>40</sup> See Cyril of Jerusalem and Athanasius, plus the later synodal decisions of the Councils of Jassy (1642) and Jerusalem under Patriarch Dositheus (1672), where the books were declared to be 'genuine parts of Scripture'. The denotation 'apocrypha' with regard to this particular category, stems from the Latin Church father Jerome ('inter apocrypha esse ponendum', in the *prologus galeatus* to the Books of Samuel [MPL 28, 601ff.]) and *praef. in Iudith* ('apud Hebraeos liber Iudith inter apocrypha legitur').

<sup>41</sup> Cf. E. OIKONOMOS, 'Die Bedeutung der deuterokanonischen Schriften in der orthodoxen Kirche', in *Die Apokryphen-Frage im ökumenischen Horizont*, ed. S. MEURER, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 26-40; H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, 'Books not Included in the Hebrew Canon', in *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Peabody, Mass., 1989), Ch. III, p. 265-288, but consult also Ch. II, 'Books of the Hebrew Canon', p. 231-264, for differences of titles, arrangement and contents between the Hebrew Massoretic Bible and the Greek Version of the Seventy (O<sup>7</sup>).

<sup>42</sup> See with regard to the question of the canonical status of the 'anaginoskomena' in Eastern Orthodoxy, H. P. SCANLIN, 'The Old Testament Canon in the Orthodox Churches', in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. B. NASSIF, Grand Rapids, 1996, p. 300-312; E. OIKONOMOS, 'Die Bedeutung der deuterokanonischen Schriften in der orthodoxen Kirche', in *Die Apokryphen-Frage im ökumenischen Horizont*, ed. S. MEURER, Stuttgart, 1989, p. 26-40; T. MITREVSKI, 'Die kanonische Geltung der deuteronomische Bücher. Der heilige Schrift in der orthodoxen Kirche nach den Konzilsentscheidungen', in *Kyrios*, 13 (1973), p. 49-77.

<sup>43</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen', in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, p. 1-443, *passim*.

Testament. But also books of this last category are used in Eastern tradition for liturgical and more specific for hymnographic and iconographic ends.

*The impact of the liturgical hypothesis*

In the above, two inferences were made to the position of and opinion concerning the biblical and patristic writings in the Eastern Orthodox churches, namely: (1) the close connection between the Scriptures and the interpretative framework of the fathers and (2) the anchoring of the biblical writings in the liturgy of the church. That these are two closely interrelated conclusions, two sides of one and the same coin becomes apparent when we revisit the primary sources, i.e. the extant Byzantine manuscripts and the Byzantine/Eastern Orthodox editions based thereon. Here we find evidence of an inherent cohesion between the Scriptures and the interpretative framework of the fathers, and we can ascertain that this is rooted in the Byzantine liturgy. In this contribution we therefore advocate a new, namely a codico-liturgical approach which can make this cohesion visible. Manuscript research of the biblical and patristic codices to date that is represented in the manuscript catalogues, provides us of course with a wealth of information, but does not provide a complete insight into the actual content and codex formation of the extant manuscripts. Thus, special attention will be paid to setting out a path of codicological research that could redirect study of the Byzantine codices to a system that allows for a more complete and inclusive picture of the original biotope in which the manuscripts were created and evolved. Once inside this biotope, the reasons for and choices behind the content and codex formation of the biblical and patristic manuscripts become apparent. Consequently, this leads to a suggested reclassification of the Byzantine manuscripts, in light of the above.

*Towards a codico-liturgical approach*

As already mentioned, the Byzantine manuscripts and the printed editions based thereon bear witness to the close cohesion between the Bible and the fathers as well as to their an-



choring in the liturgy. This assumption forms the basis of what I call the liturgical hypothesis and leads to the codico-liturgical approach – the revisiting of the codices themselves, as well as their places of origin, namely the Byzantine liturgy on the one hand which was responsible for their codicological forms and the monasteries and libraries and holdings on the other, in which they were manufactured, stored and kept. The leading idea of this hypothesis is that the codex forms of the extant manuscript materials are the direct result of the liturgical needs of the Church, and that they have been generated in the course of an age-long codico-liturgical process of evolution (indeed very gradually), in which the preservation and transmission of the most valued books of the Church was always assumed to be a task of primary importance.<sup>44</sup>

The liturgical function of the Scriptures required a codification of a particular (with regard to the content) and practical (with regard to form) character and this led to the formation of a whole variety of basic codex forms or codicological patterns. Once developed, such codicological patterns persisted for centuries, and they were even maintained in later printed editions. Therefore the printed editions in use today are as interesting for our assessment as are the ancient written sources. The lectionary manuscripts – the ecclesiastical reading books, to which much less philological attention has been paid than to the biblical text manuscripts –, contain texts that are based on a very cautious and long established tradition of delivery.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Text critical comments can be found, for instance, in the treatise *On the Holy Spirit* (Ch. 1 and 2) by Basil the Great. The critical opinion of Photius concerning textual exactness is quoted in N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London, 1983, p. 117 [*Amphilochia* 1, PG 101, 84ff.].

<sup>45</sup> B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 47; C. D. OSBURN, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. B. D. EHRLMAN and M. W. HOLMES, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995, p. 61; B. M. METZGER, 'Greek lectionaries and a critical edition of the Greek New Testament', in *Die alten Übersetzungen*, ed. K. ALAND, Berlin - New York, 1972, p. 479; A. WIGREN, 'Chicago Studies in the Greek lectionary of the New Testament', in *Biblical and Patristic Studies, (in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey)*, ed. J. N. BIRDSALL and R. W. THOMSON, Freiburg - Basel - Barcelona - New York - Roma - São Paulo - Wien, 1963, p. 121; C. R. GREGORY,

And beside lectionary manuscripts, many text and commentary codices also have a liturgical imprint.

For those manuscripts where the liturgical function is less visible at first sight (text and commentary manuscripts without lectionary equipment; catecheses; practical and ascetical texts; biblical implications of Byzantine worship, its forms and rituals), we can still ascertain that they function in a broader sense within the same liturgical context. An assessment of the codicological status quo of these manuscripts, keeping this liturgical imprint in mind, could throw a new light on manuscript research. In the long term, detailed manuscript study is required, on the basis of large-scale autopsy along the lines set out in this thesis, to make the liturgical hypothesis binding. What we offer here, in anticipation of an intended reclassification of the extant codices, is some evidence to show that a thorough assessment of manuscript research in the areas discussed previously is desirable.

*An Eastern Orthodox contribution to the intended catalogue project*

Western academic research of the Bible has to date had little contact with, nor has it been influenced by an academic dialogue with scientific theology and Bible research as practiced by Eastern Orthodox theologians, in those countries situated on the southern and eastern edges of Europe. The Eastern Orthodox parameters of biblical research and the study of the Byzantine (ecclesiastical) manuscripts in particular, leads the modern biblical scholar to significant new insights in the study of the manuscripts, and moreover to the recognition of the existence of completely different orientations, based on parameters hitherto unexplored by Western scholars. The conclusions of the thesis laud that the Eastern Orthodox approach to the biblical (patristic and liturgical) manuscripts leads us to new ways of assessing their codicological forms, new ways of conducting textual research that is based on age-

‘Griechische Liturgische Bücher’, in *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1900, I, p. 328-329; F. H. A. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students*, ed. E. MILLER, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., 2 vols., London, 1894, I, p. 75 and p. 327.

long practice of an unbroken tradition, and eventually to a completely different way of cataloguing the extant manuscripts that will throw new light on their original use and the history of their formation. This research will contribute to the important, already ongoing opening up of a window on the world of Eastern theology, especially in the field of biblical, patristic and liturgical studies. It will lead to a reinvigorated dialogue between codicologists (catalogue/manuscript research) and theologians from West and East.

*The relevance and utility of the subject*

The process of constructing the proposed catalogue will quite radically alter our existing picture of Bible forms, as well as our insight in the history of the text (text transmission in the context of defined codex forms, i.e. the text as delivered in the form of a *tetra-evangelion*). Hermeneutics of the Bible will also be given new impulses in a way that is hitherto unknown (in Western scholarship). Forgotten levels of interpretation to the biblical sources will be brought to the fore, including scholarly attention to the profound liturgical and patristic roots of biblical literature; the wide-ranging patristic principles and parameters of biblical interpretation of the undivided Church; the practical, ascetical and sacramental implications of the Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox approach to Scripture, which are motivated and illustrated by a broad basis of available documents.<sup>46</sup>

# I. THE BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE WESTERN CATALOGUING TRADITION

In this section I will provide an analysis of the manner in which the extant Byzantine manuscripts have been collected, studied, catalogued, described and presented to date. When using the term 'Byzantine manuscripts', I am referring to the

<sup>46</sup> Further information will be provided in the author's forthcoming publication on the hermeneutic implications: *An Anthology of Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox Hermeneutics. A Compilation of Extracts from the Works of the Eastern Fathers with regard to the Study of Scripture*.

ecclesiastical manuscripts. I start with some preliminary remarks on a codicological approach to the Byzantine manuscripts looking at the various edition forms of the printed Greek Bibles and highlighting how the tradition of Byzantine manuscript delivery was maintained in the East. I then turn to the disciplines of palaeography and codicology to show how these can bring a new perspective in understanding the edition practices of the East. I proceed to look at the pros and cons of specialised manuscript categorisation and the existing paradigms of manuscript classification. I end with a short explanation of the necessity to visit the ecclesiastical books of the Byzantine liturgy, where one can find the justification for setting up a new manuscript categorisation. Finally I provide some examples of modern codicological manuscript research of liturgical books, which could be regarded as precursors of the codicological research here advocated.

#### A. Introductory Remarks to Codicological Study of the Byzantine Manuscripts

Eastern Orthodox scholars have to date never made a critical edition of the Bible. Byzantine Bible editions, one could say, can be characterised by their liturgical functionality – they are editions that were intended for ecclesiastical practice – think of the Psalterion,<sup>47</sup> the Evangelion,<sup>48</sup> the Apostolos,<sup>49</sup> the Prophetologion,<sup>50</sup> and the other liturgical codices. The Western academic editions of the Greek Bible, such as the Complutensian Polyglot,<sup>51</sup> the New Testament of

<sup>47</sup> Ed. pr.: *Ψαλτήριον*, ed. ALEXANDER OF CRETE, Venice, 1486.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. pr.: *Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Ἐυαγγέλιον*, editor unknown, Venice, 1539.

<sup>49</sup> Ed. pr.: *Ἀπόστολος*, editor unknown, Venice, 1534.

<sup>50</sup> Ed. pr.: *Ἀναγνωστικόν*, ed. E. GLYZONIOS, Venice 1596. [the first printed Prophetologion]

<sup>51</sup> Bible editions in other languages than Latin, were made for scholarly ends. For instance, the Complutensian Polyglot – including first editions of the Greek NT and OT – was a joint publication of the professors of the University of Alcalá in Spain. Desiderius Erasmus, the most influential NT editor of the time lectured at Cambridge University, etc.; cf. J. H. BENTLEY,

Erasmus, the Aldine Greek Bible, the Sixtine Septuagint etc.<sup>52</sup> (which served as paradigms for later reprints and critical editions), do not have obvious, scholarly counterparts in the East. In our view, however, it is of utmost interest to study precisely this Eastern liturgical, printed, edition practice, academic or not, because it provides profound insight into the Byzantine manuscript tradition, from a codicological as well as a textuological point of view.

### *The printed Bible editions*

Printed editions of the Bible since the Renaissance, which started with the publication of a Byzantine text form, later called the *textus receptus*, were focused on the plain Greek biblical text of the manuscripts, with a view, on the one hand, to providing the uncorrupted (primary) text, often leaving out of consideration other secondary texts (patristic commentaries/scholia/catena), or liturgical equipment (lectionary or hymnographical) which were to be found in the very same codices. The biblical text would be “extracted”, one could say, from its liturgical or patristic context, in an eclectic approach, and reconstructed according to a process of comparison of variant readings.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, editors were interested in the Greek text in order to “criticise” the authority of the

*Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1983.

<sup>52</sup> For a chronological overview of the history of editions of the Greek Bible [NT & OT], see T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, New York, 1963 [reprint], Part II, ‘Polyglots’, p. 1-36, ‘Ancient Greek’, p. 573-679.

<sup>53</sup> K. H. JOBES and M. SILVA, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2001, p. 74: ‘Instead of printing the entire text of one manuscript, an editor or editorial committee examines the textual variants and decides which reading is most likely original. This approach produces a reconstructed text often referred to as eclectic, because the resulting printed text is not identical to any manuscript in its entirety.’; B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, Preface, p. xv: ‘The textual critic seeks to ascertain from the divergent copies which form of the text should be regarded as most nearly conforming to the original’.

Latin Vulgate,<sup>54</sup> and not primarily in the Greek text itself, or the Byzantine manuscripts themselves.

The Polyglot Psalters (diglots or triglots) were the first printed editions, which included the Greek text of the OT (LXX version).<sup>55</sup> A salient characteristic of the publication forms of the Bible since the Renaissance was the grouping together of all biblical books into one edition, the so-called Pandect-Bibles,<sup>56</sup> or at least into larger comprehensive text units. These complete Bibles were: the Polyglot edition forms of the whole Bible,<sup>57</sup> which were multilingual Bibles, including

<sup>54</sup> B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 138: 'the publication of the Greek Testament offered to any scholar acquainted with both languages a tool with which to criticize and correct the official Latin Bible of the Church'.

<sup>55</sup> The first diglot liturgical Psalter is mentioned in T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, 1963 [reprint], No 4590, p. 574: a Psalter in Greek and Latin, with appended Canticles, ed. J. Crastonus (Chrestonus?), Milan, 1481. After several other psalter editions, a polyglot psalter followed, cf. *Ibid.*, no. 1411, p. 1-2: *Psalterium Hebraeum, Graecum, Arabicum, et Chaldaicum, cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis*, ed. A. GIUSTINIANI, Genoa, 1516 [in eight columns it gives the Hebrew text, a literal Latin version of the Hebrew, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint, the Arabic, the Chaldee, (in Hebrew characters), a literal Latin version of the Chaldee, and *Scholia*] cf. J. J. PELIKAN, *The Reformation of the Bible. The Bible of the Reformation, Catalogue of the Exhibition by V. Hotchkiss and D. Price*, New Haven and London, 1996, Item I. 26, p. 111-113.

<sup>56</sup> The editions of the Latin Bible, since the first *Biblia Latina*, ed. J. GUTENBERG, Mainz, 1454-1455, later called shortly *Biblia*, ed. R. ESTIENNE, Paris, 1528, and *Biblia Sacra*, Official edition of the Vulgate under the auspices of Clement VIII, Rome, 1592 (the "Sixtine-Clementine" or "Clementine Bible"), were already such Pandects. These printed edition forms, which can be retraced in the Latin manuscript tradition (cf. J. J. PELIKAN, *The Reformation of the Bible*, New Haven and London, 1996, p. 90: Item I.9 and B. FISCHER, *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1985, p. 246-250: 'Die Idee des Pandekten'), served probably as paradigms for the Polyglot and Complete Greek-Latin Bibles. There was a considerable printing history of Latin Bibles before the publication of the first Greek Bible edition started; cf. B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 137: 'During the next 50 years [since the editio princeps of Gutenberg], at least 100 editions of the Latin Bible were issued by various printing houses'.

<sup>57</sup> The idea of a polyglot Bible emerged in Caesarea in the third century with the Hexapla edition of the whole OT, including the Hebrew and Greek

the OT in Latin-Hebrew-Greek, and the NT in Greek and Latin Vulgate); the Greek New Testaments (often bilingual: Gr.-Lt.); the Greek Old & New Testaments (the complete Greek Bible); and the Greek Old Testaments (Septuagint). Interesting is, that these edition forms were actually quite unusual in Byzantine manuscript tradition and also in later Greek printed editions, which displayed a practice of delivery of smaller compartments of the Bible.

In the Byzantine period the Greek Bible was usually produced in small and convenient sections of the Old (Septuagint) and New Testaments, such as the Octateuch (the eight books from Genesis to Ruth), the Psalter (the Psalms with the Canticles), and the Four Gospels. The Prophets formed another practical unit of text of this type. It seems to have been a rarity to produce a complete Bible, whether in one or more volumes, and the number of surviving manuscripts show that the demand of Byzantines for the Psalter and the Gospels far exceeded that for the other sections. This is understandable, since those were the texts most widely needed for private study and liturgical devotion.<sup>58</sup>

The publication of the “complete” Greek Bible (OT & NT), which became known in the West through the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (ed. Diego López de Zuñiga, et al.)<sup>59</sup>

texts in parallel columns, an enormous task, which had been undertaken by Origen and the calligraphers at his disposal. Origen also endeavored to create a Tetrapla edition of the Psalterion. These ‘patristic’ polyglot editions, the Hexapla and Tetrapla, disappeared over the ages, but several parts and fragments remained and were re-collected and edited (Montfaucon, Field). Cf. N. F. MARCOS, ‘Origins Hexapla’, in *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2000, p. 204-222; E. WÜRTHWEIN, ‘Die Hexapla des Origenes’, in *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart, 1973, p. 58-61; H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, ‘The Hexapla, and the Hexaplaric and other Recensions of the Septuagint’, in *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Peabody, Mass., 1989 (reprint), p. 59-86.

<sup>58</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park and London, 1988, p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> The whole 6 volume edition was produced at Complutum (Alcalá) in Spain during the years 1514-1517 [and only published in 1520]: *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta complectentia V.T. Hebraico Graeco et Latino idiomate, N.T. Graecum et Latinum* cf. J. J. PELIKAN, ‘Biblia Polyglotta’, in *The Reformation of the Bible*, New Haven and London, 1996, Item I. 25, p. 109-110; B. M. METZGER and

and the Aldine Edition of the Greek Bible (ed. A. Asolanus, Venice, 1518),<sup>60</sup> was quite uncommon in the East it seems – there is only a very small number of extant manuscripts that contain the more or less complete Greek Bible (11 codices correspond to this type),<sup>61</sup> and not all of these contain an identical set of books or a uniformly established text.

The first edition of the complete Greek New Testament was included in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514). Separate editions incorporating the whole Greek New Testament commenced with the *Novum Instrumentum omne*,<sup>62</sup> which was followed by four revised editions (renamed *Novum Testamentum omne* with the 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Basel, 1519). The characteristic title *Novum Testamentum Graecum* as it was called in the West, retained to the present day in the Nestle/Aland editions, appeared for the first time in an edition of N. Gerbelius, (Hagenau, 1521).<sup>63</sup> This edition form of the complete Greek New Testa-

B. D. EHRMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 137-142; J. H. BENTLEY, 'The Complutensian New Testament', in *Humanists and Holy Writ. New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton, 1983, p. 70-111.

<sup>60</sup> The Aldine Bible, the first complete printed edition of the Greek Bible (OT and NT) was published in Italy: Πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐξοχὴν καλούμενα Βιβλία θείας δηλαδὴ Γραφῆς παλαιᾶς τε, καὶ νέας. *Sacrae Scripturae veteris, novaeque ominia*, Venice, 1518-1519: the OT part (1) Gen.-Ps.; (2) Prov.-3 Macc. on the basis of Bessarion's collection of codices, preserved in St. Mark's Library at Venice (Mss. 29, 68, 121); (3) the NT, on the basis of Erasmus' first edition 1516. Cf. T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, p. 576-577; cf. H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, 'Printed texts of the Septuagint', in *An Introduction of the Old Testament in Greek*, Peabody, Mass., 1989, p. 173-174.

<sup>61</sup> See specimen VII. Pandect/Complete Bibles (OT/NT), p. 120-121.

<sup>62</sup> Greek and Latin, and annotations by Erasmus of Rotterdam, 2 parts, Basel, 1516, f<sup>o</sup> cf. J. J. PELIKAN, 'Novum instrumentum omne', in *The Reformation of the Bible*, New Haven and London, 1996, Item I. 16, p. 100; B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRMAN, *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 142-149; J. H. BENTLEY, *Humanists and Holy Writ*, Princeton, 1983, p. 112-193, esp. 114: 'the methods, principles and reasoning that governed its preparation'; T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, reprint, 1963, No 4591, p. 574-575.

<sup>63</sup> T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, reprint, 1963, No 4598, p. 578. This edition was the earliest separate edition of the New Testament in Greek.



ment was similarly rare in Byzantine manuscript tradition (there are circa 45 extant manuscripts of the whole Greek NT).<sup>64</sup> Such a complete New Testament (Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα) was not generally used as a basic textual unit in Byzantine tradition,<sup>65</sup> or in the Greek church, which explains the relatively small number of extant manuscripts of this type. It was the Apostolo-Evangelion form (without the Apocalypse), both lectionary as well as text form, of which we have a considerable number of extant manuscripts. Yet it was, paradoxically, the complete Greek NT form that Western editors chose as a publishing unit. Instead of ‘back to the sources’, a new tradition of delivery commenced.

The printed edition of the Greek Old Testament (the O’, or LXX),<sup>66</sup> which was published separately for the first time by A. Carafa et al. (eds.), Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα. *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum*, Rome, 1586 (1587), and which is known as the “Sixtine Edition” of the LXX (under the auspices of Sixtus V),<sup>67</sup> was neither a common codex form in the ancient church,<sup>68</sup> as one can conclude from the extant Byzan-

<sup>64</sup> See specimen III. Evangelion – Apostolos – Apocalypse codices (eapr/NT), p. 108-110.

<sup>65</sup> P. MEYER, *Die Theologische Literatur der griechischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 161, mentions a Greek NT published in Venice 1538 in the context of other printings of biblical books by the Greeks in Venice. The editor, however, was Melchior Sessa and the edition, Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα. *Novi Testamenti Omnia*, 2 vols., Venice, 1538, has nothing to do with the Greek printing tradition. Cf. W. H. P. HATCH, ‘An Early Edition of the New Testament in Greek’, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 34.2 (1941), p. 69-78.

<sup>66</sup> E. NESTLE, ‘Septuagint: Printed Editions’, in *A Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 (1906), p. 437-454. Eastern scholarship prefers the Greek designation ἑβδομήκοντα, abbreviated to O’, in accordance with the tradition of the Byzantine fathers; cf. K. OIKONOMOS, Περὶ τῶν Ο’ Ἑρμηνευτῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς θείας Γραφῆς, Athens, 1849.

<sup>67</sup> This edition of the Greek LXX was considered the *textus ab omnibus receptus* in Western scholarship; cf. the reference to E. NESTLE, *Septuagintastudien*, Ulm, 1886, I, 1 in T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, 1963, No 4647, p. 597-598; J. J. PELIKAN, ‘Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta’, in *The Reformation of the Bible*, New Haven and London, 1996, Item I. 24, p. 108-109.

<sup>68</sup> The Sixtine Edition was based on the OT part of the fourth century

tine manuscripts. Rahlfs lists only *one* manuscript that contains the entire Greek Old Testament separately, but this codex is incomplete as the Psalter is lacking.<sup>69</sup> So there is, in fact, not one extant separate integral Greek Old Testament.

Textual research was thus based on compiled editions. From here, scholars set out to search for the “original text”. Codicological research will decompile these forms, as we shall see.

*From Montfaucon’s Palaeographia Graeca to modern Codicology*

Bernard de Montfaucon’s monumental *Palaeographia Graeca* (Paris, 1708) and his *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova* (Paris, 1739, 2 vols. folio),<sup>70</sup> placed scientific research of the Byzantine manuscripts in a new perspective. The *Palaeographia Graeca*<sup>71</sup> is a first systematic introduction to the study of Greek manuscripts (palaeographical phenomena induced from Byzantine classical as well as ecclesiastical codices), which laid the foundations for a more integral approach to the manuscripts.<sup>72</sup> The *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*<sup>73</sup> includes a catalogue of catalogues of Greek and other manuscripts of major European libraries (the Vatican and other libraries in Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany and Austria

*Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209* [B] (Vatican Library), and the choice of this ancient codex was highly remarkable, considering editions were usually based on Byzantine minuscules. For other consulted and used manuscripts see G. PANI, “Un centenaire à rappeler: l’édition Sixtine des Septante”, in *Théorie et pratique de l’exégèse*, ed. I. BACKUS and F. HIGMAN. Geneve, 1990, p. 413-428; H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, ‘Printed texts of the Septuagint’, Peabody, Mass., 1989, p. 174-182.

<sup>69</sup> Codex 46 (Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 4 [381]), which represents an “incomplete” complete Greek OT; cf. A. RAHLFS, ‘Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen’ in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, p. 184-185.

<sup>70</sup> H. LECLERCQ, ‘Montfaucon (Dom Bernard de)’, in *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 11 (1934), col. 2608-2672.

<sup>71</sup> H. LECLERCQ, *Ibid.*, col. 2628-2636 (La “Palaeographia Graeca”).

<sup>72</sup> Montfaucon was not a biblical scholar, but an expert in Byzantine patristic studies and (co)editor of the works of Athanasius, Origen and John Chrysostom; cf. V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Griechische Palaeographie*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Leipzig, 1911, I, p. 5-8.

<sup>73</sup> H. LECLERCQ, *Ibid.*, col. 2661-2662.

etc.). In the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*<sup>74</sup> Montfaucon contributed to the scientific description of Byzantine manuscripts in their actual locations (monasteries, museums, private collections). Together with Montfaucon and the other Maurist erudites,<sup>75</sup> the Greek manuscript collections in the West and later also in the East were further explored,<sup>76</sup> inventories were made of the codices,<sup>77</sup> and they were catalogued,<sup>78</sup> described, edited.

Since the Renaissance manuscript studies and collations were made by biblical scholars for editions that were primarily focused on the text. A new editing tradition of the Greek NT developed, marked by such scholars as: Erasmus (five editions since Basel, 1516), Stephanus (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed., Paris, 1550, the “Editio Regia”), Beza ([Geneva] 1565), Elzevir (Leiden, 1624), Wettstein (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1751-1752), Scholz (2 vols., Leipzig, 1830-1836), Lachmann (2 vols., Berlin, 1842-1850), Tischendorff (Editio octava critica maior, 3 vols., III, Prolegomena by C. R. Gregory, Leipzig, 1869-1872), Scrivener (Cambridge, 1881), von Soden (I. Teil: Untersuchungen, Berlin, 1902-1910, II. Teil: Text mit Apparat, Göttingen, 1913), Nestle/Aland (Stuttgart, 1898-2006 [27. revidierte Auflage]).<sup>79</sup> In parallel, editors of the LXX started to produce large series of OT editions, in which scholars such as A. Cara-

<sup>74</sup> H. LECLERCQ, *Ibid.*, col. 2636-2640.

<sup>75</sup> D.-O. HUREL, ‘The Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur and the Church Fathers’, in I. BACKUS (ed.), *Reception of the Church Fathers in the West. From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, Leiden, 1997, II, p. 1009-1038.

<sup>76</sup> Historical references of Eastern and Western Byzantine manuscript studies, palaeography and codicology are provided in N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Κλείς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας ἔτιτοι Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν*, Thessaloniki, 1993, Part III, Ch. 5: ‘Αἱ εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην βυζαντινὰ σπουδαί’ (including Russia, the Balkans and Greece).

<sup>77</sup> Further information is given concerning the library of manuscripts, especially those in Eastern Libraries, see my dissertation, *The Inner Cohesion* etc, Ch. 4 mentioned in n. 1 and M. RICHARD and J. M. OLIVIER, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Turnhout, 1995.

<sup>78</sup> The historical background of Western and Eastern libraries containing holdings of Greek manuscripts and their (ancient) catalogues is indicated in V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Sammlungen und Cataloge Griechischer Handschriften*, Leipzig, 1903 – an old work, but interesting in many aspects, especially for the ancient catalogues.

<sup>79</sup> The number of consulted and used Byzantine manuscripts in Greek NT editions (the first generation of editors) may be found in H. VON SO-

fa (et al., Rome, 1587, the Sixtine edition), Morinus (Paris, 1628), Grabe/Lee/Wigan (Oxford, 1707-1720), Stroth [started with a independent catalogue of LXX manuscripts] (1779-1782), Holmes-Parsons (5 vols., Oxford, 1798-1827.), Von Tischendorf (6<sup>th</sup> ed. rev. by E. Nestle, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1880), Swete (3 vols., Cambridge, 1909-1922), Brooke/McLean (Cambridge, 1906-1940), Rahlfs (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1935), Rahlfs/Hanhart (2 in one vol., Stuttgart, 2006) were involved.<sup>80</sup> Stimulated by generations of extensive and exclusive textual scholarship, research of the Byzantine manuscripts (fourth-fifteenth/sixteenth century) resulted in specialised catalogues, culminating towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in the rich catalogues of Gregory, Karo/Lietzmann, von Soden, Rahlfs, Ehrhard, and reflected in the lists of manuscripts that are briefly described in the editions of the Greek OT and NT, the Greek/Byzantine fathers, the Byzantine liturgical books, the homiletic and hagiographical collections and the corpora of Byzantine Canon Law. Important for codicological research of the Byzantine manuscripts is to know which manuscripts were used in the editions and how they were used.<sup>81</sup>

Generally speaking biblical and patristic manuscript research developed into different disciplines. Research of the patristic texts included in or related to biblical manuscripts ('commentary manuscripts' and 'homiletic commentary manuscripts') was separated from research of the pure biblical text codices (the textual value of patristic texts was primarily taken into account for reasons of textual criticism). Catena research also evolved separately; lectionary manuscripts (in ma-

DEN's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, Liste III, p. 81-94.

<sup>80</sup> For the number and identity of the used Byzantine manuscripts in Greek Bible (LXX) editions, one may consult A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen' in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, p. 335-372: '(1) Holmes-Parsons, (2) Lagarde, (3) Swete, (4) Brooke-McLean, (5) Rahlfs)'.

<sup>81</sup> Some relevant indications can be found in T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, 1963, Part II, 'Polyglots', p. 1-36, 'Ancient Greek', p. 573-679.

juscule and minuscule script) were set aside; liturgical elements in biblical manuscripts were considered of secondary importance or were neglected; connections with other liturgical and patristic manuscripts were not made. Specialisation, then, led to the isolation of certain pieces of content from a given codex, whereby the full codicological richness of such a codex, based on its history of transmission, was somewhat lost.

Greek palaeography developed in the nineteenth-twentieth century.<sup>82</sup> Besides the use of manuscripts for textual studies, attention was paid to individual, integral codices (facsimile and diplomatic editions), not only in the context of preparatory textual studies for editions of the Bible, but also for the publication of individual Byzantine iconographical and hymnographical manuscripts. Besides palaeography, codicology<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, 'Bericht über Paläographie, Kodikologie und Diplomatic im Rahmen der Byzantinistik', in *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, ed. M. BERZA and E. STANESCU. Bucharest, 1976, III, p. 13-21; V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Griechische Palaeographie*, I: Das Buchwesen im Altertum und im Byzantium, II: Die Schrift, Unterschriften und Chronologie im Altertum und byzantinischen Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1911-1913; S. P. LAMBROS (reworked ed. and trans.), *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἐλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς παλαιογραφίας*, Athens, 1903 [reprint 1973; original ed. E. THOMPSON]. Representative of the discipline are also the compilers of catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts H. O. COXE (Oxford), E. MILLER and C. GRAUX (Spain), H. OMONT (France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and other places in Europe), S. LAMBROS (Athos), I. SAKKELION (Patmos and Athens), A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (Jerusalem), Archimandrite Vladimir (Moscow) etc.

<sup>83</sup> Codicology, as the study of the ancient codex within the book milieu to which it belonged, is today a well-established branch of manuscript research. The introduction of the term is accredited to A. DAIN: cf. the review of A. DAIN's, *Les manuscrits*, Paris, 1949, by F. MASAI, 'La paléographie et la codicologie', in *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), p. 270-293; and the later discussions on the topic by A. DAIN in 'Rapport sur la codicologie byzantine', in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* (München, 1958). *Lit.*: B. L. FONKIČ, 'Griechische Kodikologie', in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. HARLFINGER, Darmstadt, 1980; D. HARLFINGER and G. PRATO (eds.), *Paleografia e Codicologia Greca* (Atti del II Colloquio internazionale [Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17-21 ottobre 1983]), Allessandria, 1991; J. BOMPAIRE and J. IRIGOIN (eds.), *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974), (Actes du Colloque international sur la paléographie grecque et byzantine organisé dans le cadre des colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique à Paris du 21 au 25 octobre 1974), Paris, 1977; L. POLITIS, *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néo-grecque: recueil*

and library history<sup>84</sup> became disciplines in which manuscripts were studied in accordance with the milieu of the manuscripts themselves and analysed in their integral forms.<sup>85</sup> Manuscript iconography<sup>86</sup> resulted in new insights into the integral state, form and heritage of the Byzantine manuscripts, and the latter were presented and discussed in a manner new to the departments of Old and New Testament textual criticism. Attention was now also paid to secondary textual elements and icono-

*d'études*, London, 1975; J. LEMAIRE, 'La codicologie', in *Introduction à la codicologie*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989, p. 1-9, esp. p. 1-2 ('Les définitions de la codicologie') and n. 1.

<sup>84</sup> O. MAZAL, *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 1992; E. PLÜMACHER, 'Bibliothekswesen', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, 6 (1980), 413-426; A. HOBSON, *Große Bibliotheken der Alten und der Neuen Welt*, München, 1970; H. J. DE VLEESCHAUWER, 'Encyclopaedia of Library History', in *Mousaion*, 2 (1955), p. 1-44, 46-95; C. WENDEL, 'Das griechisch-römische Altertum', in *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, ed. F. MILKAU and G. LEYH, Leipzig, 1931-1940 [1. Schrift und Buch, bearb. v. Hans Schnorr v. Carolsfeld u.ä., 1931; 2. Bibliotheksverwaltung, bearb. v. Gustav Abb u.ä., 1933; 3. Geschichte der Bibliotheken, bearb. v. Aloys Bomer u.ä., Bd. 3, 1940, 1-63]; H. LECLERCQ, 'Bibliothèques', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 2 (1925), col. 842-904.

<sup>85</sup> See K. TREU, 'Zu den neutestamentlichen Handschriften in der UdSSR', in *Forschungen und Fortschritten*, 38.4 (1964), p. 118, 'In den letzten Jahrzehnten, besonders seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg, ist ein neues Forschungsgebiet zu selbstständigen Rang und Namen gelangt: die Kodikologie, die Lehre vom Buch in der Form des Kodex, der seit der späteren Antike die klassische Schriftrolle verdrängt hat und uns heute allein geläufig ist (...). War die Paläographie im herkömmlichen Sinne immer mehr oder weniger die Hilfsdisziplin der Philologie geblieben, als die sie entstanden war, so erhebt sich mit dem neuen Namen Kodikologie auch ein neuer Anspruch. Das handschriftliche Buch soll nun ein Forschungsgegenstand sein, der um seiner selbst willen Aufmerksamkeit verdient. Nicht mehr allein der Text und die Schrift, sondern auch das äußere Gewand und seine materiell-technische Seite sollen berücksichtigt werden'.

<sup>86</sup> K. WEITZMANN and G. GALAVARIS, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, I, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990; K. WEITZMANN and H. L. K. ESSLER, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B. VI.*, Princeton, 1986; K. WEITZMANN, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the origin and method of text illustration*, Princeton 1970; T. USPENSKIJ, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907; J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna*, Leipzig, 1899; N. P. KONDAKOV, *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré dans les miniatures*, New York, 1970 [reprint].

graphic ornamentation, whereby the codex in its integral entirety was placed central stage. Illuminated manuscripts from Constantinople (the Octateuch of the Old Serail), Smyrna (the perished Octateuch), Sinai, Athos and Athens and also codices dispersed throughout Western Europe and the US, have been intensively studied and edited from this iconographical point of view.<sup>87</sup> According to the same principles, the hymnographical literature of the church was catalogued, described and published.<sup>88</sup>

It was in these branches of palaeography that first serious scholarly attention was paid to the integral edition forms of the individual codices, e.g. the Octateuch, the Psalterion, the Evangelion, the Tetraevangelion, the Apostolos etc, in Russia (second half of the nineteenth century) and then in Western Europe<sup>89</sup> and the USA (since the beginning of the twentieth century). Palaeographers were no longer solely fixated on the text, but developed interest in other aspects of the transmis-

<sup>87</sup> G. VIKAN (ed.), *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, Princeton, 1973; P. BUBERL, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften I: Die Wiener Dioskurides und die Wiener Genesis. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, Leipzig, 1937-1938; P. BUBERL and H. GERSTINGER, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften II: Die Handschriften des X. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Leipzig, 1938.

<sup>88</sup> Catalogues: *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Collection of Microfilms and Photographs*, ed. C. TROELSGERD [Website publication: <http://www.igl.ku.dk/MMB/mmb.html>], Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen; G. T. STATHIS, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς "Αγίου Όρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Όρους*, τ. 1-3, Athens, 1975, 1976, 1993; A. JAKOVljević, *Catalogue of Byzantine Chant Manuscripts in the Monastic and Episcopal Libraries of Cyprus*, (Publications of the Cyprus Research Centre, 15), Nicosia, 1990; A. GASTOUÉ, *Introduction à la paléographie musicale byzantine. Catalogue des manuscrits de musique byzantine de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, Paris, 1907.

<sup>89</sup> Forerunners were H. BROCKHAUS, 'Die Miniaturmalereien', in *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 167-242; H. BORDIER, *Description des peintures et autres ornements contenu dans les Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1883. In the area of Byzantine chant manuscripts: A. GASTOUÉ, *Introduction à la Paléographie Musicale Byzantine*, Paris, 1907: I<sup>e</sup> Partie, Classement & Catalogue des manuscrits, p. 59-99 and Appendice: Planche I-VII.

sion of the biblical and patristic books and their textual history, such as the art of making Byzantine codices and the copying process as such: iconographic decoration, lectionary design and equipment, internal arrangement and selection of texts, the scribes and their ateliers,<sup>90</sup> the monastic background.

Codicology can help a student of the Byzantine manuscripts (be they biblical, patristic, liturgical, ascetical or hagiographic) and the Byzantine text, to rediscover the full richness of the Byzantine codices and their synthetic interdependence, as well as their functional and historical value.<sup>91</sup> Since the biblical text was delivered in set 'edition forms', which crystallised into stereotyped codex forms, codicological research can throw new light onto the textual history of the Bible text, and even, we dare to state, can contribute to forming a more complete picture of the "original" text.

*A codicological model of manuscript description*

The form of any given codex is primarily defined by its content<sup>92</sup> – meaning the books/texts that are included and the arrangement in which they are placed together in the codex (the composition). In the case of the Scriptures, the contents clearly reflect their function: the reason for which the codex was produced and the manner in which it was used in the church. In addition to this, an awareness of the heritage and the conditions under which the codex was formed, throw highly interesting historical light on the choices behind the content and thus the form of the codex. The time and place of copying are important parameters to take in account, as are the textual presentation and configuration (how the text is placed on the page and in which order); the textual form of

<sup>90</sup> H. BUCHTHAL and H. BELTING, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy*, Washington, 1978.

<sup>91</sup> O. MAZAL, 'General Prerequisites for the Processing of Manuscripts', in *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 9-15.

<sup>92</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, I, 94 and A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, p. xviii-xix, already stipulated the contents as central items in their descriptions.



the included books (recension); the status of the additional texts that follow or precede the body of text, maybe in another script, or in the margins (commentaries, lectionary equipment, tables etc.); the format of the codex (folio, half folio, quarto, octavo); the script form (majuscules, minuscules and their derivatives); the scope of the codex (the number of folio's); the size of the page, the writing material etc. A codicological approach to the Byzantine ecclesiastical manuscripts that takes all these parameters into account,<sup>93</sup> demands in the first place, then, a complete description of the content and form of the individual codices, with attention for:

CONTENTS. The content of the main text of the codex, whether the codex is complete or fragmented, and if it includes texts that were copied in at a later date; the registration of those texts or textual elements, which do not seem to be of immediate relevance for biblical studies – patristic, liturgical, hymnographical or hagiographical, and even classical.

APPARATUS.<sup>94</sup> The secondary texts of the codex: (a) the commentaries/scholia (following or alternating with the main text, in the mar-

<sup>93</sup> O. MAZAL, 'Guidelines for the Cataloguing of Manuscripts', in *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 16-34.

<sup>94</sup> The patristic apparatus could comprise: (1) aids for public reading of the Scriptures (ἀνάγνωσις) according to the Byzantine calendar, including a complex system of textual divisions (ἀναγνώσεις or ἀναγνώσματα), the sequences of lessons and the tables belong to this (C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, I, 'Griechische Liturgische Bücher', 327-342); (2) explicit hermeneutical aids, including scholia (σχόλια) and comments (ἐρμηνείαι) of scribes and fathers (H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, 'Die gelehrte Bearbeitungen der neutestamentlichen Schriften', 525-704); (3) textual-hermeneutical elements such as the super/subscriptions to the books (ἐπιγραφαί/ὑπογραφαί), the arrangement of the text in chapter divisions (κεφάλαια), the titles of chapters (τίτλοι), the number of verses (στοιχεῖαι), the Eusebian canons, the hypotheses (ὑποθέσεις), lives of the evangelists (βιοί), Euthalian apparatus, musical signs above the text (ecphonetic notation), biblical references in the margins (μαρτυρίαι).

*Lit.*: B. M. METZGER and B. D. EHRLMAN, 'Helps for readers in New Testament Manuscripts', in *The Text of the New Testament*, New York - Oxford, 2005, p. 33-47; C. R. GREGORY, 'Geschichte der Kritik: Äussere Form des Textes', in *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, II, p. 849-906; H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 293-485:

gins); (b) the liturgical elements (lectionary equipment); (c) the hymnographic elements (ecphonetic notation above the texts); (d) introductory and auxiliary materials (short description of contents, kephalaia, hypotheseis, prologues, Eusebian and Euthalian tables of canons, etc.).

**DESIGN.** The age (date), the script form (majuscule, minuscule), the folio's, format, writing materials, size, columns, lines, etc.

**ICONOGRAPHY.** The iconographic refurbishment of the codex (contents of the icons, their number, their style, their position in the overall composition, their function in the manuscripts).

**TECHNICAL CONDITION.** The technical condition of the manuscript (codicology in the specific sense), the ornamentation and artistic design of the cover and the internal aesthetic arrangements and illustrations.

**PROVENANCE.** The scribe and place of origin (if known), the current possessor, the religious or secular purpose/function (destined/intended for liturgical ends, for a church or monastery, for private use of secular devotees (Byzantine emperors or their family, magistrates or rich citizens), for a skeuophilakion or library, for private study of an erudite).

**SIZE AND FORMAT.** Details concerning the size and format to analyse the manner in which the materials (contents) in the codex were incorporated and presented.

The existing catalogues of manuscripts are a major point of departure, to gather codicological data and trace the manuscripts' whereabouts. But the existing catalogues have been set up according to specialised needs: Aland, von Soden, Gregory, Scrivener for the New Testament; Stroth, Holmes/Parsons, Rahlfs, Fraenkel for the Old Testament; Karo/Lietzmann, Faulhaber, Mühlenberg for the Catenae; and Ehrhard for the homiletic/hagiographic manuscripts. In the following

'Die in den neut. Handschriften vorkommenden textlichen Beigaben zu dem Wortlaut der neut. Schriften'. For patristic apparatuses in Greek OT manuscripts: H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Peabody, Mass., 1989, 'Titles, Grouping, Number, and Order of the Books', p. 197-230; 'Text divisions: *Stichi*, Chapters, Lections, *Catenae*, &c.', p. 342-366. Cf. B. M. METZGER, 'Special Features of Biblical Manuscripts', in *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible. An Introduction to Greek Palaeography*, New York and Oxford, 1981, p. 33-48.

paragraphs we will explore the advantages and shortcomings of these specialised catalogues, in our view. In section 2 and 3 we will set out the principles, on the basis of the liturgical hypothesis, which will lead us to redistribute the manuscripts in these catalogues according to new liturgico-codicological parameters in support of the thesis.

## B. Advantages and Disadvantages of Specialised Catalogues

The Byzantine manuscripts that are dispersed over the many local and national libraries in East and West are (more or less adequately) represented in the catalogues of these libraries, in so far as they are known to us at all. In some specialised catalogues, i.e. in (1) the *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* by K. Aland et al. (Berlin - New York, 1994<sup>2</sup>), (2) the *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen* by A. Rahlfs (Berlin, 1914) and up-dated by D. Fraenkel (Göttingen, 2004, only part I), (3) the descriptive catalogue of homiletic (and hagiographic) codices in *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, I-III* by Ehrhard (Leipzig - Berlin, 1937-52) and (4) the *Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus* compiled by Karo und Lietzmann (Göttingen, 1902), the Byzantine manuscripts have been extracted from the individual library catalogues and reorganized in clearly defined, separate, categories (NT, OT, Hagiography/Homiletics, Catena etc). When studying these catalogues, a clear overview of the (number of) extant collected and selected codices of any group of manuscripts is reached.

One major consequence, however, of such specific categorisation is that the full codicological information of any given codex falls away (completely or in part), and one loses the overview of the codex forms in their entirety. The specialised catalogues are monuments of research without which it would have been impossible for the present researcher to have gained a picture at all of the extent, whereabouts and nature of the extant manuscripts. In this chapter, however, we pay attention to certain aspects of each of the catalogues which we encountered as “obstacles” when trying to develop a codicological

overview of the material at hand. This we do without in any way intending to do injustice to the intrinsic value of the catalogues. Below we point out some of the choices made in the catalogues of Aland, Rahlfs, von Soden, Ehrhard and Karo and Lietzmann, which illustrate our difficulty.

### *Aland's Kurzgefasste Liste*

Aland's *Liste*, which was the continuation of Gregory's *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1908),<sup>95</sup> in its turn based on Gregory's voluminous *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1900-1909, Bd. I-III), being a formal enumeration of an accumulating series of manuscripts, and presenting information based on his specifically selected parameters, does not present all the concrete codicological information found in the manuscripts.<sup>96</sup> The lectionary equipment especially was omitted from the indexed series of codices.<sup>97</sup> To our mind, lectionary data is of far-reaching consequence for the determination of the manuscripts.

From Aland's *Liste* one receives the impression that there existed certain standard codex forms: e (= evangelion), ap (= apostolos), eap (= apostolo-evangelion), eaprv (= apostolo-evangelion and revelation). Parallel to these basic text codex forms, the lectionaries are distinguished as: l (evangelion-lectionary), la (apostolos-lectionary), l+a (apostolo-evangelion-lectionary). However, because beside the standard codex

<sup>95</sup> K. Aland adopted not only the model and Gregory's enumeration of manuscripts, but also the title from this undertaking: 'Die Grund für die sofortige Herausgabe dieser kurzgefasste Liste', p. 20.

<sup>96</sup> The codicological information of the Byzantine NT codices, which was collected by the INTF in Münster (Germany), brought together on card-files and which forms the basis of the *Kurzgefasste Liste*, can be consulted on location. Moreover, micro-films are attainable and there is an internet site with reproductions of integral manuscripts. The INTF recently started the construction of a refined digital Aland List, calling it a *Virtual Manuscript Room*, in which all NT catalogue data are collected, updated and extended.

<sup>97</sup> By kind permission we were able to consult the card-files in order to check the information concerning the lectionary equipments in the INTF. In H. VON SODEN's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, one can find precise data concerning the lectionary equipment and other essential information with regard to the contents of the codices in which the NT books were compiled.

forms, a great variety of additional materials intrinsically belonging to these codices was not made visible in the *Liste*, it is not possible to gain a full codicological picture of these forms. For example, Aland omitted to mention which NT codices contained OT texts (he does this only very incidentally and inconsistently), focusing entirely on the NT text. He similarly made no mention of patristic texts, liturgical texts (only incidentally), or texts of classical literature. To supplement this should be a first task of the *Catalogue* that is proposed in this thesis. A second task would be to attempt to rediscover original 'edition forms' of the Scriptures as transmitted in the Byzantine manuscripts, to show how they evolved from their use in the Byzantine liturgy. These standard forms (e, a, ap ...), considered from a codicological point of view, could be a new point of departure of textual research in the narrower sense of the word, since it is the codex forms that provide the actual criteria (determinative factors) for the textual evaluation of the manuscripts. Such a criteria would be, for example, to study different related codex forms together: the [continuous] text Evangelion codices (e) should be researched together with the Evangelion lectionaries (l) and the Evangelion commentaries (eK and /K), to which the homiletic manuscripts inherently belong (the last category having been omitted by Aland).

Aland included the commentary manuscripts<sup>98</sup> of the Greek NT in the main body of the *Liste* (distinguishing them with the letter K [eK etc.], and when referring to the lectionary manuscripts, with the symbol /K etc.). No distinction, however, was made by Aland between "catena" and "commentary" manuscripts, as does Rahlfs. Aland gave all the Greek NT commentary manuscripts a K serial number, and so implicitly agreed with their homogeneity. Interesting is that he placed the commentaries in the same list as the biblical text manuscripts, thus placing them on the same line, whereas the lec-

<sup>98</sup> The division of the different categories of commentaries can be deduced from the *Sigelkonkordanz II. von Soden: Gregory 4.-20.*, in Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*, p. 401-405. Von Soden's division is: Kommentarcodices zu den Evangelien (a-g); Kommentarcodd zum Praxapostolos (a-d) including the Apocalypse commentaries [= d].

tionaries he placed in a separate list (including *IK*). The major ‘homiletic commentary’ group was not adopted at all.

*H. von Soden’s Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*

The work of von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, I (Göttingen, 1911, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition) launched a new complicated system of classification according to content and manuscript age.<sup>99</sup> Byzantine terminology was ‘re-introduced’ (the  $\delta$  -,  $\varepsilon$  - and  $\alpha$ - codices).<sup>100</sup> The commentary codices were given serious attention and analysis.<sup>101</sup> In the first place the manuscripts are listed according to their codex formations: tetraevangelion-commentaries, praxapostolos-commentaries, and then according to smaller textual units or to single biblical books. Of great value is von Soden’s registration of lectionary equipment<sup>102</sup> [Lect, Lect<sup>Text</sup>, Lect<sup>Tab</sup>]<sup>103</sup> in the ‘pure text’ manuscripts,<sup>104</sup> and also in the group of commentary

<sup>99</sup> H. VON SODEN, ‘Gruppierung des in Liste I nachgewiesenen Gesamtbestandes an neu. Codd nach Inhalt und Alter’, in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 94-95.

<sup>100</sup> The terminology was derived from the Greek titles ‘διαθήκη’, ‘τετραευαγγέλιον’ (simply εὐαγγέλιον and ‘πραξαπόστολος’ (or plainly ἀπόστολος). Of importance is especially the ‘codex unit’ of the Apostle, here correctly represented in contrast to the incorrect text unit a = Acts + Cath. Epist. (without Epist. of Paul). See the remark of von Soden on page 42 concerning the Greek terminology.

<sup>101</sup> H. VON SODEN, ‘Kommentarcodices zu den Evangelien’, in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 249-270 and ‘Kommentarcodd zum Praxapostolos’, p. 270-289 [Statistischer Überblick: Kommantarhandschriften, p. 290-292]; ‘Die gelehrten Bearbeitungen der neutestamentlichen Schriften’, p. 525-704.

<sup>102</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Ibid.*, p. 99: ‘Dagegen ist für die Frage nach der Art des Gebrauchs der neut. Schriften im Mittelalter die Feststellung wertvoll, in wie grossem Umfang die sie enthaltenden Codd durch entsprechende Ausstattung zur Benutzung als Lectionare eingerichtet waren’.

<sup>103</sup> See the descriptive system of VON SODEN, *Ibid.*, p. 101-102, Lect = Lektionenvermerk am Rande; Lect<sup>text</sup> = Lektionsanfänge rot im text; Lect<sup>tab</sup> = Listen der Lektionen (in the beginning or at the end) and justification on pages 99-100 [Lektionen Listen are indicated by syn = synaxarion and men = menologion.

<sup>104</sup> There is no such dividing line or gap between ‘pure text’ and ‘lectionary text’ as is often assumed. If one considers the ‘lectionary equipment’ of

manuscripts. However, von Soden did not, for practical and principal reasons, incorporate the lectionary manuscripts in his research plan.<sup>105</sup> Other contents than only the NT biblical texts<sup>106</sup> in one and the same manuscript were registered (liturgical, patristic etc.).<sup>107</sup>

### *Rahlfs' Verzeichnis*

The *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1914) of Rahlfs is based on the earlier study of the Greek OT manuscripts by Stroth<sup>108</sup> (catalogue research), and the extensive edition of the Septuagint by Holmes and Parsons.<sup>109</sup> Rahlfs distinguishes three main groups: a) plain Bible texts (Einfache Bibeltexte), b) catena (Catenen) and

the pure text manuscripts, then it appears, that a considerable part of all Byzantine manuscripts could be called 'lectionaries'. See the descriptive system of VON SODEN, *Ibid.*, p. 101-102, Lect = Lektionenvermerk am Rande; Lect<sup>text</sup> = Lektionsanfänge rot im text; Lect<sup>tab</sup> = Listen der Lektionen (in the beginning or at the end) and justification on p. 99-100.

<sup>105</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Ibid.*, p. 19-20, 'Auf die Lektionarien ist nach langem Schwanken verzichtet worden. Erstlich schien das Material der Volltexte doch reichlich genug. Sodann war zu besorgen, dass die Textgeschichte der Lektionarien unter Umständen ihre eigenen Wege ging, und so ihre Herbeiziehungs ebenso leicht das Bild verwirren als aufhellen könnte. Andererseits schien es leichter, wenn erst die Wandlungen des Schrifttextes klar waren, von hier aus auch die Geschichte der Lesetexte zu entwirren. Freilich war nicht zu verkennen, dass von ihnen aus auch ein Einfluss auf die Abschriften des Gesamttextes sich geltend gemacht haben konnte, sodass für diese oder jene Etappe von dem Lektionartext aus auf ihren Ursprung Licht fallen dürfte'.

<sup>106</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Ibid.*, p. 95: '(...) sollen die Handschriften nach der buchtechnischen Seite charakterisiert werden. Dazu gehört es auch, wenn neut. Schriften etwa mit Schriften anderen Charakters verbunden worden sind'. Cf. also p. 102.

<sup>107</sup> In many Byzantine manuscripts are contained, in addition to the NT and/or OT books (or parts of these books or liturgical compilations), other works of the fathers, liturgical texts and hagiographical materials of great variety and quantity.

<sup>108</sup> F. A. STROTH, 'Versuch eines Verzeichnisses der Handschriften der LXX', in *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur*, 5 (1779), p. 94-134; 8 (1781), p. 177-205; 11 (1782), p. 45-72. Stroth's work was a first endeavour to put together a catalogue of the OT manuscripts. He ordered the catalogue around its contents.

<sup>109</sup> R. HOLMES and J. PARSONS, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectio-*

c) commentaries (Commentare). By discussing and registering all three, he implicitly indicates the close affinity between these distinct groups of biblical text and patristic commentaries. He presents a great number of the Greek OT manuscripts, but certainly not “all” relevant codices, since he omitted the main group of homiletic commentary manuscripts.<sup>110</sup> A synoptic overview of the commentary manuscripts of the Greek OT was provided by Rahlfs in ‘*Übersicht über das handschriftliche Material für die einzelnen Teile des A.T.*’,<sup>111</sup> brought together under the headings of ‘Catenaen’ or ‘Commentare’, according to their categories (Octateuch, etc.) and in chronological order of the codices.<sup>112</sup> The short references in the *Übersicht* inform us about the libraries where the manuscripts are “presently” housed (in 1914) and their main contents; the catena manuscripts received serial numbers, but the commentary manuscripts did not, thus in the end excluding them significantly from the main group of text codices.<sup>113</sup>

#### *Rahlfs/Fraenkel* Verzeichnis

Compared to Rahlfs, an important change in the *Verzeichnis* brought about by Fraenkel<sup>114</sup> is the demarcation line that

*nibus*, I-V, Oxford, 1798-1827; H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Peabody, Mass., 1989, p. 184-187.

<sup>110</sup> A. RAHLFS, ‘Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen’, in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse*, (Beiheft), Berlin, 1914, p. xii.

<sup>111</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. 373-439.

<sup>112</sup> The main part of Rahlfs’ *Verzeichnis* is alphabetical and provides a full description of the manuscripts. This section of the *Übersicht*, however, is conjectural, since the dating of manuscripts is, as is commonly known, difficult or controversial in many cases. There is a communis opinio about the age of most manuscripts [the dated manuscripts are, of course, less problematic]. The same can be said of the NT and other categories of Byzantine Greek manuscripts.

<sup>113</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xii: ‘... und die Hss. Die nur als Zeugen für den Tekst der Commentare, nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Tekst System gelten können’.

<sup>114</sup> D. FRAENKEL, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, 1, (Septuaginta Supplement), Göttingen, 2004.



Fraenkel introduces to separate the manuscripts of the period up until the eighth/ninth century, from the period running from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries. Part 1 appeared in 2004 and part 2 is still under development. The latter is more relevant for our goal, because it concerns the period (s. VIII/IX-XVI) from which the extant codex forms stem, whilst from the preceding period we have primarily fragments or parts of codices from which the form cannot be clearly deduced. This of course does not imply that these codex forms did not exist during this early period. Part 2 will also describe the Prophetologion manuscripts, which are highly interesting for our purpose, because the roots of this type of OT lectionary manuscript are regarded to be very deep in the textual and lesson tradition of the church. Of especial interest are the detailed descriptions of the majuscule codices of the fourth/fifth centuries.

#### *Ehrhard's Überlieferung und Bestand*

The homiletic commentaries, which Ehrhard<sup>115</sup> collected and classified in the context of his hagiographic manuscript research, are the Panegyrica homilies (festival orations) and later Kyriakodromia (Sunday orations). These are in fact commentaries on the Festival and Sunday lessons (Evangelion and Apostolos) which follow the main thread of the liturgical calendar. Ehrhard demonstrates the close connection between the hagiographic and homiletic codices. Yet, Ehrhard did not note all the homiletic codices, only those (and these are considerable indeed), which in his opinion were related to the hagiographic manuscript materials. He set up a classification of both categories.

#### *Karo/Lietzmann's Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus*

Karo and Lietzmann and in their footsteps later catena manuscript investigators (for example, Petit, Doreval, Mühlentberg, Krikonis, Devreesse<sup>116</sup>) brought by means of their in-

<sup>115</sup> A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952.

<sup>116</sup> F. PETIT, *La chaîne sur la Genèse. Édition intégrale*, Louvain, 1991-1993; G. DORIVAL, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: Contributions à l'étude*

ventory, the *Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus* (Göttingen, 1902),<sup>117</sup> research of this particular group of commentary manuscripts to scholarly attention. In fact, these Σειραῖ or catena, compilations of selected passages from the commentaries of well-known Byzantine fathers (see the List of Lemmata in Krikonis for example<sup>118</sup>), are “annotated” collective commentaries of many different fathers. This huge group of Byzantine catena manuscripts underlines that the biblical interpretation of an individual is only of interest, if it can be placed in the Byzantine patristic tradition of biblical exegesis. By regrouping the catena contents into (in this catalogue artificially remodelled) groups of NT writings (catena to Matthew etc.), the editors passed over the codicological contexts and paradigms, in which the catena commentaries were fashioned.

#### *Overview of the specialised catalogues*

[1] Aland (in 1968 and the second edition in 1994) made an inventory of and selected Greek NT manuscripts, and this NT List was

*d'une forme littéraire*, Leuven, 1986-1995; F. PETIT, *Catena graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. II: Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*, Turnhout - Louvain, 1986; ID., *Catena graecae in Genesim et in Exodum. I: Catena Sinaitica*, Turnhout - Louvain, 1977; E. MÜHLENBERG, *Psalmenkommentare aus der Ketenenüberlieferung*, Berlin, 1975-1978; C. T. KRIKONIS, *Συναγωγή Πατέρων εἰς τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ Νικητᾶ Ἡρακλείας (κατὰ τὸν κώδικα Ἰβήρων 371)*, Thessaloniki, 1973; R. DEVREESE, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs de l'Octateuque et des Rois. Fragments tirés des chaînes*, Cité du Vatican, 1959.

<sup>117</sup> G. KARO and H. LIETZMANN, ‘Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus’, in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol. hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1902), p. 1-66; 299-350; 559-620.

<sup>118</sup> C. T. KRIKONIS, *Συναγωγή Πατέρων*, Thessaloniki, 1973: ‘κατάλογος λήμμάτων κατὰ συγγραφείς’, p. 521-530 [N° 1-70, of which the more important commentators are: Chrysostom (συν. 859); Cyril of Alexandria (συν. 556); Basil of Caesarea (συν. 244); Gregory of Nyssa (συν. 189); Gregory of Nazianz (συν. 129); Titus of Bostra (συν. 128); Eusebius of Caesarea (συν. 126); Athanasius of Alexandria (συν. 121); Origen (συν. 112); Isidore of Pelusium (συν. 98); Severus of Antiochia (συν. 57); Maximus Confessor (συν. 49); John Geometris (συν. 47); Symeon Metaphrastes (συν. 46); Theodoret of Cyrhus (συν. 44); Photius (συν. 37); Macarius the Egyptian (συν. 32) etc. There are, moreover: ἀνεπίγραφα (συν. 46) and ἀνώνυμος (συν. 75)].

constantly up-dated; it contains not only the text codices, but also the commentary codices (including the results of Gregory, von Soden and Karo/Lietzmann) and lectionary codices (including the results of Gregory, up-dated by M. Welte of the INTF in Münster).

[2] Rahlfs (1914) made an inventory of and selected Greek OT manuscripts, not only the text codices, but also the commentary codices (catena, as well as commentaries in the strict sense) and lectionary codices. His catalogue was reworked by Fraenkel (2004) and to date only Part I, i.e., the codices of the first eight centuries has been published. For our study the huge mass of Greek manuscripts starting in the ninth century (Part II) will be of great interest.

[3] Ehrhard (1937-1952) made an inventory of and selected a great deal of the biblical commentaries of a homiletic character (but not all homiletic categories were included, since his manuscript investigations were concentrated on the hagiographic materials), filling the gap, which was left open by Rahlfs and Aland. An updated inventory of the used codices and their libraries/holdings was compiled by L. PERRIA, *I Manoscritti Citati da Albert Ehrhard*, Indice di A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, I-III, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952, Roma 1979.

[4] Karo/Lietzmann (1902) made an inventory of and selected (a considerable group of) the catena commentary manuscripts, both of the OT and NT. The editors, however, did not escape “atomisme”, in selecting their materials according to self-construed sections, forcing them into systematic arrangement of the biblical books, moving away from the codex formations in which the catena were transmitted.

### C. Existing Paradigms of Manuscript Classification

There are two basic paradigms of classified Greek biblical manuscripts, one for NT and another for OT research. These paradigms were developed independently and are unconnected in approach. In addition, the classification paradigms of the homiletic and catena manuscripts were also elaborated independently from the other departments of biblical & patristic studies. In this paragraph we will analyse these four

paradigms (NT, OT, homiletic and catena) in content and form, in order to assess in how far they could contribute to, or are removed from a codicological approach, with a view also to the construction of a new catalogue and reclassification of the manuscripts.

*The paradigm of classifying Byzantine NT manuscripts* [Gregory/Aland]

The first specialised catalogue-model and the implied classification of manuscripts we will discuss is the one produced to classify the New Testament manuscripts.<sup>119</sup> It was set up by Wettstein,<sup>120</sup> later adopted by Gregory<sup>121</sup> and elaborated by Aland and resulted in the *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin - New York, 19942).<sup>122</sup> The catalogue was developed by the INTF (Mün-

<sup>119</sup> The list provides the current Gregory-Aland number assigned to each manuscript [Hss.-Nr.], with details in parallel columns about: its contents [Inhalt], age [Jh.], writing material [Beschr.stoff], the number of extant pages [Blatt-zahl], the number of columns [Spalten] and lines per page [Zeilen], the format [Format] and the library classification where the manuscript is housed [Aufbewahrungsort].

<sup>120</sup> The edition of J. J. WETTSTEIN (ed.), 'Η Καινή Διαθήκη. *Novum Testamentum Graecum editionis receptae cum lectionibus variantibus Codicum MSS* (...), Amsterdam, 1751-1752, contained a critical apparatus, in which the practice of indicating the majuscule manuscripts with Roman letters and the cursive manuscripts with Arabic numerals was introduced. In the Gospels his list includes the majuscules A to O, and the cursives 1 to 112; in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, A to G, 1 to 58; in the Pauline Epistles, A to H, 1 to 60; in Revelation, A to C, 1 to 28; besides 24 Evangelia and 4 Apostoli. Cf. T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE (eds.), *Historical Catalogue*, New York, 1963, II, p. 629-630.

<sup>121</sup> The modern generally accepted classification is that of C. R. GREGORY in *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 20: 1. Grosschriften; 2. Papyri; 3. Kleinschriften; 4. Lesebücher (with *l* and *l*<sup>+</sup> <sup>a</sup> and *l*<sup>a</sup>). Here the terminology of 'Kurzgefasste Liste' was coined. The contents of the manuscripts were indicated as follows: e (the four Gospels); a (the Acts and the Catholic Epistles); p (the Pauline Epistles); r (Revelation).

<sup>122</sup> The structure of the work is as follows: (1) Vorwort with statistical remarks, p. vii-ix; (2) Erläuterungen und Abkürzungen, p. xiii-xix; (3) Papyri: P<sup>1</sup>-P<sup>99</sup>. [ms/items]; (4) Majuskeln: 01(à)-0306; (5) Minuskeln: 1-2856; (6) Lektionare: 11-/2403; (7) Sigelkonkordanzen: I. Tischendorf; Gregory; II. von Soden; Gregory; III. Gregory: von Soden; (8) Bibliotheksverzeichnis, p. 431-507.

ster) in the context of the NT edition-project, to support the undertaking of producing critical editions of the Greek NT<sup>123</sup> and thus primarily served textual research ends. In this catalogue one can find all known available NT manuscripts and manuscript fragments numbered in continuous series: papyri: P<sup>1</sup>-P<sup>99</sup> majuscules: 01(κ)-0306; minuscules: 1-2856 (note that there is a large number of open serial numbers – because manuscripts were lost over time, or merged with other codices etc.).<sup>124</sup> Not only were the (more or less) complete codices registered according to their codex forms (e, ap etc.), but also incomplete manuscripts and fragments. Commentary codices were arranged in the same manner according to their codex formation (eK, apK etc.), continuous text and commentary/catena codices were placed in the same listing. The lectionaries (Lektionare) were numbered separately, comprising No 1-2403. The papyri manuscripts were also enumerated separately and comprise No P<sup>1</sup>- P<sup>99</sup>. The NT manuscripts were listed according to different classes, based on a) writing material (papyrus, parchment, and paper) and b) the age assigned to the script form, *majuscules* and *minuscules*.<sup>125</sup>

Already in the Wettstein edition (Amsterdam, 1751-1752), the NT manuscripts were grouped into collection units on the grounds of their content, i.e. the four Gospels together (= e); the Acts and Catholic Letters (= a); the Letters of Paul (fourteen Epistles, including Hebrews) (= p); and the Revelation of John (= r). Composite manuscripts were indicated by

<sup>123</sup> K. ALAND (and others), 'Foreword', in *Kurzgefasste Liste*, Berlin - New York, 1994<sup>2</sup>, p. 7.

<sup>124</sup> Updates can be found in J. K. ELLIOTT, *A Bibliography of Greek New Testament Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 2000: Introduction, 1-12. The status quo in 1998 was: Papyri: P<sup>100</sup>-P<sup>115</sup> Majuskeln: 0307-0309; Minuskeln: 2857-2862; Lektionare: / 2404-2412. That is circa 5700 NT manuscript items. See the updatings by the INTF: 'Continuation of the Manuscript List': [www.uni.muenster.de/INTF/Projects.html](http://www.uni.muenster.de/INTF/Projects.html)

<sup>125</sup> The preference for majuscule codices in textual criticism dominates NT and OT research until the present day. The approach of many biblical scholars since the Renaissance, in their search for the most ancient manuscripts, could be called historico-philological (implying the objective assessment of individual manuscripts), rather than codico-philological.

the use of combined symbols (ea, ap, eap etc.). Beside these categories another group was created, which was set sharply apart from the afore-mentioned (pure) text manuscript groups – namely the ‘lectionary manuscripts’ (ℓ). The sign ℓ was used for the whole group of lectionary manuscripts, including particular groups such as the Gospel lectionaries (the lessons from the four Gospels according to the schedule of the Byzantine ecclesiastical year); the Apostle lectionaries (ℓ<sup>a</sup>) (the lessons from the Acts, the Catholic Epistles and the Pauline Epistles); lectionaries in which the Gospel and Apostle lessons were combined (ℓ<sup>+a</sup>); lectionaries with commentary (ℓK).<sup>126</sup>

Each category (Evangelion, Apostolos, Apostolo-evangelion) was again subdivided into various types of lectionary codices,<sup>127</sup> distinguished according to lessons for the Sundays (κυριακαί), for the Saturdays and Sundays (σαββατο-κυριακαί) and for the weekdays (καθημεριναί). The adopted sigla ℓ, ℓ<sup>a</sup>, ℓ<sup>+a</sup> signify either a) the whole Evangelion or Apostolos codex, or b) series of lessons incorporated in other codices (liturgical, patristic etc.). They are registered and characterised in the following manner:<sup>128</sup>

- (1) a first group of codices containing complete series of lessons, for every day of the whole year according to the movable [κινητός] and immovable [ἄκινητός] cycles of the Byzantine calendar (Pascha to Pascha and September to August), indica-

<sup>126</sup> K. ALAND (et al.), *Kurzgefasste Liste*, Berlin - New York, 1994<sup>2</sup>, p. xiv. Cf. K. and B. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament*, Leiden, 1987, p. 128. For an extensive scheme of the classified description of the NT manuscripts see also, K. ALAND, ‘Zur Liste der Neutestamentliche Handschriften. V.’, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 45.1-2 (1954), p. 181-182.

<sup>127</sup> C. R. GREGORY, in *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 339-340, gives a useful and elucidative scheme for a detailed description of lectionary manuscripts.

<sup>128</sup> The distinctions used by Aland were basically adopted from C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 335-339, in which the contents of the lectionary manuscripts are discussed and explained in their diverse fashions. Interesting is the historical excursion in which Gregory illustrates these different fashions: stage I only lessons for the Sundays (κυριακαί); stage II also lessons for the Saturday (σαββατο-κυριακαί); stage III lessons for all week-days (καθημεριναί).

- ted by the symbol  $\text{/e} = \acute{\epsilon}\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$  [ $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\delta$ ], that is, lessons for all days of all the weeks of the Byzantine liturgical calendar;
- (2) a second group of codices containing less complete series of NT lessons, every day for the period between Easter and Pentecost, but for the rest of the ecclesiastical year for Saturday-Sunday lessons only ( $\text{/esk} = \acute{\epsilon}\beta\delta + \sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\text{-}\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ );
  - (3) a third group of codices providing series of NT lessons, for the whole year only the Saturday-Sunday lessons ( $\text{/sk} = \sigma\alpha\beta\beta\alpha\tau\omicron\text{-}\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ );
  - (4) a fourth group of codices providing only series of lessons for the Sundays ( $\text{/k} = \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ );
  - (5) a fifth group of codices containing a compilation of selected NT lessons for particular days ( $\text{/sel}$ );
  - (6) a sixth group of codices containing NT lessons incorporated in liturgical manuscripts like the Triodion, Pentecostarion, Menaia and others ( $\text{/Lit}$ );
  - (7) finally, a last group of codices comprising unspecified series of NT lessons ( $\text{/unsp}$ ).

Not indicated in the *Kurzgefasste Liste* are other in our view essential components of the lectionaries, for example different sorts of tables of lessons at the beginning and/or the end of the codex:  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha$  and  $\mu\eta\nu\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\iota\alpha$ , or musical signs. Gregory did, in his *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1900-1909) include a scheme of lectionary contents,<sup>129</sup> but this did not find its way into Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste*, nor into Gregory's own *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* of 1908.

In Annex 1<sup>130</sup> we systematically present Gregory/Aland's subdivision of the whole group of lectionaries, in order to provide a quick overview of the complex variety of the different codex forms found among the body of Byzantine NT manuscripts. Moreover, the divers liturgical functions of the lectionaries are highlighted.

Commentary manuscripts (= K) were initially not registered as a separate group by Gregory (Leipzig, 1908), but were

<sup>129</sup> C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1900, Leipzig, 1900, p. 339-340.

<sup>130</sup> This annex and all further annexes can be found at the end of the article.

listed together with the text manuscripts. They were, however, thoroughly studied by von Soden and his collaborators in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1911), who classified them as a separate group<sup>131</sup> and later incorporated in Aland's *Kurzgefasste Liste* (Berlin - New York, 1994).<sup>132</sup> They were distinguished according to their contents, as respectively eK, apK etc. in parallel to the text manuscripts, but without separating or sub-dividing the group into '[text] commentaries' and 'catena commentaries', as did Rahlfs for the Greek OT codices, which we shall see later.

In Annex 2 we have brought together the NT commentary codices as subdivided by von Soden and adopted by Aland, to draw attention to the connection between the biblical text and the interpretative tradition of the fathers and to make this visible, since relatively little attention has been paid in textual and hermeneutic research to the commentary codices. One will observe that the commentary codices are set up analogously to the text commentary codices (e – eK, ap – apK, r – rK, eap – eapK, eapr – eaprK).

There are some aspects of presentation of the *Kurzgefasste Liste* which demand attention.

(1) If one peruses the lists of manuscripts, which have all been given a serial number, one notices that complete codices and incomplete codices are interspersed.

(a) Often Aland gives the total number of pages of a given codex, from its beginning to its end, but does not describe the

<sup>131</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 39: 'Die Kommentare bietenden Codd sind bisher promiscue mit den blossen Textcodices registriert worden. Dies ist falsch. Sie sind ihrem wesen nach Zeugen von Kommentarwerken und als solche zunächst zu untersuchen. Ihre erste Verwendung finden sie bei der diplomatischen Rekonstruktion des betreffenden Kommentars. Und erst der Text, der daraus als von dem Kommentator zu Grund gelegt sich ergibt, rückt als Zeuge für die Geschichte des Textes ein. Darum müssen sie auch getrennt gebucht werden oder wenigstens ihre eigene Signatur erhalten'.

<sup>132</sup> K. ALAND (et al.), 'Sigelkonkordanzen: II. von Soden: Gregory', in *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin - New York, 1994<sup>2</sup>, p. 401-405.



contents of the whole codex, concentrating only on the NT part and thus leaving the impression that the whole codex contains NT books.

*Example*: see Aland 33 [§ 48], a codex including eap, 143 f., but without mention of the OT Prophets on f. 1-50 (cf. von Soden).

(b) For the complete manuscripts, Aland often gives a number of folios which registers only the NT components and not the number of folios of the whole codex, with the consequence that it remains unknown which other books the codex contains.

*Example*: see serial number Aland № 01, 148 f. (Blattzahl) <Rahlfs S [259], 393 f. ('Im ganzen sind jetzt 393 Bl. (darunter 4 fragmentarisch) vorhanden', Verzeichnis, p. 227).

(c) For incomplete codices, Aland uses the sign † to indicate that small parts of a codex are missing. Many manuscripts with a serial number are single folia items, or have only a limited number of folia, or are mere fragments. Thus, of the total number of NT items (complete and incomplete) registered by Aland, it is impossible, for a large part, to determine what kind of codex forms these actually had, because they are fragments.

(2) Commentary manuscripts in catena form are not distinguished from the authentic patristic commentary manuscripts (as Rahlfs does).

(3) The main body of the *Liste* comprises the majuscules and minuscules, showing the preference in NT research for text codices; lectionaries are presented towards the end of the *Liste*. The papyri are placed at the beginning.

(4) Because this catalogue focuses on NT materials, complete Bibles (Πανδέκται)<sup>133</sup> are indexed arbitrarily, sometimes OT parts are registered, sometimes not.

<sup>133</sup> A Pandect is a manuscript copy of the whole Bible. Gr. πανδέκτης: 'all-receiver'. Lt. Pandecta. In Greek catalogues of manuscripts the expression is also used for other great compilations.

*Examples:*

- of the complete bibles (10 codices), comprising more or less all the books of the Greek OT and NT, the OT is mentioned only in three cases (Aland 205, 205abs, 218).<sup>134</sup> In the other cases the OT is not mentioned at all (Aland 8 01, A 02, B 03, C 04, 582, 664, of two codices [Rahlfs V II-I, 55] the NT part is lost).<sup>135</sup>

- of the 3 combined codices including the complete NT and the Psalterion (Ps./Od.) none of the included Ps. is mentioned (Aland 18, 242, 339<sup>136</sup>).

- of the 22 Apostolo-evangelion codices with Psalterion<sup>137</sup> (one of which is not registered<sup>138</sup>), the inclusion of the Psalterion is not taken into account, although the total number of folios is given in many of these cases, e.g. Aland 1521 [δ 477] (see example 3 in the last paragraph of this chapter).

- relevant information is further omitted in other groups, e.g. Aland 1718 [Athos, Vatopediou 851, 192 f.], comprising an Apostolos and Psalterion with Nine Odes, not only ap and 124 f.; or Aland 1 751 [Athos, Philotheou 49] an Apostolo-evangelion lectionary combined with a Prophetologion part, not only l+aesk, etc.

(5) There are no reports concerning the catalogues of the libraries and their holdings from which Aland drew his material (as Rahlfs and Ehrhard do). Aland provides a library index, but the catalogues consulted are not mentioned, thus check-

<sup>134</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, p. 341-342, gives both OT and NT parts in his descriptions, also in the case of lost components; in a corresponding sequence they are: 68, 122, 130.

<sup>135</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, p. 339-341, in a corresponding sequence they are: S, A, B, C, 106/107, 44.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, I: p. 113 [δ 411], p. 106-107 [δ 206], p. 108-109 [δ 303].

<sup>137</sup> Aland: 142, 491, 712, 1505, 2127, 2191, 57, 1448, 1358, 365, 823, 941, 1141, 1404, 393, 1382, 1240, 1521, 1609, 2225, 252 [cf. von Soden, in a corresponding sequence: δ151, δ152, δ160, δ165, δ202, δ250, δ255, δ256, δ262, δ367, δ368, δ369, δ370, δ384, δ393, δ1382, δ1240, δ1521, δ1609, δ2255 (Aland 252 not in von Soden)].

<sup>138</sup> Cf. A. TSAKOPOULOS, *Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη*, Istanbul, 1953, Παν. Καμάρ. 133 (130), p. 185 (title: *Ψαλτήριον και Καινή Διαθήκη*, 461 f.).

ing or looking for arguments and data behind the choices made by Aland is difficult.

(6) Lectionary equipment and liturgical ecphonic/musical signs in the text manuscripts are not registered.

*Examples:* Of the selected tetraevangelion codices (1,323), 843 include lectionary equipments (= Lect);<sup>139</sup> see the list of majuscule manuscripts with Lect (not registered) in Aland F 09, G 010, K 017, M 021, S 028, V 031, λ 039 + 566, Ω 045, 047 (cf. von Soden, in corresponding sequence: ε 86, 87, ε 71, ε 72, ε 89, ε 75, ε 77, ε 61, ε 95).

(7) The groupings of the NT manuscripts are useful for codicological divisions, except the 'a' category (= Acts and the Seven General Epistles), for which there is no basis in the manuscript tradition, since there is only one manuscript, which can be identified as such.<sup>140</sup>

What should also be mentioned is the disappearance of the original Greek names from the '*Bibliotheks-Verzeichnis*' of the second edition of Aland's *Liste*. Missing is also an index containing an overview of the different categories of manuscripts (e, ap, etc) discriminated in the *Liste*. Of great practical utility are the refined discriminations made for the lectionaries, as are the *Sigelkonkordanzen*. The library index provides insight into the locations in which the manuscripts can be found at present. Aland's *Liste* will be laid at the basis of our reclassification of the NT manuscripts, in particular Aland's groupings which are an important point of departure for a codicological approach.

<sup>139</sup> See specimen II, Tetraevangelion (e), p. 105-108.

<sup>140</sup> The one codex is: Athens, Εθν. Βιβλ. 105, X., [f. 1-8: XIV], 86 f. + f. 87-295: Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, τὰς Ζ' Καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰακώβου, Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, καὶ Ἰούδα + Ἰς' Ὁμιλίας τοῦ Χρυσόστομου εἰς τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων. But even this one can be considered as a commentary manuscript, since there is a close proximity of the text of Acts and the homiletic commentary of Chrysostom to Acts. Excluded according to our norm are 52 of the 53 ms. items (Aland). From the list of von Soden (the 'α-Codices, die nur AK enthalten' [or A, or K or fragments]) 24 of the 25 ms. are excluded.

*The paradigm of classifying Byzantine OT manuscripts* [Rahlfs/Fraenkel]

The basic catalogue of Greek OT codices is Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen* (Berlin, 1914). Despite its age, the *Verzeichnis* is still of high value, in structure and detail, but should be consulted together with the up-dated and revised edition by Fraenkel (*Septuaginta Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften*<sup>141</sup>), of which Part I was published in 2004 (Göttingen).<sup>142</sup> In the introductions to critical editions of the individual OT books published under the auspices of the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* (Rahlfs, Ziegler, Wevers, Hanhart), mention is also made of the used and consulted manuscripts.

Rahlfs' classification model sprung from text critical approaches, in the context of editions of the Greek OT Scriptures (on the basis of previous editions of among others Holmes/Parsons; de Lagarde; Brooke/McLean; Swete).<sup>143</sup> The *Verzeichnis* was created on the basis of:

- (1) manuscript catalogues of the different libraries;
- (2) concrete descriptions of the manuscripts as they were maintained in the library holdings, alphabetically arranged after their locations;<sup>144</sup>
- (3) a grouping/classification of the manuscripts on the basis of their contents.<sup>145</sup> These groups are given the following abbreviations: (1) Oct., (2) Reg., Par., Esdr, (3) Est., Idt., Tob., (4) Mac. I-IV, (5) Ps. Od, (6) Libri sa-

<sup>141</sup> [www.septuaginta-unternehmen.gwdg.de](http://www.septuaginta-unternehmen.gwdg.de)

<sup>142</sup> D. FRAENKEL, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, 1, (Septuaginta Supplement), Göttingen, 2004.

<sup>143</sup> K. H. JOBES and M. SILVA, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2001, p. 242-247.

<sup>144</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, 'Anordnung des Verzeichnisses', p. xiv-xv.

<sup>145</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xviii [Inhalt]: 'Bei der Angabe des Inhalts wurde auf möglichste Kürze und Übersichtlichkeit gesehen. Daher sind nicht alle Bücher einzeln aufgezählt, sondern die Gruppen, welche eine regelmäßig wiederkehrende Anordnung aufweisen, zusammengefaßt'. In the first place pragmatical not codicological considerations were the criteria for grouping.

pienciales incl. Ps. Sal., (7) XVI prophetae (the 'twelve' and the 'four' prophets).

OT lectionary manuscripts were registered separately.<sup>146</sup> The palaeographic condition of the manuscripts was, of course, taken into consideration, but not distinctions of script form, obviously not being opportune for the classification<sup>147</sup> (Rahlfs differs from Aland in this respect). Commentary manuscripts (subdivided into 'Catenen' and 'Commentare') were differentiated from pure text manuscripts ('Einfache Bibeltexte') and registered on an equal level. Only catena manuscripts were judged to be useful for text critical edition<sup>148</sup> and only the text and catena codices received serial numbers.

Annex 3 shows how Rahlfs subdivided the manuscripts over groups and the terminology he used to name the subdivisions. Besides the fixed main groupings (Psalterion, Octateuch etc.) one observes a diversity of concrete extant codex formations.

Rahlfs registered the codex contents that served his purpose, which was to research the textual base of individual OT works (Septuaginta Unternehmen): 'Der Inhalt der Hss. ist in der Regel nur soweit angegeben, als er für uns in Betracht kommt'<sup>149</sup> and: 'Andrerseits habe ich aber bei Hss. die mehrere biblische Bücher oder Buchgruppen oder außer den biblischen Büchern auch andere Werke enthalten, aus praktischen Gründen stets, soweit ich konnte, angegeben, auf welchen Seiten die einzelnen

<sup>146</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis der Lectionar-Handschriften', *Ibid.*, p. 440-443.

<sup>147</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xxiv: 'Es gibt in den Hss. selbst keine scharfe Scheidelinie zwischen Majuskel und Minuskel. Eine Reihe von Hss., besonders Catenen, enthalten beide Schriftarten nebeneinander'. And one can add, that the same is true in the lectionary manuscripts. Again Rahlfs: 'Auch hinsichtlich der Textform pflegt zwischen den jungen Majuskelhss. und den alten Minuskelhss. kein wesentlicher Unterschied zu bestehen. Daher habe ich die Majuskelhss. im großen und ganzen ebenso mit arabischen Ziffern bezeichnet wie die Minuskelhss'.

<sup>148</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xxvi: 'Mit Sigeln versehen sind die Hss. des einfachen Bibeltextes und der Catenen (vgl. §1), aber nicht die Hss. der Commentare, da diese nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Text, sondern nur als Zeugen für den Text der Commentare in Betracht kommen. Zwischen Cat. und Comm. ist allerdings die Grenze oft schwer zu ziehen (§1); vorläufig habe ich zweifelhafte Hss. meist zu den Catenen gerechnet'.

<sup>149</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

Stücke der Hs. Anfangen, und nötigenfalls auch, wo sie enden'.<sup>150</sup> A complete description of the contents of the integral codices was not deemed useful and although, in contrast to Aland, Rahlfs did register the total number of folios in the majority of cases, and did indicate which other books beside the OT were included in the codex, albeit unsystematically.

*Examples:*

- Athos, Iberon 382 (4502). 996 f. 13a Alttest. Geschichte von Adam bis zum Auftreten des Isaias, 45b Ruth, 47b-69b Reg. I-IV, 468b-526a Andreae comm. in Apoc.). [See Rahlfs' Verzeichnis, p. 13].

- sometimes Rahlfs indicates only what is included with "unter anderen", e.g. Athos, Dionysiou 65 [3599]: Ps. u.a. [In fact the codex has 26 items, of which item 1 is a Psalterion. The other items are of patr. & lit. nature. [See Lambros I (Cambridge, 1895-1900), p. 324].

- or he gives merely one "item number", e.g. Athos, Dionysiou 54 [3588]: 9) Mac. IV. [In fact the codex has 13 items, primarily hagiographical works. Item 13 is even a commentary to the Prophet Hoseia (OT). See Lambros I (Cambridge, 1895-1900), p. 323].

- or he mentions that NT materials were included, e.g. Athos, Vatopediou 610 [= Eustratiades/Arcadios 762], f. 18-88: Ps. Od., dann folgt das N.T. (ohne Apoc.).

- in the same manner, he refers to liturgical materials, e.g. Athos, Dionysiou 432 [3966], Liturgische Werke: 7) Lect. [In fact this codex has 10 items, liturgical texts, including the Octoechos, Triodion, Pentecostarion, Menologion. [See Lambros I (Cambridge, 1895-1900), p. 424].

- sometimes he passes over all references to other parts of the codex, e.g. Athos, Lavra 145 [B25]. XV. 328 f. 1-195 Euthymii Zigabeni comm. in Ps., [omitting the liturgical part of the codex, i.e. Horologion].

<sup>150</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xix.

Rahlfs' interest was primarily concentrated on the Old Testament text. The descriptions Rahlfs gave of the OT manuscripts are highly detailed, and moreover, he provided an overview of the manuscript contents in an index.<sup>151</sup> Rahlfs worked with a fixed number of basic groups (7), in order to bring some order into the variety of different types of form and content, and pragmatic as they are, not all groups are adequate from a codicological point of view, because the groupings are not all based on the actual, that is, complete state of affairs of the manuscripts themselves.

With regard to the classification of some groups the formation is immediately evident, as in the case of the Octateuch, the Psalterion, the Prophetologion. The sub-groups of the section of the historical books, however, [2] Reg., Par., Esdr., [3] Est., Idt. Tob., [4] Mac. I-IV, seem to be based on meagre codicological support; they are only substantiated by one or a few codices,<sup>152</sup> i.e. they lack a clearly defined, independent codex formation, or are incorporated in other codex formations. The proposed groups, however, can function as a starting point for more detailed codicological research, on the basis of 'contents data' delivered in Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis*.<sup>153</sup>

Here we would like to make a few remarks about the nature of the catalogue.

(1) A considerable number of libraries/holdings were not taken into consideration, or were insufficiently investigated by Rahlfs and his co-operators. The catalogues of manuscripts used were

<sup>151</sup> This index is practical for a global overview, but offers insufficient data for a codicological approach.

<sup>152</sup> Of group [3] Est., Idt., Tob., are presented as a separate category and 55 ms. items are recorded, but only one (538: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 1087, XIV, 178 f.), is probably an appropriate codex form of group [3], corresponding to the three books which should be contained in it. Cf. A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. 385-387. But even the contents of this codex is not completely described and contains other materials.

<sup>153</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. 373-443. For a quick overview see the 'Verzeichnis der Sigeln', for more specific information see the 'Übersicht über das handschriftliche Material für die einzelnen Teile des A.T.' and for extensive descriptions in the main part 'Die griechischen Handschriften des A.T., alphabetisch nach Orten und Bibliotheken geordnet'.

sometimes incomplete or deficient in many aspects (as Rahlfs frequently indicated). The reports concerning the consulted catalogues and other entries to the manuscripts at the head of each library/holding are useful and informative to check sources.

(2) Some departments of the *Verzeichnis* remain incomplete, since many data and sources are based on materials from before 1914, as for instance research of the *Prophetologia* codices and the *catena* and commentary manuscripts show.

(3) Save the *catena* manuscripts, Rahlfs excluded the commentary and/or homiletic manuscripts for principal and practical reasons, since homilies on OT books or themes were not considered as relevant for the primary study of the OT text.<sup>154</sup> For example, a manuscript such as Athos, Iberon, 73 (4193), a commentary to the Psalms of John Chrysostom,<sup>155</sup> does not feature in Rahlfs's catalogue. A sharp demarcation line between 'catena/commentary' and 'one-author/commentary' or between '(continuous) text/commentary' and 'homiletic/commentary.' is, however, in many cases difficult and unjustified, as Rahlfs observed.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>154</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xii: 'Neben den Sammelwerken, welche die Erklärungen verschiedener Kirchenväter miteinander verbinden [i.e. the *Catena* manuscripts], stehen die Commentare, welche die Auslegung eines einzelnen Autors enthalten. Obwohl auch sie Bibeltexte einschließen, wird man sie doch nicht, wie HoP in einigen Fällen getan haben, mit den einfachen Bibel-hss. und den Catenen auf gleiche Stufe stellen, da bei ihnen Text und Auslegung aufs engste zusammengehören, ja oft ineinander übergehen, und die Hss. hier nur als Zeugen für den Text der Commentare, nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Text gelten können. Eine vollständige Auf-führung aller Commentarhss., die sehr viel Raum in Anspruch genommen haben würde, schien mir nicht nötig (...)'. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi: 'Mit Sigeln versehen sind die Hss. des einfachen Bibeltextes und der Catenen (vgl. §1) aber nicht die Hss. der Commentare, da diese nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Text, sondern nur als Zeugen für den text der Commentare in Betracht kommen'.

<sup>155</sup> S. P. LAMBROS, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1895-1900, II, p. 7; cf. A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. 12 (codices of OT contents at Iberon monastery).

<sup>156</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xii: 'Die Grenze ist hier allerdings oft nicht scharf zu ziehen. Und ebenso ist der Unterschied zwischen Commentar und Catene bei den durchweg unselbständigen Machwerken der jüngeren Zeit oft ein fließender: die Commentare sind hier oft nur gekürzte Catenen, in welchen die Namen der excerpierten Kirchenväter fortgelassen und ihre ursprünglich lose nebeneinander gestellten Erklärungen zu einer fortlaufenden Auslegung zusammengeschweißt sind. Auch wird die Unterscheidung der



(4) Although Rahlfs acknowledged the liturgical factor of the OT manuscripts,<sup>157</sup> he did not register the liturgical manuscripts that include OT texts for practical reasons.<sup>158</sup>

(5) Only commentary manuscripts since 400 A.D. were registered. The biblical codices since the seventeenth century were completely omitted.<sup>159</sup>

Finally we will look at the manner in which Rahlfs gave serial numbers to the OT manuscripts that were adopted in his catalogue. Excluded from sigla were commentary (homiletical), lectionary and liturgical manuscripts.<sup>160</sup> Rahlfs 'Serial List' is still in use today, and is currently in a process of revision and up-dating, see Fraenkel, *Op. cit.*, I, (Göttingen, 2004). From this 'Serial List' one finds quick information as to whether a manuscript item is complete or incomplete, composite or singular, a whole codex or an isolated fragment.

In annex 4, we show how Rahlfs designed groups to number the manuscripts. These groups are different from those described in the previous paragraph, which Rahlfs developed for his index. Rahlfs thus left us two systems of grouping the OT manuscripts. The box below provides fast insight in the total number of manuscript items registered by Rahlfs in their groups.<sup>161</sup>

Commentare von den Catenen durch die Ungenauigkeit mancher Kataloge so erschwert, daß ich durchaus nicht sicher bin (...), hier immer das Richtige getroffen zu haben'. Cf. p. xxvi 'Zwischen Cat. und Comm. ist allerdings die Grenze oft schwer zu ziehen (§1); vorläufig habe ich zweifelhafte Hss. meist zu den Catenen gerechnet'.

<sup>157</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>158</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xxvi: 'Nicht mit Sigeln versehen sind auch die liturgischen Bücher, da ihre Erforschung kaum begonnen hat, und ich daher nicht aufs Geratewohl Sigeln einführen mochte, die sich später vielleicht als unpraktisch erweisen. Ich spare mir also ihre Bezeichnung für später auf' (...).

<sup>159</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

<sup>160</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, p. xxvi: 'Mit Sigeln versehen sind die Hss. des einfachen Bibeltextes und der Catenen (vgl. §1) aber nicht die Hss. der Commentare, da diese nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Text, sondern nur als Zeugen für den text der Commentare in Betracht komen'.

<sup>161</sup> A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, 'Verzeichnis der Sigeln', p. 335-372.

The *Verzeichnis* provides a valuable contribution for further codicological research and will be laid at the basis of our re-classification where the Greek OT manuscripts are concerned (see chapter 5).

*The paradigm of classifying the Byzantine homiletic manuscripts*  
[Ehrhard]

Rahlfs and von Soden (and Aland who adopted his results) were already engaged in the making of inventories and the evaluation of commentary manuscripts in the context of their edition projects (respectively the Septuaginta Unternehmen and INTF). However, research of the Greek OT and NT commentary codices was reduced to: a) catena manuscripts and b) individual commentary manuscripts. Rahlfs excluded the large and central group of homiletic biblical commentaries, as we saw above. Von Soden did not make a clear distinction between catena, individual commentary and homiletic commentary manuscripts. He did distinguish the Byzantine edition forms of the commentary manuscripts ('Editionen'). Aland, in his turn, took over von Soden's distinctions in his *Liste*, but at the same time placed all the commentary manuscripts in one list together with the text manuscripts (distinguishing them with K), making the commentaries less visible than they in fact were before. However, by placing the commentaries and the text manuscripts together in the same list, Aland displays the congruence of their edition forms, thus indicating that there may be a greater kinship between the text and commentary manuscripts that one may have thought.

Rahlfs, von Soden and Aland excluded from their investigations the liturgical and other patristic codices. This gap was partly filled by the enormous research programme of Ehrhard, who worked for 40 years in Western and Eastern libraries. His autopsies of the codices and other observations were of great importance for the methodology he developed concerning the identification and classification of manuscripts in the libraries, which he visited on location.<sup>162</sup> The presentation

<sup>162</sup> J. M. HOECK, "Der Nachlass Albert Ehrhards und seine Bedeutung für die Byzantinistik", in *Byzantion*, 21.1 (1951), p. 171-178.

of the Byzantine Greek homiletic codices by Ehrhard in his *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I-III (Leipzig - Berlin, 1937-1952 [repr. 1965]) is based on one important assumption: the intertwined incorporation of both hagiographic and homiletic compositions, a thesis which is made evident on the basis of a huge number of investigated manuscript materials (a total of 2750 manuscripts, p. xvii<sup>163</sup>). Ehrhard introduced the awareness that the hagiographic and homiletic manuscripts find their roots in the Byzantine liturgy.<sup>164</sup> At times Ehrhard refers to the so-called lectionaries (e.g. 'Evangelien und der Praxapostolos'), indicating the liturgical function of these biblical books, but he does not highlight the concrete reading cycles in which these books were used<sup>165</sup> (see paragraph 3.4 of my thesis, where these reading cycles are presented). Indeed, he also identifies hagiographic and homiletic materials as being liturgical, but Ehrhard does not connect these materials to the biblical readings to which they correspond, neither does he treat these biblical books. What Ehrhard does provide is a transparent exposition of the Byzantine liturgical calendar and its underlying systems ('Einleitung: Das griechische Kirchenjahr und der byzantinische Festkalender', in *Überlieferung und Bestand*, Leipzig - Berlin, 1937-1952, p. 25-35), with a discussion of the relevant liturgical books (Triodion, Pentekostarion,

<sup>163</sup> J. M. HOECK, *Ibid.*, p. 176, speaks of ca. 3000 manuscripts; not all these manuscripts, however, are adopted (or mentioned) in Ehrhard's work.

<sup>164</sup> A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, Leipzig - Berlin, 1937-1952, I, Vorwort, p. vii-viii. See for a lucid review of the Byzantine Typikon, A. Ehrhard, *Ibid.*, I, Hilfsmittel, p. 35-51.

<sup>165</sup> A. EHRHARD, *Ibid.*, I, p. 23-24, '(...) die hagiographische und die homiletische Literatur der griechischen Kirche in eine innige Verbindung gebracht worden war. Der Grund dafür springt in die Augen, sobald man sich des Charakters dieser Sammlungen als liturgischer Bücher bewußt wird, die für den Gebrauch im Gottesdienst bestimmt waren, gleichwie die sog. Evangelien und der Praxapostolos. Es entsprach einem praktischen Bedürfnis, nicht nur Sammlungen zu besitzen, die entweder nach der Heiligenfestordnung oder nach dem beweglichen Kirchenjahr geordnet waren, sondern auch solche, in denen Lesungen für den Morgengottesdienst bereitgestellt waren, sowohl für die auf bestimmte Tage fallenden Herrn- und Heiligenfeste als für die Sonn- und festtage des beweglichen Kirchenjahres'.

Typikon, Menaia, Synaxarion) which regulate the calendar<sup>166</sup> or organise the complicated celebrations and services. This is further explored in chapter 2 of my thesis.

Ehrhard designated the following “codicological” categories: (1) collective collections (‘Jahressammlungen’), with the distinctions – annual, semi-annual, or monthly – compiled by known or anonymous editors; and (2) collections of individual patristic preachers (‘Spezialpanegyriken und homiliarien’), panegyrics/homilies of individual authors.<sup>167</sup>

Ehrhard applied codico-liturgical (calendaric) criteria for the differentiation and classification of the manuscripts. He identified three main groups of manuscripts: the hagiographic, the homiletic and the mixed group, comprising both hagiographical and homiletic writings. Distinctions were made between manuscripts which were employed in the organisation of the Byzantine liturgical calendar, and those of a more private character, auxiliaries to the liturgical programme (for individual use by the monks).

Ehrhard divided the available material into chronologically defined groups, configured around the dominant Metaphrastic edition: (1) compilations comprising the period up to Symeon Metaphrast or Pre-Metaphrastic (s. iv-x); (2) Menologion compilations of the Metaphrast (s. x); (3) compilations comprising the period after the Metaphrast or Post-Metaphrastic (s. xi-xvi). An important and large group of independent codices (‘Vom Metaphrast Unabhängigen späten Menologien und Panegyriken’) was presented separately.

<sup>166</sup> A. EHRHARD, *Ibid.*, I, Hilfsmittel, p. 35-53.

<sup>167</sup> For the period fourth-tenth century: Gregory of Nazianz, Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, Theodor of Studion, Photios of Constantinople, Emperor Leo VI the Wise, Niketas the paphlagonier, Ephrem the Syrian; for the period eleventh-sixteenth century: John Xiphilinos, Patriarchs of Constantinople – John IX Agapetos [of Chalcedon], Germanos II, John XIII Glykys, John XIV Kalekas, Philotheos; (Italo-Greek; Neophytos Enkleistos, Antonios of Larissa, Markarios of Chrysokephalos, Gregorios Palamas, Patriarch Neilos of Constantinople, Isidoros of Thessaloniki, Archbishop Gabriel of Thessaloniki, Unknown Bishop of Berrhoia).

For the first time, beside the activities of the Bollandists,<sup>168</sup> a philologically trained scholar was seriously engaged in the study and classification of a huge collection of homiletic manuscripts. Ehrhard provided points of entry to this important group of Byzantine commentary manuscripts. What Ehrhard disregarded were all ‘un-orderly’ codices, those without position in the calendar scheme. The decision to exclude these was, probably, justifiable from a calendaric (and systematic) point of view, but not from a codicological point of view. Great compilations [Πανδέκται<sup>169</sup>] and disorderly compositions [Σύμμικτα<sup>170</sup>] are characteristic of Byzantine codex formation and contain many homiletic works. Ehrhard did not always describe or mention their complete contents, only those parts that took his interest.

A complex aspect in the work of Ehrhard is the tendency towards over-systematisation. Through extensive differentiation, one gains the impression that the manuscripts were the result of conscious scientific elaboration and scribal strategies. Finally, some criticism is necessary where terminology is concerned. Too much systematisation leads a scholar to apply sharp denotations and terminological refinements to the discriminated material, where these do not exist. Thus, a sharp distinction between “Panegyrica” and “Homiliaria” for example, as introduced by Ehrhard, is unnecessary to our mind. In the Byzantine codices themselves such sharp distinctions do not exist (panegyrica and homilies, logoi, katecheseis, hermeneiai etc.). The books in their different codex formations are used beside one another and supplement each other. The same is true for the sharply coined distinction between Synaxaria and Menologia, introduced by Delehaye and adopted by Ehrhard.

Ehrhard’s monumental work has an extremely complicated structure, which does not make it highly accessible. In Annex 5 we provide an overview of its structure, to aid transpar-

<sup>168</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, published by the Bollandist Fathers, 67 vols., Brussels, Venice-Paris, 1643-1940.

<sup>169</sup> I. SAKKELION and A. I. SAKKELION, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1892: Codd. 650. 652. 656-657.

<sup>170</sup> I. SAKKELION, *Ibid.*: Codd. 1062. 1098.

ency. With an eye to the importance of Ehrhard's catalogue, the work was updated and verified by L. PERRIA, *I Manoscritti Citati da Albert Ehrhard, Indice di A. Ehrhard, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, I-III, Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952* (Roma 1979).

*The paradigm of classifying the Byzantine catena manuscripts*  
[Karo/Lietzmann]

Beside the large group of homiletic commentary manuscripts classified by Ehrhard, we have the large group of catena codices, known as Σειράι (chains), classified by Karo/Lietzmann in a concise and important catalogue (G. Karo und H. Lietzmann, *Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus*, in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol. hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1902), p. 1-66 [Pars I]; p. 299-350 [Pars II]; p. 559-620 [Pars III]). This catalogue was updated in part in the course of the twentieth century and several catena editions of the manuscripts were published. Rahlfs adopted the results of Karo/Lietzmann's catena research in his *Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1914). The Karo/Lietzmann catena catalogue (for an overview, see Annex 6), is characterised by far-reaching categorical differentiations and sub-divisions. M. Geerard and J. Noret (Eds.) did adopt the basic Karo/Lietzmann classification system in their *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout, 1974-1998), IV, 'Catenae', p. 185-259 [Index Alphabeticus, 273] and updated and extended it up until 1980. Karo/Lietzmann's catalogue brings together the various groups of catena manuscripts, c. 450 codices were identified and classified (see Index Codicum<sup>171</sup>) under the main headings of OT [I-II] and NT [III].<sup>172</sup> The catalogue is concentrated on the catena manuscripts in Western libraries and holdings; the consultancy of the Eastern libraries is especially minimal.

<sup>171</sup> G. KARO und H. LIETZMANN, *Catenarum Graecorum Catalogus*, in *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol. hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1902), Pars Tertia, p. 615-618.

<sup>172</sup> Additional materials were provided by M. FAULHABER, 'Die Katenenhandschriften der spanischen Bibliotheken', in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 1 (1903), p. 151-159, 246-255, 351-371, added 39 manuscripts from Spanish libraries.

Some remarks on the assessment of this catalogue will suffice: (1) beside the usefulness of the inventarisation and its categorisation of the extant catena codices (one may note that especially the manuscripts of Eastern libraries are incomplete and under-represented), certain groups of catena are omitted, i.e. catena to the Nine Odes, to the Salomonica [Song of Songs, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes], to the Tetraevangelion, the Praxapostolos and other combinations, to the Apocalypse, the anonymous catena, catena with introductory biblical matters;<sup>173</sup> (2) the catena manuscripts were sharply hived off from the whole group of commentary manuscripts.<sup>174</sup> This sharp distinction is not common in Byzantine Greek tradition, which one can observe in the Greek manuscript catalogues (Sakkelion, Lambros etc.), in which the *Σειραί* are often brought under the common headings of *Ἑρμηνεῖαι*, *Ἐξηγήσεις* or *Σχόλια*; (3) the sub-divisions set up within the categories are highly differentiated and split into minor groups and sub-groups, sometimes in extreme (for instance, in the case of the catena of the Psalms: items I-XXVII). Such schematic categorisations, how praiseworthy they are in themselves, may be useful for textual research, and in general, the classification do not correspond to the codicological structure of the catena manuscripts. It would be interesting to research whether the edition forms as found in the text and individual commentary manuscripts, are also to be found in the catena manuscripts.

### *Existing Greek and Russian catalogues*

It has become evident that, in order to obtain a more adequate picture of the complete contents of the extant codices,

<sup>173</sup> M. FAULHABER, "Katenen und Katenenforschung", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1909), p. 383-395.

<sup>174</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, 'Einleitung', p. xxvi, 'Mit Sigeln versehen sind die Hss. des einfachen Bibeltextes und der Catenen (vgl. §1), aber nicht die Hss. der Commentare, da diese nicht als direkte Zeugen für den LXX-Text, sondern nur als Zeugen für den Text der Commentare in Betracht kommen. Zwischen Cat. und Comm. ist allerdings die Grenze oft schwer zu ziehen (§1); vorläufig habe ich zweifelhafte Hss. meist zu den Catenen gerechnet'.

it is desirable to revisit the manuscripts catalogues of the libraries on location, since none of the specialised catalogues discussed above will provide such completeness of information. In chapter 4 we list the updated bibliographical information of the Greek and Russian catalogues that are regarded as important sources for the study of the Eastern Orthodox approach to the Byzantine manuscripts. They display at a glance the cohesion between biblical, patristic and liturgical manuscripts; not only through the manner in which they are presented on location, but also through the manner in which the contents are described. Many references can be found concerning the *provenance* and *calligraphic milieu* of the manuscripts. Important are also the used *termini technici*. Although the older catalogues display manifold imperfections<sup>175</sup> when compared to modern catalogisation,<sup>176</sup> these catalogues of Byzantine manuscripts are highly interesting for new codicological research for the descriptions and terminology connected to this that stems from a longstanding tradition.

#### D. Examples of Codicological Research of the Byzantine Manuscripts

The overview of the data included in the catalogues discussed above and an analysis of their construction results in two conclusions, which contain, at the same time, pointers in the direction of future catalogue and manuscript research. The first conclusion concerns the codicological factor, the second the liturgical. Both are intrinsically related.

To begin with, the very process of cataloguing and classification as developed by Aland, Rahlfs etc and the attention for exact and extensive descriptions (the external and internal sta-

<sup>175</sup> Rahlfs, Ehrhard, Gregory and von Soden and others frequently refer to the imperfections of the catalogues of manuscripts on which their research was based. Rahlfs, for instance, remarks in his 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, p. xii: 'Auch wird die Unterscheidung der Commentare von den Catenen durch die Ungenauigkeit mancher Kataloge so erschwert, daß ich durchaus nicht sicher bin, hier immer das Richtige getroffen zu haben'.

<sup>176</sup> The criteria as applied in modern catalogues are exposed, in O. MAZAL, *The Keeper of Manuscripts*, Turnhout, 1992.



tus quo) of whole or parts of any given codex is exemplary of the interest in the codices, in their content and form. But, since this attention was born from specialised needs, serving the purpose of particular research aims, different in the case of each catalogue, those catalogues we have at our disposal today still do not give us a complete picture of the actual, full contents of the manuscripts and their forms.

Secondly, although the liturgical nature of many codices was acknowledged by several catalogue compilers (Scrivener, Gregory, Metzger, Rahlfs, Engberg), it did not receive the attention it deserves, as the main focus in compiling the catalogues was determined by textual research aims and the use of the manuscripts in the constitution of new printed editions. If we acknowledge, however, that certain codex forms, think only of the Evangelion, were modelled according to their liturgical function, and that the services of the church demanded the need for a whole plethora of codex forms, we can ascertain that the liturgical factor is of utmost importance in assessing the why's and wherefore's of the forms of the extant codices.

There are some more recent studies that pay due attention to both the codicological as well as the liturgical factor. These include studies of the individual Byzantine codex forms: an Evangelion codex, Octateuch codices,<sup>177</sup> a Psalterion codex,<sup>178</sup> a (composite) codex of the Psalterion + Apostolo-evangelion, Prophetologion codices, Prophets codices,<sup>179</sup> Prophets Commentary codices and the (composite) codices of the whole Greek Bible. These studies, conducted either from an artistic, philological, iconographical or hymnographical perspective, touch indeed upon the liturgical aspects of the codices, but for the time being they remain isolated examples, led by speci-

<sup>177</sup> K. WEITZMANN and M. BERNABÒ, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, Princeton, 1999; J. LOWDEN, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1992.

<sup>178</sup> A. CUTLER, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*, Paris, 1981.

<sup>179</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park and London, 1988; H. BELTING and G. CAVALLO, *Die Bibel des Niketas, Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild*, Wiesbaden, 1979.

alised research aims. Below we will elaborate some of these studies.

The first four examples we provide concern Byzantine lectionary codices. The next examples are dedicated to the so-called Byzantine text/catena manuscripts. The last example is the study of the Pandect OT/NT codices, which shows other facets of interest from the point of view of codicology.

### *A Byzantine Evangelion codex*

G. Vikan has described the Evangelion codex now maintained in Baltimore/Maryland, Walters Art Gal., Ms. W. 535 (Aland /1029)<sup>180</sup> in some detail. His main interest lay in the manuscript's iconography. It is a large deluxe Greek manuscript (about 40 × 27 cm.), dated 1594 A.D., comprising in total 420 folios and includes numerous iconographic paintings (some elaborate portraits and fifty-seven framed marginal miniatures). The manuscript belonged to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem until c. 1918 and was finally acquired by H. Walters in the 1920s in Paris. It was copied and illuminated in Wallachia (Romania), illustrated in Moscow in c. 1596 and was sent as a gift to a church or monastery in Palestine. It was described by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1897 as codex 4 (title: Λειτουργικὸν εὐαγγέλιον) in his 'Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts maintained in the Skeuophylakion of the Church of the Anastasia', which can be found in T. III of his *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* (5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1915 [Repr., Bruxelles, 1963]), p. 199-200. The liturgical nature of the manuscript and its particular function as reading book of the Byzantine liturgy is singled out by Vikan ('such service books continued to play a central role in the liturgy of the Orthodox – as the embodiment of Christ's divine wisdom in the "Little Entrance", and as an ever-present, often luxuriously bound altar implement –').<sup>181</sup>

<sup>180</sup> G. VIKAN, 'Walters Lectionary W.535 (A.D. 1594) and the Revival of Deluxe Greek Manuscript Production after the Fall of Constantinople', in *The Byzantine Tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, ed. J. J. YIANNIAS, Charlottesville / London, 1991, p. 181-222, with Plates 268-268 [Fig. 3.1-3.61].

<sup>181</sup> G. VIKAN, *Ibid.*, p. 181-182.

The codex contains a full Evangelion lectionary (ℓe), with complete lessons for all days of the Byzantine ecclesiastical movable year, from Easter to Easter (f. 9<sup>r</sup>-379<sup>r</sup>), arranged in the order of lessons according to the Gospels of John, Matthew, Luke and Mark), and with a full series of lessons for the fixed part of the Byzantine calendar (f. 380<sup>v</sup>-421<sup>v</sup>). The relevance of Vikan's particular study is the attention given to: (a) the codex in its integral state (contents as well as form); (b) the provenance and the scribe ('The Scribe')<sup>182</sup> of the codex; (c) the broader codicological framework (comparison with other, similar and comparable Gospel lectionaries, such as Dionysiou 587, Morgan Library M 639, San Giorgio dei Greci 2, Vatican Library, Gr. 1156 and Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Anastaseos 5);<sup>183</sup> and (d) the liturgical function of the manuscript and organisation of the lesson cycles, in combination with the many detailed iconographic paintings (p. 207-209) compared with a similar Gospel lectionary of the same Jerusalem Patriarchal Library, Anastaseos 5 (p. 213-215).

#### *A Byzantine Psalterion codex*

L. Nees' article, 'An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University' (1975),<sup>184</sup> concerns one particular Byzantine Psalter codex (including the Nine Odes appended to the 150 [+1] psalms), which stemmed from Constantinople and was purchased by E. Everett in 1819, who brought it to Harvard, Houghton Library (Ms. gr. 3). This interest in an individual manuscript, with attention for all contents and its specific scribal and codicological features is characteristic for the approach. The Harvard Psalter, dated 1105 A.D., is written on parchment in minuscule script and in single columns (21 or 22 lines on a page), comprises 289 folios measuring 22.5 × 17.8 cm, and contains three full-page miniatures and three ornamental headpieces, two of which have figures. It is

<sup>182</sup> G. VIKAN, *Ibid.*, p. 186-190: the scribe is Luke the Cypriot. Cf. n. 13 on p. 211 with a list of 'Luke's Manuscripts' (22).

<sup>183</sup> G. VIKAN, *Ibid.*, p. 190-194.

<sup>184</sup> L. NEES, 'An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 29 (1975), p. 207-224. Pl. 1-56.

interesting that Nees was fully aware of the liturgical impact of the manuscript ('like the lectionary, the Psalter is a liturgical manuscript')<sup>185</sup> and that the contents of the Psalterion are not only linked to the Byzantine liturgy, but are completely imbued in it. In other words, the Psalterion plus Odes is primarily a lectionary manuscript and not a text manuscript.<sup>186</sup> Nees provided the following short description of the manuscript's contents.

*Contents:*

f. 1-7v	Psellus' introduction to the Psalms
f. 8v	full-page miniature of the Deesis
f. 9r	ornamental headpiece to Psalm 1
f. 9r-112v	Psalms 1-76
f. 113r	headpiece to Psalm 77
f. 113r-215r	Psalms 77-151
f. 215v	full-page miniature of David and Goliath
f. 216v	full-page miniature of the Crossing of the Red Sea
f. 217r	headpiece to the first Ode of Moses
f. 217r-232v	Odes
f. 232v	verses of an unidentified monk Gregory on the Last Judgement
f. 233r-261v	various prayers
f. 262r-279v	Synaxarion
f. 279v-281v	Troparion
f. 282r-289v	Easter tables

The integration of the Psalterion in the whole Byzantine liturgical repertoire explains why other patristic and liturgical textual elements are included in the codex, for instance, Psellus' introduction to the Psalms at the head of the codex. Moreover, Nees indicates existing relationships with other Psalterion codices and the codex forms of Evangelia and Praxapostoloi etc., with regard to the iconography in the manuscript.

<sup>185</sup> L. NEES, *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>186</sup> The differences in approach were already manifested in the editions of E. T. DE WALD, *Psalms and Odes*, 1. *Vaticanus graecus* 1927; 2. *Vaticanus graecus* 752, The Hague, 1941-1942 and A. RAHLFS, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Göttingen, 1931 [repr. 1967 and 1979].

*A Byzantine Psalterion & Apostolo-evangelion codex*

Another Byzantine codex form is the Psalterion & Apostolo-evangelion, which received the attention of S. Der Nersessian, 'A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks' (1965).<sup>187</sup> It concerns Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Ms. 3 [Aland 1521], a manuscript which was acquired in 1962 and formerly belonged to the Athos Pantokrator Monastery. It was previously described by S. P. Lambros in his *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I, Pantokratoros, 49<sup>188</sup> [von Soden δ 477, Rahlfs 1031], XIV, as comprising 369 folios, but this figure should be rectified to 364 f. Another rectification is its age: 1084 A.D. Der Nersessian's *Description of the Manuscript and Contents of the Manuscript and Description of the Miniatures* is very precise, and provides excellent insight in the present state and contents of the codex [Psalms 1-151, Nine Odes, the four Gospels, Acts, Epistles of the Apostles and Pauline Epistles].<sup>189</sup> The title of the article "A Psalter and New Testament" is apparently used in a broad sense, since the mentioned NT part of the codex is, in fact, only the Apostolo-evangelion. The Nine Odes are placed between the Psalterion and the NT part of the codex. It is interesting that this manuscript combines different OT and NT contents, transcending the current boundaries between the two. As already stated, in biblical scholarship, this type of codex (and many other combined codex forms) were catalogued, but passed over as not being very relevant, save their iconography.<sup>190</sup> The contribution of Der Nersessian is therefore extremely welcome. Moreover, the combination of Psalter annex Apostolo-evangelion, as well as the other in-

<sup>187</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, 'A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks', in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 19 (1965), p. 153-183.

<sup>188</sup> S. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1895, I, 98: Παντοκρ., 49, [items 1-13].

<sup>189</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Ibid.*, p. 156-164.

<sup>190</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Ibid.*, p. 156, remarks that even in manuscript iconography 'the miniatures have not been considered in their entirety and, strangely enough, those which accompany the New Testament have hardly ever been recorded'.

cluded contents (e.g. ‘Tables of Gospel and Epistle lessons for the various liturgical cycles’) clearly identifies the codex as a liturgical manuscript.

*Byzantine Prophetologion codices*

The most neglected, although characteristic OT codex form of the Byzantine liturgy is the Prophetologion. From a hymnographical point of view, attention was paid to the Byzantine Prophetologia in the context of the Copenhagen edition programme *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. Although the musical factor expressed in the notation systems of Byzantine music manuscripts (ecphonetic notation) was the main research aim of the editors, they spent a lot of energy in collecting, collating and studying the liturgical background of the available materials. The programme was executed by a team of scholars of different generations, C. Høeg, G. Zuntz, G. Engberg (eds.), *Prophetologium. I Pars prima: Lectiones anni mobilis continens* (Fasc. I-VI) (Copenhagen, 1939-1970); *Prophetologium. Pars altera: Lectiones anni immobilis* (Fasc. I-II), (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Lectionaria*, I), Copenhagen, 1980-1981 [Indices].<sup>191</sup> The last editor, S. Engberg, who worked on the lessons of the fixed feasts of the Byzantine liturgical calendar in the Prophetologion codices (C. Høeg and G. Zuntz were engaged with the movable part of the Byzantine ecclesiastical year), wrote some interesting articles in which the liturgical aim and embedding of this type of Byzantine codex form was emphatically brought to the attention of the academic world (resp. in 2005, 2003, 1987).<sup>192</sup> The edition was based initially

<sup>191</sup> A. A. ALEXEEV, ‘The Old Testament Lections in Orthodox Worship’, in *Das Alte Testament als christliche Bibel in orthodoxer und westlicher Sicht: Zweite europäische orthodox-westliche Exegetenkonferenz, im Rila Kloster vom 8-15 September 2001*, ed. I. Dimitrov (et al.), Tübingen, 2004, p. 91-117, esp. p. 92-94.

<sup>192</sup> S. G. ENGBERG, ‘Les lectionnaires grecs’, in *Les manuscrits liturgiques, cycle thématique 2003-2004 de l’IRHT* (Paris, 2005), p. 1-20; ID., ‘Prophetologion Manuscripts in the “New Finds” of St. Catherine’s at Sinai’, in *Scriptorium*, 57.1 (2003), 94-109; ID., ‘The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book’, in *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen Âge grec et latin*, 54 (1987), p. 39-48; and Engberg’s forthcoming publication *Profetie-anagnosmata-prophetologion*.

on a small group of codices, but with Engberg the group was extended to 71 Prophetologion manuscripts of the ninth-fourteenth centuries.<sup>193</sup>

The full contents of both cycles of lessons are provided in an overview in the indices of the edition, the lessons of the movable part in *Prophetologium*, I, . Ed. C. Høeg and G. Zuntz (Copenhagen, 1970), Fasc. 6, 'Index Lectionum' [L 1-L 47], p. 600-604 and 'Index Locorum', p. 605-609; completed with the lessons of the fixed part of the Byzantine Calendar in *Prophetologium*, I, Pars Altera (Copenhagen, 1980-1981), 'Index lectionum' [L 48- L 76], p. 163-165 and 'Index Locorum Veteris Testamenti', p. 166-170 and 'Index Locorum Novi Testamenti', p. 171-173 and also an 'Index Psalmorum', p. 174-183. These give insight in the biblical substrata of the Byzantine Prophetologion and the sequences and extension of OT lessons in the context of the Byzantine liturgical order.

### *Byzantine Octateuch-Catena codices*

Of the OT text manuscripts one codex form, comprising the first eight books of the Greek Bible (the Octateuch), had already been discussed in its "Octateuch form" in the context of art historical scholarship, early in the twentieth century by T. Uspensky in 1907<sup>194</sup> and D. C. Hesselning in 1909.<sup>195</sup> The Octateuch was studied again and more intensively by J. Lowden, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* in 1992,<sup>196</sup> and more recently in 1999 in the monumental joint publication of K. Weitzmann and M. Bernabò, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*.<sup>197</sup> The Byzantine Octateuchs survived in their com-

<sup>193</sup> S. G. ENGBERG, 'Conspectus Codicum', in *Prophetologium. Pars altera: Lectiones anni immobilis* (Fasc. I-II), Copenhagen, 1980-1981, Fasc. II, p. 307-308 [71 ms. items].

<sup>194</sup> T. USPENSKIJ, *L'Octateuch de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907. [Title also in Russ.: 255 p. + 6 pl. and un Album avec 47 pl. in folio].

<sup>195</sup> D.-C. HESSELING, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque Grec de Smyrne manuscrit de l'école évangélique de Smyrne, édition phototypique*, Leiden, 1909.

<sup>196</sup> J. LOWDEN, *The Octateuchs. A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1992.

<sup>197</sup> K. WEITZMANN and M. BERNABÒ, *The Byzantine Octateuchs*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1999.

plete codicological form since the tenth century. Lowden describes and discusses: Vaticanus Graecus 747 (s. xi), 260 f. [Rahlfs, p. 255, Cat. Oct.]; Smyrna, Evangelical School A.1 (s. xii, lost), 262 f. [Rahlfs, p. 293-294, Cat. Oct.]; Istanbul, Torkapi Sarayi Müzesi, Gr.8 (s. xii), 568 f. [cf. Rahlfs, p. 90, Cat. in Oct.]; Vaticanus Graecus 746 (s. xii), 508 f. [Rahlfs, p. 254-255, Cat. Oct.]; Mount Athos, Vatopedi 602 (s. xiii) [Rahlfs, p. 8-9, Lev. – Ruth, Scholia; cf. Spyridon/Eustratiades]. He provided an exact description of each of these codices, all of which are catena Octateuchs. We present here the first of the group, the Codex Vaticanus Graecus 747, to give an indication of the content of the codex form discussed (Lowden, Appendixes, p. 125).

*Contents:*

1r-11v	Letter of Aristeeas
12r	Theodoret to Hypatius
12v	blank
13r-71v	Genesis
72r-122v	Exodus
123r-146v	Leviticus
147	blank
148r-151v	Deuteronomy 4, 41-9, 2
152r-186v	Numbers 3, 13-34, 29
187r-215r	Deuteronomy (lacking Dt. 1, 1-3, 4, 41-12, 3)
215v-236v	Joshua
237r-255v	Judges
256r-259r	Ruth
259r-260v	On the Seven Translations
260r	On the Dispersals of the Israelites
260r-260v	On the Obscurity of Holy Scripture
260v	On the Ten Names of God

It was not the Pentateuch form (there are only two Pentateuch codices known),<sup>198</sup> which served as the basic Byzantine OT unit, but the Octateuch (in text, commentary and catena codex forms).

<sup>198</sup> See A. RAHLFS', 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914: Patmos, John the Theol. 411 and Rome, Bibl. Vat. Pii II. Gr. 20; note also two Pentateuchs with catena: Athos, Lavra, 189 and Patmos, John the Theol., 216.



Lowden and other investigators of the Octateuch indicate that pure forms existed. But, an investigation of the manuscript materials (see Rahlfs, 'Verzeichnis', p. 374-382: 'Octateuchus', [sub-divided in: a) Einfache Bibeltexte, b) Catenen, c) Commentare]) reveals that many "free combinations" were also produced, within the group and in combination with other OT (and NT) groups of books.

*Byzantine Prophets-Catena codices*

Clearly distinguished from the Prophetologion codices, which are lectionaries, are the Prophet codices in their basically threefold formation – text/catena/commentary. The dividing lines between the types of Byzantine manuscripts often seem to be less sharp than commonly supposed. This can be seen in the group of Prophet-catena codices (the XII minor and IV major Prophets). J. Lowden underlined that this particular codex form, of which several designations were in use, was not intended to be the "only" edition form.<sup>199</sup> He discussed the codices first individually: Vaticanus Chisianus R. VIII. 54; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Cod. B. I.2 and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 5.9; Vaticanus Graecus 755; Oxford, Bodleian, Laudianus Graecus 30A; Oxford, New College 44; Vaticanus Graecus 1153 + 1154.<sup>200</sup> In fact, within the group of Prophet codices, a whole range of varieties of codices were produced; some combining for example Prophets and other OT books; others containing only the Minor Prophets. Lowden's studies of the Prophet codices provided not only factual descriptions and analyses of the discussed manuscripts, but also new observations concerning the more "well-known" codices.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>199</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park and London, 1988, p. 6-7.

<sup>200</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Ibid.*, University Park and London, 1988, 'Analysis of the Prophet Books', p. 9-38, and Appendices: Catalogue of manuscripts, p. 109-119.

<sup>201</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Ibid.*, University Park and London, 1988, p. 2.

*The Pandect codex form of the Ancient Greek Bibles*

T. S. Pattie's article 'The Creation of the Great Codices',<sup>202</sup> discussing afresh the three famous codices of the fourth and fifth centuries; the first kept in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Vat. Gr. 1209 [IV], 1536 f. and the other two in London, British Library: Cod. Alexandrinus, BL, Royal MSS, I D v-viii [V], 279 + 238 + 118 + 144 f.; and Cod. Sinaiticus, Add. Ms 43725 [St. Petersburg, Imperial Public Library, Cod. Gr. 259], [IV], 393 f.<sup>203</sup> These ancient codices (B, A, and  $\aleph$ )<sup>204</sup> are considered from a technical/historical (codicological) point of view, in contrast to the longstanding discussion on the textual value of these codices. A codicological approach demands, as Pattie presupposes,<sup>205</sup> a precise de-

<sup>202</sup> T. S. PATTIE, 'The Creation of the Great Codices', in *The Bible as Book: the Manuscript Tradition*, London - Newcastle, 1998, p. 61-72.

<sup>203</sup> See for details respectively: A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berkin, 1914, p. 258-260 (B), p. 114-116 (A), p. 226-229(a); up-dated by D. FRAENKEL, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, 1, (Septuaginta Supplement), Göttingen, 2004.

<sup>204</sup> See paragraph 4.4: Tabular Specimens from the Catalogue: Group III, specimen VII, OT and NT Byzantine Greek codices.

<sup>205</sup> Editions: Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209: G. COZZA-LUZI (ed.), *Vetus Testamentum iuxta LXX interpretum versionem e codice omnium antiquissimo Graeco Vaticano 1209 phototypice repraesentatum*, Rome, 1890; Id. (ed.), *Novum Testamentum e codice Vaticano 1209 nativi textus graeci primo omnium*, Rome, 1889; C. VERCELLONE et G. COZZA-LUZI (eds.), *Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecus: codex Vaticanus, auspice Pio IX. Pontifice Maximo collatis studiis etc.*, 6 tom., Rome, 1868-1881: I: Pentateuchum et Librum Iosue (1869); II: Libros Iudicum, Ruth, Regnorum (1870); III: Paralipomenon et Esdrae (1871); IV: Libros Psalmorum, Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastes, Cantici, Iob, Sapientiae Salomonis et Sirachi; V: Novum Testamentum (1868); VI: Prologomena, Commentarii et tabulae (1881)]; Codex Alexandrinus BL, Royal MSS, I D V-VIII: Ed. M. THOMPSON (ed.), *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus*, London, 1879-1883: I: Genesis - 2 Chronicles (1881); II: Hosea - 4 Maccabees (1883); III: Psalms - Ecclesiastes (1883); IV: New Testament and Clemetine Epistles (1879); Codex Sinaiticus, Add. Ms 43725: H. and K. LAKE (eds.), *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus. The Old Testament preserved in the public library of Petrograd, in the library of the Society of Ancient Literature in Petrograd, and in the Library of the University of Leipzig, now reproduced in facsimile from photographs, with a description and introduction to the history of the Codex*, Oxford, 1922; H. and K. LAKE (eds.), *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus: the New Testament, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas*, Oxford, 1911.

scription of the whole codex and all its contents. This approach resulted in the following observations: (1) both parts (OT and NT) of the codices are treated together and on an equal basis (biblical scholars tend to study OT and NT parts, or the text of individual books, separately); (2) a complete enumeration of all the incorporated books is necessary for a complete picture of the codex; (3) the actual arrangement of the books is registered; (4) the organic inclusion of the anagignoskomena (OT) in the group of canonical books is a given; (5) the patristic and liturgical apparatuses/elements<sup>206</sup> are considered to be of decisive importance for the codicological and textual evaluation of the manuscripts.

Considered from this point of view, the question as to which codex entities (Evangelion, Praxapostolos, Psalterion, Octateuch etc.) can be identified as having been used by copyists as archetypes in the compilation and scribal production process should be explored, before textual issues can be solved. In our view, this is a challenging undertaking.

### E. Recapitulation

The Byzantine manuscripts – the primary sources, and the editions based thereon –, are the concrete material expression of the theological and liturgical tradition of the Eastern Orthodox church. There exists, one could say, a codicological “network” of manuscripts, an arrangement of interconnected liturgically motivated books, that developed since the fourth century and runs to the sixteenth century. This arrangement was continued in the printed editions from the sixteenth century onwards. Since the founding of the printing press, the Bible was published in a great diversity of editions (in book form, in translation, with and without commentary...), but, remarkably, the ecclesiastical-liturgical Byzantine codex forms

<sup>206</sup> H. B. SWETE and R. R. OTTLEY, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Peabody, Mass., 1989, p. 358: ‘Such traces of adaptation to liturgical use are found even in cod. B, though not *prima manu*. Whether any of the larger chapters which appear in certain MSS. (e.g. the later system in cod. B) are of the nature of lections, must be remain doubtful until the whole subject has received the fuller treatment which it demands’.

were not published avidly, and neither were the Byzantine patristic commentaries. In Eastern printing tradition (after the Fall of Constantinople Greek printing houses and editors were primarily active in Venice and other locations in Italy, as well as in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Alexandria, Kiev, Moscow, St. Petersburg, etc.), the numerous codex forms of the manuscripts were reduced to, in fact, a select representation of only the most used liturgical, biblical, patristic and other ecclesiastical (and classical) books. If one leafs cursorily through the bibliographies of the later Byzantine and neo-Hellenic printed editions since the Fall of Constantinople,<sup>207</sup> a considerable edition history indeed, a decrease of the diversity and pluriformity of literary forms can be observed. Although the Byzantine manuscript tradition continued to produce new codices until far into the nineteenth century and even until the beginning of the twentieth century, the great variety of codex forms is not represented in the editions published.

<sup>207</sup> E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique des xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en Grec [ou] par des Grecs aux xv<sup>e</sup> et xvi<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1885-1906; repr. 1962; ID., *Bibliographie hellénique ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux dix-septième siècle*, Paris, 1894-1903; repr. Paris, 1975, I: Nos. 1-364bis (année 1601-1644) – 894; II: Nos. 365-639 (année 1645-1690) – 1894; III: Nos. 640-715 (année 1691-1700) Notices biographiques – 1895; IV: Notices biographiques – 1896; V: Supplement. Notices biographiques – 1903]; E. LEGRAND and H. PERNOT, *Bibliographie ionienne. Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs des sept-îles ou concernant ces îles du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'année 1900*, Paris, 1910; E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hellénique ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs aux dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1918-1928; repr. Paris, ca. 1975, [I: Nos. 1-562 (année 1701-1760) – 1918; II: Nos. 563-1260 (année 1761-1790) – 1928]; P. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur der griechischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Mit einer allgemeinen Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1899); G. I. ZABIRAS, *Νέα Ἑλλάς ἡ Ἑλληνικὸν Θέατρον* (Athens, 1872; repr. Athens, 1972); A. DEMETRAKOPOULOS, *Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν Νεοελληνικὴν Φιλολογίαν* K. Σάθα (Leipzig, 1871); K. N. SATHAS, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία. Βιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γραμμασι διαλαμπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἐθνεγερσίας*, Athens, 1868; A. PAPADOPOULOS VRETOS, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἀπὸ πτώσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι ἐγκαθιδρύσεως τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι βασιλείας τυπωθέντων βιβλίων παρ' Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν ὁμιλουμένην, ἢ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσσαν συνεθεῖς*, Athens, 1854-1857.

In the following section we will set out what we referred to earlier as the 'codico-liturgical approach'. By revisiting the Byzantine liturgy, one can discover how the codex forms and the contents of the manuscripts were actually shaped by liturgical practice and how the (patristic) choices behind their form and content were crucial for their development. Recognition of the liturgical heritage of the codex formations leads us to want to regroup the extant codices in a manner different to the way in which they have been grouped to date. Thus the liturgical hypothesis eventually leads to the suggested outline of a codico-liturgical model of classification, which could lay at the basis of a future catalogue of the Byzantine (liturgical) manuscripts.

## II. THE CONTOURS OF A CODICO-LITURGICAL MODEL OF CLASSIFICATION

The codico-liturgical model of classification is, in fact, an umbrella model, that is to say, it embraces all codex types of the Byzantine manuscripts, which are connected with the liturgical practice and calendar system of the Byzantine church. They are interdependent, which we assume from their liturgical function. This we can see from: (1) the codex *forms* themselves (lectionaries, homiletic text books); (2) the liturgical-patristic apparatus in the text and commentary manuscripts (lectionary equipment); (3) the biblical texts, which are included in the liturgical-ceremonial manuscripts (Euchologion, Horologion, Triodion etc.); (4) the homiletic and ascetical text components of the liturgical-ceremonial manuscripts. For those manuscripts where the liturgical function is less visible at first sight (text and commentary manuscripts without lectionary equipment; catecheses; practical and ascetical texts; biblical implications of Byzantine worship, its forms and rituals), we can still ascertain that they function in a broader sense within the same liturgical context.

The *Inner Cohesion Between the Bible and the Fathers in Byzantine Tradition*, as the title of the thesis reads, implies that there is a material connection (explicit evidence) between the biblical

and patristic codices, which becomes visible when the manuscripts are “re-assessed” in their original liturgical environment, as well as an immaterial connection (implicit evidence) seen from those codices that express their liturgical function indirectly.

#### A. The Setting up of a Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts

The aim of a *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* (further: the *Catalogue*) is to present *concrete* evidence for the thesis of inner cohesion between the categories of manuscripts with which we are concerned, namely biblical, patristic and liturgical codices. Behind the organisation of the proposed *Catalogue* lies the fundamental concept that the codex forms of the books and their content were compiled in such a way, that they were practical as well as appropriate for use in the churches and monasteries. From the codices themselves we can induce, beside the beauty of scribal art (the aesthetical factor), also the main purpose of the Byzantine scribes (compilers as well as commentators), which directed their editing activities, as they organised and reorganised the available theological, biblical and ascetical materials. An objective, *codicological* approach is required when revisiting the handwritten sources, directed towards the individual codices and the codex-formations in which they were transmitted to us.

There can be no single ideal method for studying all these different manuscripts, nor can one person hope to know them all. The best approach must be to select material on some practical basis. The first step beyond the monographic treatment of a single book is to isolate a significant group.<sup>208</sup>

Our starting point is that all the Byzantine manuscripts should be revisited according to a codicological approach. This means that we want to look at:

- (1) the way that texts/books are *grouped* within a codex (codex-formation);

<sup>208</sup> J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park and London, 1988, p. 1.

- (2) the exact contents of the codex (including commentary matters, lectionary equipment, added lists of lessons, material of a patristic, liturgical or hagiographical nature);
- (3) the form in which books are included in the codex (e.g. an Evangelion codex form);

Furthermore, we advocate that :

- (4) there are no pre-determined textuological criteria and/or preferences, which means that there is – at forehand – no principal demarcation line between: (a) text manuscripts; (b) lectionary manuscripts; and (c) commentary manuscripts (von Soden [a] and [c] and Rahlfs [a], [b] and [c])<sup>209</sup>, because such a principle of division did not exist in Byzantine manuscript tradition itself;
- (5) the actual Byzantine terminology of the manuscripts is re-appraised and used.

In general, such an endeavour should return the codices to their original, liturgical place in biblical and patristic textual history. Criticism voiced above on essential aspects of the present classifications must be transformed into new productive paradigms.

## B. The Proposed Classification of the Byzantine Manuscripts

### *The procedure of regrouping the codices*

The biblical codices are commonly divided into two main groups, that of the NT [+ comm] codices established by Gregory/Aland [Group I] and the OT [+ comm.] codices by Rahlfs [Group II]. A third group is the much neglected intermediary group of codices, in which NT and OT books and texts are combined [Group III]. Another quite unexplored

<sup>209</sup> A. RAHLFS, 'Verzeichnis', Berlin, 1914, p. xi-xii, 'Daß die Catenenhss. mit aufgenommen werden mußten, versteht sich eigentlich von selbst. Sie sind im grunde doch nur bibelhss. mit hinzugefügten Erklärungen der Kirchenväter. (...) ist es am praktischsten, zwischen catenenhss. und einfachen Bibelhss. keine Scheidelinie zu ziehen'. With regard to the 'Lektionaren', see p. xiii, xx.

group of manuscripts is that in which liturgical materials are combined with biblical and patristic texts [Group IV]. A fifth group contains the liturgical-ceremonial codices [Group V]. We then still have the as yet completely isolated group of homiletic commentary manuscripts (established by Ehrhard), which in fact belong to groups I and II.

Three further groups compete the picture: liturgical-hymnographical codices [Group VI]; liturgical- hagiographical codices [Group VII]; and liturgical/ascetical codices [Group VIII].

Groups I-II are subdivided into: (1) the lectionary manuscripts; (2) the textual manuscripts; and (3) the commentary manuscripts (which can again be sub-divided into several forms of commentary manuscripts – composed by one father, compiled from the works of many fathers, or anonymous compilations). This threefold principle of manuscript typology can also, albeit less clearly, be observed in the other distinguished groups (III-VIII).

In our structure for a *Catalogue*, we place the codex type of lectionary manuscripts (e.g. Evangelion, Apostolos, Psalterion and Prophetologion [today incorporated in the Triodion, Pentekostarion and Menaia]) first, since both the codex forms as well as the lectionary texts are considered to be of a most ancient and stable character,<sup>210</sup> explicitly liturgical in origin and thus, one may rightfully conjecture, preserving an eminent codicological and textual condition,<sup>211</sup> maintained by its longstanding role in the Byzantine Liturgy performed in the Eastern Orthodox Churches,<sup>212</sup> which is still valid today.

<sup>210</sup> C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, Leipzig, 1900, I, p. 327-329, esp. p. 329, 'Deswegen, sowohl theoretisch, wie auch durch einige Beispiele praktisch, geleitet, erwarte ich, dass viele der Lesebücher wertvolles Zeugnis ablegen werden nicht für den jüngeren sondern für den älteren Text'.

<sup>211</sup> C. D. OSBURN, 'The Greek Lectionaries of the New Testament', in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1995, p. 61, 'Evidence from the Greek lectionaries, however, is vital in tracing the history of the transmission of the text of the NT etc.'

<sup>212</sup> F. H. A. SCRIVENER, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testa-*



What complicates the matter, however, is that there is no sharp demarcation line between the groups, as we saw earlier. The same applies to the text and lectionary manuscripts. The so-called text codices stem from the same period (s. ix-xvi) and approximately consist of an equal number of manuscripts as the lectionaries. They are theoretically considered to be older, as the lectionaries were derived from them. The individual texts were brought together in codex forms at a very early stage already. Slowly these codex forms acquired general acceptance. Ancient examples of this are, hypothetically, such 'proto-codex' formations as the proto-Psalterion, the proto-Prophetologion, proto-Evangelion and proto-Apostolos codex forms. A *chronological* point of view, however, an overtly quantitative argument, is ever more considered to be insufficient, and even invalid when it comes to determining the reliability or quality of the biblical text. This is true for both the NT and OT manuscripts.

*The main structure of the proposed CATALOGUE*

In our proposed structure, then, the extant manuscripts are divided over eight main groups. In effect, more groups can be identified<sup>213</sup> (see chapter 2), but we here limit ourselves to these eight groups, since these contain, or are closely related to the biblical text in the context of our liturgical hypothesis.

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Group I   | Byzantine Biblical Codices (NT)<br>A. Lectionary ; B. Text. C. Commentary codices |
| Group II  | Byzantine Biblical Codices (OT)<br>A. Lectionary ; B. Text. C. Commentary codices |
| Group III | Byzantine Composite Codices (OT/NT)   |

*ment for the Use of Biblical Students*, London, 1894, p. 75: 'The peculiar arrangement of Lectionaries renders them very unfit for the hasty, partial, cursory collation which has befallen too many manuscripts of the other class [minuscules: Ed.], and this circumstance, joined with the irksomeness of using Service-books never familiar to the habits even of scholars in this part of Europe, has caused these documents to be so little consulted, that the contents of the very best and oldest among them have until recently been little known'. Cf. p. 327.

<sup>213</sup> Groups: Byzantine Church History codices; Byzantine Canon Law; Theological/Dogmatic codices.

Group IV	Byzantine Composite Codices (Bibl/Lit)
Group V	Byzantine Liturgical/Ceremonial Codices (Lit/Cer)
Group VI	Byzantine Liturgical/Hymnographical Codices (Lit/Hym)
Group VII	Byzantine Liturgical/Hagiographical Codices (Lit/Hag)
Group VIII	Byzantine Liturgical/Ascetical Codices (Lit/Asc)

Of this extensive body of manuscripts we here concentrate on the Groups I-IV, in order to show how the proposed *Catalogue* will be structured. It is not the aim of this exercise to gather and enumerate *all* available biblical manuscripts and manuscript items, including all extant fragments (papyri), single folio's, pieces of works and incomplete codices (a procedure which is underway in Münster and Göttingen, among other places). The criterium for the inclusion of only available and complete codices (not fragments) is to be able to register the full contents of the codex, the formation/arrangement of the incorporated texts and the format of the codex.

Nor do we intend to incorporate codices of which the existence (the location or owner) is uncertain or unknown, or those that are mentioned in catalogues, but which have been destroyed or disappeared, because these cannot be verified from a codicological point of view (in order to enable this, the *Catalogue* will provide the manuscript numbers and library shelf marks of each manuscript).

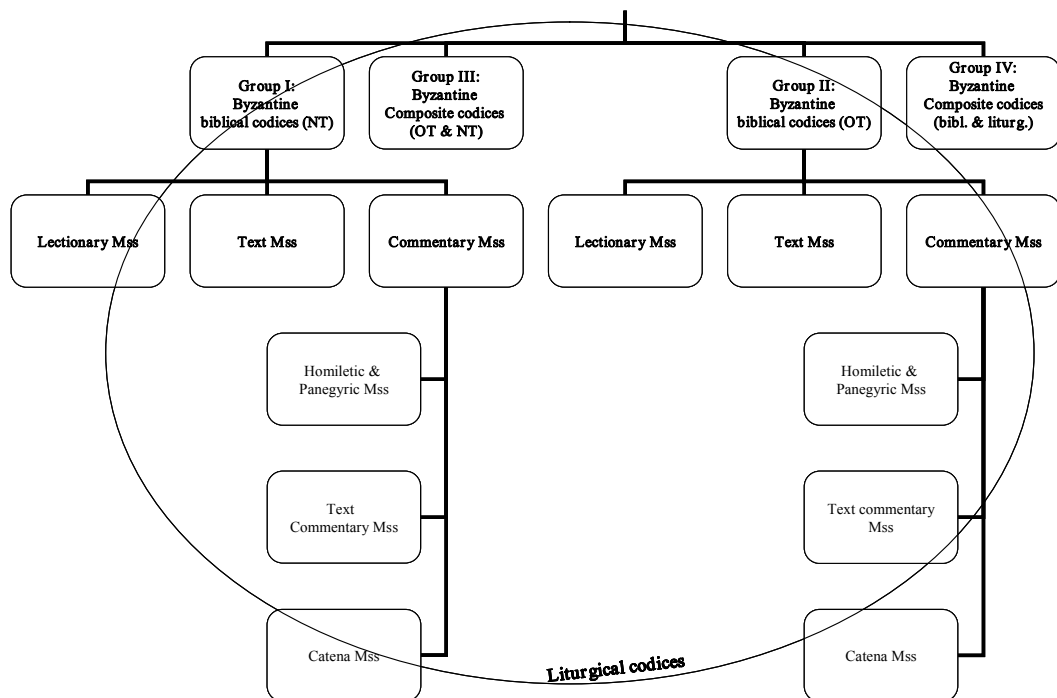
Our points of departure are the catalogues of Aland (von Soden) and Rahlfs, Ehrhard and Karo/Lietzmann. The tables we offer bring to light what is not immediately visible in these catalogues. In principle we maintain the basic catalogue information provided by Aland and Rahlfs, but we have revised and rearranged it from an explicit codicological point of view. Moreover, only those codices with complete contents have been selected (omitting fragmented codices and separate folio's), so that we can better determine the original codicological forms.

In contrast to Aland's and Rahlfs' specialised lists, the *Catalogue* will:

- (1) develop a new group of codex forms (Group III), in which OT & NT materials are incorporated together.

- We expect that this group will grow substantially as research of the group progresses;
- (2) profile the lectionary manuscripts, and in addition those text and commentary manuscripts which contain lectionary equipment and musical (ecphonetic) signs;
  - (3) rearrange the codices according to their basic codex forms (Evangelion/Tetraevangelion; Apostolos/Praxapostolos/Apostoloevangelion; Psalterion; Prophetologion; Octateuch etc.);
  - (4) profile the inclusion of commentary texts (taking Ehrhard's catalogue as a point of departure);
  - (5) develop a new group in which the biblical, patristic and liturgical components are combined (Group IV). We expect that this group will grow substantially as research of the group progresses;
  - (6) provide a more exact insight in the 'status quo' of the Byzantine manuscripts, in this study identified as being primarily liturgical.

### EXTANT BYZANTINE ECCLESIASTICAL CODICES: Groups I - IV



### C. The Contours of a Typology of the Codification of the Byzantine Manuscripts

In this paragraph we intend to supply some basic, concrete insights in the codification processes behind the actual codex forms of the Byzantine manuscripts. Codicology is not only interested in the final forms of the extant codices and in providing their accurate description, but also in the formation process and the historical background of the codex types. This we cannot develop in this dissertation, but we will present the outlines of such a codicological typology in the form of a select group of examples.

#### *The contents of groups one to four [I-IV]*

Below we present each of the four groups [I-IV] identified earlier, presenting the sources/references used, the (distinguished) content of the group, and examples of individual codices of the groups.

Group I	Byzantine biblical codices (NT)
Group II	Byzantine biblical codices (OT)
Group III	Byzantine composite codices (OT&NT)
Group IV	Byzantine composite codices (Bibl&Lit) <sup>214</sup>

#### *Sources :*

For the regrouping of the NT codices we used :

- K. ALAND (and others), *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments, zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Berlin - New York, 1994) ;
- C. R. GREGORY, *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Leipzig, 1908) ;

<sup>214</sup> This Group IV (Bibl./Lit.) was already considered a desideratum by C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1900-1909, I, p. 333: 'Da wir aber unmöglich eine eigene Liste für jede Art von Buch aufstellen können, so wäre es richtig und praktisch, meine ich, drei Abteilungen zu machen: Evangelien, Apostel, und andere liturgische Bücher'. And again with regard to psalms and odes in codex 932, 452: 'Sie gehören kaum in diese Liste. Höchstens kämen sie in eine zukünftige "dritte" Liste der liturgischen Bücher'. In our catalogue model this "third list" is Group IV.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes* (Leipzig, 1900-1909) [esp. the lectionary codices];

H. F. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1911) [esp. the lectionary equipment of the text and the text commentary codices].

For the reclassification of the OT codices we used:

A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments für das Septuaginta Unternehmen*, in *Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch Historische Klasse* (Berlin, 1914), 1-443.

For the homiletic and panegyric codices we used:

A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche, von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I-III (Leipzig-Berlin, 1937-1952).

For the commentary manuscripts we used:

K. ALAND (and others), *Op. cit.* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Berlin - New York, 1994);

H. F. VON SODEN, *Op. cit.* (Göttingen, 1911);

A. RAHLFS, *Art. cit.* (Berlin, 1914).

#### GROUP I: BYZANTINE BIBLICAL CODICES (NT)

##### Group I. A : Lectionary Codices NT

- Codex forms :

##### 1. Εὐαγγέλιον

- |                       |         |
|-----------------------|---------|
| a. Evangelion Codices | [/e]    |
| b. Evangelion Codices | [/esk]  |
| c. Evangelion Codices | [/sk]   |
| d. Evangelion Codices | [/k]    |
| e. Evangelion Codices | [/sel]  |
| f. Evangelion Codices | [/Lit]  |
| g. Evangelion Codices | [/Unsp] |

##### 2. Ἀπόστολος

- |                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| a. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> e]     |
| b. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> esk]   |
| c. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> sk]    |
| d. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> k]     |
| e. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> sel]   |
| f. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> Lit]   |
| g. Apostolos Codices | [/a <sup>e</sup> Unsp.] |

## 3. Ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον

- |                                |                                     |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>e</sup> e]   |
| b. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>e</sup> esk] |
| c. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>s</sup> sk]  |
| d. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>k</sup> k]   |
| e. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>se</sup> l]  |
| f. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>lit</sup> ]  |
| g. Apostolo-evangelion Codices | [l <sup>+</sup> a <sup>unsp</sup> ] |

- *Examples*Ad 1a. *Evangelion*

Jerusalem, Patr. Libr., Sabas 152. [Papadopoulos-Kerameus II, p. 236-238; Aland / 1004]

Ad 1b. *Evangelion*

Jerusalem, Patr. Libr., Sabas 104. [Papadopoulos-Kerameus II, p. 178-179; Aland / 1002]

Ad 2a. *Apostolos*

Istanbul, Patr. Libr., Pan. Kam. 57 [59]. [Tsakopoulos I, p. 101-102; Aland / 921]

Ad 2b. *Apostolos*

Athos, Dochiariu, 2820 [146]. [Lambros I, p. 255; Aland / 738]

AD 3a. *Apostolo-evangelion*

Athens, Nat. Libr., 200 [63]. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 37; Aland / 422]

AD 3b. *Apostolo-evangelion*

Athens, Nat. Libr., 199 [62]. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 37; Aland / 421]

Group I. B: *Text Codices NT*- *Codex forms*:

## 1. Τετραευαγγέλιον

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| a. Tetraevangelion Codices <i>with Lect</i>    | [e Lect] |
| b. Tetraevangelion Codices <i>without Lect</i> | [e]      |
| c. Tetraevangelion Codices [Increased]         | [er]     |

## 2. Πραξαπόστολος

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| a. Praxapostolos Codices <i>with Lect</i>                | [ap Lect]  |
| b. Praxapostolos Codices <i>without Lect</i>             | [ap]       |
| c. Praxapostolos Codices [Increased] <i>with Lect</i>    | [apr Lect] |
| d. Praxapostolos Codices [Increased] <i>without Lect</i> | [apr]      |
| [Praxapostolos Codices [Non-existent] <sup>215</sup>     | [a]        |
| e. Praxapostolos Codices [Diminished]                    | [p]        |

<sup>215</sup> A commentary form of group aK [Acts+ General Ep+Comm] does exist.

3. Ἀποστολοευαγγέλιον
  - a. Apostolo-Evangelion Codices *with Lect* [eap Lect]
  - b. Apostolo-Evangelion Codices *without Lect* [eap]
4. Ἀποκάλυψις
  - a. Apocalypse Codices<sup>216</sup> [r]
5. Ἀπόστολοεὐαγγέλιον + Ἀποκάλυψις
  - a. Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices *with Lect*  
[eapr/NT Lect]
  - b. Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices *without Lect*  
[eapr/NT]

- *Examples*

Ad 1a. *Tetraevangelion Codex with Lect*

Istanbul, Patr. Libr., H. Triad. Chalc. 9 (11). [Tsakopoulos II, p. 8-9; Aland 1144]

Ad 1b. *Tetraevangelion Codex without Lect*

Nat. Libr. 153 [15]. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 30; Aland 760; v. Soden 475]

Ad 2a. *Praxapostolos Codex with Lect*

Athos, Vatopediou, 864. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 164; Aland 1722; von Soden α 384]

Ad 2b. *Praxapostolos Codex without Lect*

Athos, Vatopediou, 850. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 163; Aland 1717; von Soden α 487]

Ad 2c. *Praxapostolos with Lect & Apocalypse Codex*

Istanbul, Patr. Libr., Pan. Kam., 93 [ 96]. [Tsakopoulos I, p. 157-158; Aland 1872; von Soden α 209]

Ad 3a. *Apostolo-Evangelion Codex with Lect*

Athens, Nat. Libr., 130 [AKPE]. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 22; Aland 801; von Soden δ 553]

Ad 3b. *Apostolo-Evangelion Codex without Lect*

Athens, Nat. Libr., 130 [arr.: AKPE]. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 22; Aland 801; von Soden δ 553]

Ad 4a. *Apocalypse Codex*

Athos, Vatopediou, 637, f. 53β-80α [incorporated in a codex of Πανηγυρικὸ Λόγου]. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 127; Aland 2436]

Ad 5a. *Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices with Lect*

Athos, Lavra, Λ' 195. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 298; Aland 1075]

Ad 5a. *Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices without Lect*

Athos, Kutlumusiu, 356. [Lambros I, p. 312; Aland 1704]

*Group I. C: Commentary Codices NT*

- *Codex forms*

1. Ὁμίλιαι / Πανηγυρικά<sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup> It seems that the single edition of the Apocalypses in one codex (without any commentary or other texts) is very rare.

<sup>217</sup> For these Panegyrika and Homiletic commentaries complete insight is

- 1.1 Annual Panegyric Collections (Imm + Mov + Imm)
  - Type A
  - Type B
  - Type C
- 1.2 Semi-annual Panegyric Collections (Imm + Mov + Imm)
  - Type A
  - Type B
  - Type C
- 1.3 Italo-Greek Panegyric collections (Imm + Mov + Imm)
- 1.4 Special Panegyric Collections (Imm + Mov + Imm)
  - I. Panegyric collections of Movable and Immovable Feasts [of the Lord and the Theotokos]
  - II. Panegyric collections of an Individual homilist (catechete)
    - 1. Gregory of Nazianz
    - 2. Gregory of Nyssa
    - 3. John Chrysostom
    - 4. Theodor of Studios
    - 5. Photios of Constantinopel
    - 6. Leo the Wise
    - 7. Nicetas the Paphlagonic
- 1.5 Panegyric-Homiletic Collections [Ev] for the Triodion-Pentecostarion period [Mov : partial]
  - I. One volume collections of homilies/panegyrika [Mov : partial]
  - II. Two volume collections of homilies/panegyrika [Typus A-B]
  - III. Italo-Greek collections of homilies/panegyrika
  - IV. Special homiletic collections
    - 1. Ephrem the Syrian
    - 2. John Chrysostom

- *Examples*

Ad. 1.1 *Annual Panegyrikon Collection*

Type A: Moscow, Hist. Mus. Libr., Gr. 215 (V) [S 284] [Items 1-71] [Ehrhard II, p. 6-9; Vladimir, p. 262-267]

Type B: Athos, Iberon 658 [4778]. [Items 1-26] [Lambros II, p. 192; Ehrhard II, p. 59-60]

necessary in the whole Byzantine lection system in which these patristic readings are incorporated. See chapters 2 and 3 (of my thesis). The panegyric/homiletic collections of the individual fathers are liturgical too and their codex formation evolved accordingly. Only a select part of the great work of Ehrhard is provided as example here.



- Type C: Jerusalem, Patr. Libr., Sabas 103. [Items 1-42] [Papadopoulos-Kerameus II, p. 175-179; Ehrhard II, p. 69-72]
- Ad. 1.2 II *Semi-Annual Panegyrikon Collections*
- Type A [Vol. I]: Vatican, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. Gr. 654. [Items 1-22] [Ehrhard II, p. 91-93]
- Type A [Vol. II]: Moscow, Hist. Mus. Libr., Gr. 217 [S 234] [Items 1-34] [Vladimir, p. 270-272; Ehrhard II, p. 103-104]
- Type B [Vol. I]: Athos, Kutloumousiou, 28. [Item 2] [Lambros I, p. 276; Ehrhard II, p. 113]
- Type B [Vol. II]: Vatican, Bibl. Apos. Vat., Vat. Gr. 455. [Items 1-82] [Ehrhard II, p. 113-119]
- Type C [Vol. I]: Jerusalem, Patr. Libr., Met. H. Taphou in Const., 245. [Items 1-17] [Papadopoulos-Kerameus IV, p. 212-213; Ehrhard II, p. 120-121]
- Ad. 1.4 *Special Panegyric Collections: I*
- Sinai, Mon. St. Cath. Gr. 491. [Items 1-20] [Ehrhard II, p. 195-197]
- Ad. 1.4 *Special Panegyric Collections: II*
1. Gregory of Nazianz : Athens, Nat. Libr., 2108. [Items 1-16] [Ehrhard II, p. 211; 2108 = Gymn. Thessal. 39, cf. Perria, p. 20]
  2. Gregory of Nyssa : Madrid, Archivo historico nacional, 163, 6. [Graux-Martin, p. 24-26; Ehrhard II, p. 215]
  3. John Chrysostom, Type I : Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 759. [Ehrhard II, p. 216-220] and Type II : Patmos, St. John the Theol. 16. [Sakkellion, p. 87-88]
- Kyriakodromion* [Evangelion lessons for Triod.-Pent.+ Men]  
Istanbul, Patr. Libr., Pan. Kam. 31 [Tsakopoulos I, p. 58-61]
- Kyriakodromion* [the Apostle lessons of each Sunday]  
Istanbul, Patr. Libr. 134 (Pan. Kam. 137) [Tsakopoulos I, p. 190-191]
2. Ἑρμηνεῖαι / Ὑπομνήματα - Ἑρμηνευτικὰ Σειράι<sup>218</sup>
  - 2.1 Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices *with Lect* (eK)
  - 2.2 Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices *without Lect*
  - 2.3 Individual Evangelion Commentary Codices [partial] (ePK: Mt, Mk, L, J)
  - 2.4 Praxapostolos Commentary Codices (apK)

<sup>218</sup> Included, but not distinguished in Aland's enumeration of Greek NT commentary mss (adopted from von Soden), are the Σειράι Πατέρων, the Compiled Commentaries or Catena manuscripts; there are Σειράι for each category of the NT text units: Evangelion, Acts, Epistles of Paul, General Epistles and the Apocalypse (cf. M. FAULHABER, "Katenen und Katenenforschung", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 18 (1909), 387. But also for the Apostolos (Acts, Pauline and General Epistles); the Apostolo-evangelion and the Apostolo-evangelion and Apocalypse. See Annex 3 (to Ch. 1). In future research the text commentary and catena commentary forms should be disentangled for reason of their original codex-formation.

- 2.5 Praxapostolos and Apocalypse Commentary Codices [increased] (aprK)
- 2.6 Praxapostolos Codices [reduced] (aK = Acts + GenEp)
- 2.7 Praxapostolos [Pauline Epistles] Codices [reduced] (pK)
- 2.8 Praxapostolo-Evangelion Commentary Codices (eapK)
- 2.9 Apocalypse Commentary Codices (rK)
- 2.10 Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Commentary Codices (eaprK)

- *Examples*

- Ad 2.1 *Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices with Lect*  
Jerusalem, Patr. Libr., Taphu 25. [Papadopoulos-Kerameus I, p. 96-97]
- Ad 2.2 *Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices without Lect*  
Athens, Nat. Libr., Gr. 204. [Aland 771; von Soden A15]
- Ad 2.3 *Commentary to John: Cyril of Alexandria*  
Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., Vat. Gr. 592. [von Soden Ki 51]
- Ad 2.4 *Commentary to the Praxapostolos: Oecumenius*  
Athens, Nat. Libr., Gr. 207. [von Soden O16]
- Ad 2.5 *Commentary to the Praxapostolos + Apocalypse: Oecumenius*  
Athos, Paulu 2 [von Soden O11]
- Ad 2.6 *Commentary to the Praxapostolos reduced: Andrew of Crete*  
Jerusalem, Staurou 25 [von Soden Aπρ 10]
- Ad 2.7 *Commentary to the Pauline Epistles*  
Patmos, St. John Mon., 61. [von Soden X2]
- Ad 2.8 *Praxapostolo-Evangelion Commentary Codices (eapK)*  
Wien, Österr. Nat. Bibl., Theol. Gr. 79.80. [Aland 721; von Soden Θε 25]
- Ad 2.9 *Apocalypse Commentary Codices*  
Athos, Vatopediou 17. [Aland 1773; von Soden Av 404]
- Ad 2.10 *Evangelion & Apostolos & Apocalypse commentary*  
Athos, Panteleimon 770 [6277]. [Lambros II, p. 430; Aland 1678]

GROUP II: BYZANTINE BIBLICAL CODICES (OT)

*Group II. A: Lectionary Codices OT*

- *Codex forms*

- 1. Ψαλτήρια
  - a. Psalterion Codices (Ps.)
  - b. Psalterion Codices with the Nine Odes (Ps. Od.)
- 2. Προφητολόγια
  - a. Prophetologion Codices [Nativ.-Theoph + Triodion/Pentekostarion + Menologion]
  - b. Prophetologion Codices [Triodion part]
  - c. Prophetologion Codices [Triodion/Pentekostarion part]

- d. Prophetologion Codices [Menologion part]
- e. Prophetologion Included in Liturgical-Ceremonial codices (Group V)

- *Examples*

Ad. 1a. *Psalterion & Odes*

Athens, Nat. Libr. 26. [Sakkelion/Sakkelion, p. 4]

Ad. 1b. *Psalterion [without Odes]*

Istanbul, Patr. Libr., H. Triad. (Chalci), 19 [22]. [Tsakopoulos II, p. 17-19]

Ad 2a. *Prophetologion [Triodion/Pentekostarion + Menologion]*

Athos, Vatopediou, 626. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 123]

Ad 2b. *Prophetologion [Triodion]*

Athos, Lavra, 309 [Γ 69]. [Spyridon/Eustratiades, p. 42]

*Group II. B: Text Codices OT*

- *Codex forms*

1. Ὀκτάτευχος (Octateuch codices)

- a. Octateuch Codices (Gen, Ex., Lev., Num, Deut., Josh, Judg, Ruth)
- b. Pentateuch Codices (Gen, Ex., Lev., Num, Deut.)
- c. Extended Octateuch Codices (Gen, Ex., Lev., Num, Deut., Josh, Judg, Ruth, Esth., Tob, Jud.)
- d. Incomplete Octateuch Codices

2. Τὰ Ἱστορικά / Βίβλοι Ἱστορικάί (Historical codices))

- a. Historical Codices: Part 1-3 (I-IV Kgs, I-II Chr., I-II Ezra; Esth., Jud., Tob; I-IV Macc)
- b. Historical Codices: Part 1-2 (I-IV Kgs, I-II Chr., I-II Ezra and Esth., Jud., Tob Esth., Jud., Tob)
- c. Historical Codices: Part 1 (I-IV Kgs.; I-II Chr.; I-II Ezra)
- d. Extended Historical Codices: Last three books Oct (Josh, Judg, Ruth) + Historical Codices: Part 1-3

3. Τὰ Ποητικά / Βίβλοι Στιχηραί (Sapiential codices)

- a. The Sapiential Codices in one codex (Ἐξασόφιον) (Prov, Eccl., Song, Job, Eccles, Sirach)
- b. The Sapiential Codices in other formations
- c. Individual Sapiential Codices (Job, Prov, Eccl, Song, Eccles, Sirach)

4. Τὰ Προφητικά / Βίβλοι Προφηταί (Prophetical codices)

- a. XVI Prophets Codices (οἱ δεκαῆξ προφηταί)
- b. XII Prophets Codices (οἱ δώδεκα προφῆται)
- c. IV Prophets Codices (οἱ τέσσαρες προφῆται)

## 5. Συλλόγαί (Compiled codices)

- a. Octateuch, Historical Codices and Sapiential Codices
- b. Octateuch and Historical Codices
- c. Octateuch and Prophetical Codices
- d. Historical and Sapiential Codices
- e. Historical and Prophetical Codices
- f. Sapiential, Prophetical and Historical Codices

- *Examples*Ad. 1a *Okateuch Codices*

Athos, Lavra, 352 [Γ 112]. [Spyridon/Eustratiades, p. 48; Rahlfs, p. 18]

Ad. 1b *Extended Okateuch Codices (Oct + Hist [Estb., Jud., Tob., I-IV Kgs.])*

Athos, Vatopediu, 598. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 117]

Ad. 1c *Extended Okateuch Codices (Oct + Hist [Estb., Tob., Jud.])*

Athos, Vatopediu, 600. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 118]

Ad. 2b *Historical Codices : Part 1-2*

Athos, Vatopediou, 599 [512]. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 117; Rahlfs 318, p. 18]

Ad. 3a *Sapiential Codices (Prov, Eccl., Song, Job, Eccles, Sirach)*

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 18. [Rahlfs 545]

Ad. 4a *XVI Prophetical Codices*

Athos, Vatopediou, 601 [514]. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 118; Rahlfs 763, p. 8]

Ad. 4b *XII Prophetical Codices*

Sinai, St. Cat. Mon., Gr. 6. [Rahlfs 711, p. 285]

Ad. 5a *Okateuch, Historical and Sapiential Codices*

Moscow, Hist. Mus. Libr., Syn. Libr., Gr. 30 (VI. 3) [Rahlfs 125, p. 143-144]

*Group II. C : Commentary Codices OT*- *Codex forms*1. Λόγοι, Ὁμίλιαι καὶ Πανηγυρικὰ<sup>219</sup>

- a. Psalterion : Commentary Codices (Ps., Comm.)
- b. Lessons of the Triodion (Prophetologion; Hexaemeron, Genesis, Proverbs, Jesaja, Twelve Feasts)
- c. Lessons of the Menaia on the Eve of the Feasts (Prophetologion)

<sup>219</sup> These categories of OT commentaries need elaboration in future catalogue research.

## 2. Ἑρμηνεῖαι / Ὑπομνήματα

- a. Octateuch: Commentary Codices (Oct.: Gen, Ex, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg, Ruth)
- b. Historical Books: Commentary Codices (I-IV Kgs, I-II Chr., I-II Ezra)
- c. Historical Books: Commentary Codices (Esth, Jud, Tob)
- d. Wisdom Books: Commentary Codices as a whole (Job, Prov, Eccl, Song, Wis, Eccles)
- e. Wisdom Books: Commentary Codices as in parts (Job, Prov, Eccl, Song, Wis, Eccles.)
- f. Wisdom and Prophets Books: Commentary Codices
- g. Prophets: Commentary Codices (Proph, the XVI Prophets)
- h. Prophets: Commentary Codices (Proph, the XII minor Prophets)
- i. Prophets: Commentary Codices (Proph, the IV major Prophets)
- j. All OT books included in one Codex

3. Ἑρμηνευτικά Σειρά<sup>a</sup>

- a. Psalterion [derivatives: Psalm groups]<sup>b</sup>
- b. Psalterion (with Odes)
- c. The Nine Odes<sup>c</sup>
- d. Lessons of the Triodion (Prophetologion homiletic commentary)
- e. Octateuch [derivatives: Pentateuch, Genesis etc.]
- f. Prophets [the Four Great and the Twelve Minor Prophets; included are semi-canonical books/texts]
- g. Historical Books [I-IV Kgs];
- h. Wisdom Books [Song, Prov, Eccles]
- i. Job
- j. Prooimia to biblical books

<sup>a</sup> Excluded from this category, commentaries in the form of Σειράί, are the deuterocanonical books (Faulhaber, 1909, 387)

<sup>b</sup> There are many Σειράί or Catena Mss compiled by anonymous editors (see Athens/Ethn.Bibl./Sakkelion: Index)

<sup>c</sup> There are extensive Ms materials, see Swete III, 811-834 (Faulhaber, 1909, 387)

## GROUP III: BYZANTINE COMPOSITE CODICES (OT/NT)

*- In statu constructo*

This group of Byzantine codices is unexplored; presented are only some first results which invite more extensive research; no specific order or definite classification for this group is desirable for the time being (first inventarisation), but some outlines can be already recognised; there are analogies with Groups I-II. with the sub-division into lect.-text and comm codices.

*- Codex forms**Group III. A : Lectionary codices (OT/NT)*

1. Evangelion & Psalterion/Odes
2. Apostolo & Evangelion & Prophetologion

*Group III. B : Text codices (OT/NT)*

3. Complete Bible (OT + NT)
4. Complete NT & Psalterion
5. Apostolo-Evangelion & Psalterion
6. Apostolos & Psalterion
7. Apostolo-Evangelion & Prophets
8. Apostolo-Evangelion & Sapiental books

*Group III. C : Commentary codices (OT/NT)*

9. Hist-Proph-Sapient-Apost-Apok
10. Evangelion plus Commentary (Theophylact) & Prophets

*- Examples**Ad 1. Evangelion & Psalterion/Odes Codex*

Moscow, Russ. State's Libr., F. 201.18.2 (Gr. 3). [Aland, /1350 (U)]

*Ad 2. Apostolos & Evangelion & Prophetologion Lessons*

Athos, Philotheou, 6 [1769]. [Lambros I, p. 1769 (items 1-6); Aland, /751 (/+aesk); Rahlfs, p. 23]

*Ad 3 Complete Bible Codex (OT & NT)*

London, Brit. Libr., Royal 1 D. V-VIII. [Rahlfs 1914, p. 114-116; Fraenkel 2004, p. 221-226]

*Ad 4. NT & Psalterion/Odes Codex*

Moscow, Hist. Mus. V. 25, Syn. Libr. 25 [Vladimir 407, I, p. 27-229; Aland 242, p. 61; von Soden δ 206; Rahlfs, 1109, p. 147]

*Ad 5. Psalterion & Apostolo-evangelion Codex*

Istanbul, Patr. Libr., Pan. Kam. 130 [133]. [Tsakopoulos I, p. 185-187]

*Ad 6. Apostolos & Psalterion/Odes Codex*

Athos, Vatopediou 851. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, p. 163; Aland 1718; Rahlfs, p. 655]

*Ad 9. Hist. & XVI Proph & Sapient & Apost & Apoc*

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 18 (319). [Aland 2344, p. 182; Rahlfs 534, p. 187]

## GROUP IV. BYZANTINE COMPOSITE CODICES (BIBL./LIT)

- *In statu constructo (a-typical group)*

The examples of this group indicate combinations of texts and books of different sectors, biblical (OT/NT) and liturgical. The set-up was realised by Gregory I (1900) and adopted by Aland (1994) under the signs /Lit (27 codd), *l*<sup>a</sup>Lit (9 codd), and *l*<sup>+a</sup>Lit (119 codd). The precise contents of these NT-Lit codices are not given and one can only return to the succinct notes of Gregory. But a first systematisation is present (the Lit of the lectionary group). Further research can continue on this ground. In chapter 6 we will provide a specimen of the list detracted from Aland /Lit. We expect that the same distinctions as in Groups I-III can be followed, namely 'lectionary', 'text' and 'commentary' codices. But for the moment, since insight is too small in the state of affairs of this group, we have decided to present the examples according to their biblical contents. Below we give only some examples of *individual* codices, that could hint at other similar codices. Both the specialised catalogues (von Soden, Rahlfs) as well as the catalogues of the Eastern Libraries (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Lambros, Spyridon-Eustratiades, Eustratiades-Arcadios, Bees/Sophianos, Sakkelion, Sakkelion/Sakkelion, Politis, Vladimir, Granstrom etc.) give the impression that many more "composite" biblical-liturgical codices exist than are presently known.

- *Sources for further research:*

## (a) Gregory

Gregory I (1900): 'Evangelia', 387-464 and 'Apostel', 465-478.  
 Gregory III (1909), 'Lesebücher', 1211-1292.

## (b) Aland

Aland (1994): 'Lektionare', 219-370:

/Lit : 27 codd

*l*<sup>a</sup>Lit : 9 codd

*l*<sup>+a</sup>Lit : 119 codd

(c) Von Soden's *Schriften des NT I*, *passim*(d) Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis*, *passim*(e) Catalogues of Eastern libraries (Lambros, Sakkelion etc.), *passim*- *Codex forms*

## Group IV. A : Liturgical and NT codices (Lit|NT)

1. Liturgical texts & inserted NT and OT lessons (/Lit, *l*<sup>a</sup>Lit, *l*<sup>+a</sup>Lit)

2. Praxapostolos & Lit & Psalterion/Odes
3. Psalterion & Apostoloevangelion & Lit (Trop. Euch. Kan.)

*Group IV. B : Liturgical and OT codices (Lit|OT)*

4. Psalterion & parts of Horologion
5. Psalterion + comm & Horologion
6. Psalms & Lit & Ap/Ev lessons
7. Euchologion & Psalterion
8. Prophetologion Lessons & Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia
9. Psalterion & Octoechos & Menaion & Triodion & Lessons of Ev/OT
10. Job and Liturgical commentaries
11. Triodionpropheteia

*Group IV. C : Liturgical and OT/NT codices*

12. Triodion & Pentekostarion & Lessons Apostolos and Evangelion

*- Examples*

- Ad. 2. *Praxapostolos & Lit & Psalterion/Odes*  
Moscow, Russ. State's Archive, F. 1607, No 5 [Syn. Libr. 23 (341)]. [Vladimir I, p. 23-26; Aland 252]
- Ad. 3. *Psalterion & Apostoloevangelion & Lit*  
Athos, Vatopediou, 762. [Spyridon-Eustratiades, p. 150-151; Aland 2191; Rahlfs 1429, p. 9]
- Ad. 4. *Psalterion & Horologion parts (Hours etc.)*  
Istanbul, Pan. Kam. 131 [134]. [Tsakopoulos I, p. 187-188]
- Ad. 5. *Psalterion/comm & Horologion*  
Athos, Lavra 145 [B 25]. [Spyridon/Eustratiades, p. 15]
- Ad. 6. *Psalms & Lit & Ap/Ev lessons & Stich*  
Athos, Vatopediou 625. [Eustratiades/Arcadios, 123; Aland / 1556]
- Ad. 9. *Psalterion & Octoechos & Menaion & Triodion & Lessons NT/OT*  
Sinai, St. Cat. Mon., Gr. 550 [514]. [Rahlfs 1883, p. 292; Aland / 896, p. 272]
- Ad. 12. *Triodion & Pentekostarion & Lessons Apostolos and Evangelion*  
Jerusalem, Staurou 15. [Papadopoulos-Kerameus III, p. 39; Aland / 1467 (I+aLit)]

## D. Concluding Remarks

The motive for placing manuscript data from different (specialised) catalogues together in one concordant *Catalogue*, is to reunite virtually and visibly the manuscript materials, which were isolated and abstracted from their common provenance



and codicological heritage. It was precisely the codex form, which guaranteed the authentic preservation of the incorporated texts, in their specific forms (continuous texts), selective collections (lectionary and catena texts) and additions (supplementary or commentary texts). It appears that the codex formations of the groups are analogous and congruent.

In the NT category the Four Gospels were codified in *three* basic forms: *LECT*: Evangelion, *TEXT*: Tetra-evangelion, *COMM*: Tetra-evangelion commentaries [subdivided in Homiletic, Text and Catena comm.]. The Acts, the Seven General Epistles and the Fourteen Pauline Epistles were styled in the same threefold manner: *Lect*: Apostolos, *Text*: Praxapostolos, *Comm*: Praxapostolos commentaries [subdivided in Homiletic, Text and Catena comm.]. The codex form of the combined Evangelion & Apostolos in: *Lect*: Apostolo-Evangelion, *Text*: Praxapostolo-evangelion and *Comm*: Praxapostolo-evangelion commentaries [subdivided in Homiletic, Text and Catena comm.]. In the OT category the threefold codex formation is also clearly attested: *Lect*: Psalterion/Odes and Prophetologion; *Text*: Octateuch, etc.; *Comm*: Octateuch [subdivided in: Hom., Text and Catena]. The complementarity of lectionary-text-commentary manuscripts is also found in the composite codices (groups III and IV).

Further, within the main categories of NT and OT many different codex formations were constructed and a similar tendency of diversification is seen in the composite collections (groups III and IV). The great variety of manuscripts shows many overlaps, inconsistencies, unexplained combinations, or even the unorganised heaping of materials. Manuscripts of different character: Gospel texts, Apostolos, Prophetologion and Psalterion texts, Homilies and Panegyrics, solely or collectively, in all possible variations, are to be found side by side in usage and provenance.

One conclusion is that a (codicological/textuological) gap between “text”, “lectionary” and “commentary” codices is undesirable. Moreover, research of the Byzantine ecclesiastical manuscripts is brought back to the most basic elementary point of departure, namely the individual codex (with the library shelf mark which is the custodian of its ‘particularity’).

An important conclusion is, that each manuscript, although included in one of the categories, retains its own particular, codicological, liturgical and textual worth and relevance.

Three observations with regard to the codex formation of the OT books (group II) are relevant: (1) OT texts are incorporated between other texts, more often than NT texts are; (2) OT codex forms appear in many cases to be more “a-typical” than NT codex forms; (3) OT texts are in many cases combined with NT texts in one codex. The above reflect the ecclesiastical-patristic opinion and use of OT books.

With regard to group IV, the inclusion of biblical and liturgical materials/books in one codex is more often attested than usually presumed. This leads to the expectation that further research will reveal even more co-existence of biblical and liturgical materials in one and the same codex.

### III. THE CATALOGUE OF BYZANTINE MANUSCRIPTS

*(in statu constructo)*

The aim of this article is to present arguments for a new *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts*, based on the hypothesis of an inner cohesion between the Bible and the fathers, and by means of a codico-liturgical model of classification. Such a catalogue will, in our view, deliver a broader overview of the actual contents of the extant Byzantine manuscripts and demonstrate that the individual manuscripts belong to, in fact, a more restricted number of basic codex “types”. The whole is based on the liturgical hypothesis set out in the foregoing (chapters 2 and 3 of my thesis) and supported and elaborated by a codicological approach. The field from which material must be sourced is not only the existing manuscript catalogues we know to date, but also the libraries and library catalogues which store our resources (chapter 4 of my thesis).<sup>220</sup> The outlines of a codico-liturgical model of classification

<sup>220</sup> Library shelf marks preserve the most characteristic feature of an individual codex, its provenance and purpose. Serial numberings (Aland, Rahlfs, Ehrhard) abstract from the original concrete entities.

have been set and we will now turn to presenting the *Catalogue* itself, in a series of tabular *specimens* of data.

### A. The Tabular Specimens

In this section we present 8 specimens from the first four Groups (Groups I-IV), as examples to show visually how, if the manuscripts are classified along the lines and parameters set out, both the biblical and patristic factors become concrete and their liturgical background evident.

The specimens also indicate how we eventually intend to form, through the *Catalogue of Byzantine Liturgical Manuscripts*, a more comprehensive, all encompassing picture of the Byzantine biblical codices (NT and OT), comprising the lectionary, text and commentary manuscripts, which are known and available to scholarship.

The 8 tabular specimens of the envisaged *Catalogue* act as a demonstration, a way of working. The development of the *Catalogue* itself presupposes the efforts of a team of researchers (multidisciplinary) in the field. Here we can only provide some basic data, examples from 4 groups, to give evidence to the thesis and promote interest in the proposed *Catalogue*.

#### *The specimens*

##### *Group I: Byzantine Biblical Codices (NT)*

1. Evangelion codices (Ie)
2. Tetraevangelion codices (e)
3. Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse codices (eapr)
4. Tetraevangelion commentary codices (eK)
5. Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse commentary codices (eaprK)

##### *Group II: Byzantine Biblical Codices (OT)*

6. Prophetologion Codices (Π)

##### *Group III: Byzantine Composite Codices (OT & NT)*

7. Complete Bibles codices (OT/NT)

##### *Group IV: Byzantine Composite Codices (Bibl & Lit)*

8. Byzantine Biblical-liturgical codices (OT/NT/Lit)

*Criteria for the inclusion of codices in the tables*

Practical guidelines for the exclusion of codices include :

- not fragments
- not single or a limited number of folio's
- not pieces or incomplete parts of works belonging to the codex type
- not codices of which the location or owner is uncertain or unknown
- not codices still mentioned in catalogues, but which are destroyed or disappeared

*Parameters for the assessment of codices listed in the tables*

Serial N <sup>o</sup>	manuscript number of the category [NT ; OT ; Hom]
Place/library + Shelf Mark	identification of the codex
f	number of the folios
c	number of columns [1 or 2]
l	number of lines
format	measures of the format
Lect	lectionary information (Lect, von Soden)
Comm	commentary info (Aland/von Soden or Rahlfs/Fraenkel)

*Sources of determination of the codex-contents*

- descriptions of specialized catalogues
- descriptions of local library catalogues
- photographic manuscript reproductions
- descriptions based on autopsy on location

*Verification of manuscript data*

When compiling a new catalogue, the following should be checked :

- whether the manuscript still exists ;
- the exact provenance and current location ;
- the number of folio's of codices in Aland's, Rahlfs' and Ehrhard's catalogues ;
- the precise descriptions of the complete contents should be checked.

NB. The total number of folio's in Aland and von Soden does not always correspond exactly.

## B. Group I. Byzantine Biblical Codices (NT)

SPECIMEN I : EVANGELION (*le*)

The Evangelion provides the four Gospels in one codex, in a nearly complete textual form (in the order of John, Matt [Mark], Luke [Mark], Mark), and basically has a threefold structure: an annual series of lessons from Pascha to Pascha, following the Byzantine calendar (movable cycle); a (parallel) annual series of lessons for fixed feasts and commemorations (immovable cycle); and a select series of additional lessons (the eleven morning resurrection evangelia, lessons for special occasions).

The whole group of εὐαγγέλια or *l* (sum total: 1,144 of selected Evangelion codices) has been subdivided into seven sub-groups. The group presented here is the first of the seven. The criteria for this subdivision were adopted by Aland and his collaborators (K. Junack and M. Welte) from Gregory, *Textkritik* I (1900), 336-339:

*Group I. A : Lectionary Codices NT* (1. Εὐαγγέλιον: *a-g*).

The reason we present this table is to show how the lectionary systems have been modelled into a codex form, namely the Evangelion, being a liturgical companion to the (liturgical) Tetraevangelion, see specimen II.

Selected from sub-group *le* are: 458 codices. Chronological limits: eighth-eighteenth centuries.

In this specimen only the first 50 manuscripts of the 458 selected manuscripts are presented.

NB. We do not indicate single or a very restricted number of folios that are maintained in other libraries in the following specimens.

S = script in the form of a cross.

Table 1 : *Evangelion*

ALAND				GREGORY
1994 <sup>2</sup>				I 1900
<i>Serial N°</i>	<i>Age/Date</i>	<i>Place/Library + Shelf Mark</i>	<i>fol. [col.]</i> <sup>221</sup>	<i>Evl N°</i>
/2	X [U]	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 280	f. 257 [2]	Evl 2
/7	1204	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 301	f. 316 [2]	Evl 7
/8	XIV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 312	f. 309 [2]	Evl 8
/9	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 307	f. 260 [2]	Evl 9
/12	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 310	f. 366 [2]	Evl 12
/14	XVI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 315	f. 348 [2]	Evl 14
/15	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 302	f. 310 [2]	Evl 15
/18	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. Gr. 32	f. 276 [2]	Evl 18
/19	XIII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D. inf. 2. 12	f. 322 [2]	Evl 19
/34	IX [U]	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl., Gr. 329	f. 430 [2]	Evl 34
/36	X [U]	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1067	f. 268 [2]	Evl 36
/43	XIII	El Escorial, Real Bibl., X. III. 16	f. 313 [2]	Evl 43
/48	1055	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 15, S. 43	f. 250 [2]	Evl 48
/49	X/XI	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 12, S. 225	f. 437 [2]	Evl 49
/68	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 285	f. 357 [2]	Evl 68
/69	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 286	f. 257 [2]	Evl 69
/70	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 288	f. 313 [2]	Evl 70
/75	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 293	f. 250 [2]	Evl 75
/76	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 295	f. 182 [2]	Evl 76
/79	XIV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 299	f. 126 [2]	Evl 79
/80	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 300	f. 128 [2]	Evl 80
/83	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 294	f. 245 [2]	Evl 83*
/86	1336	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 311	f. 382 [2]	Evl 86
/101	XIV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 303	f. 279 [2]	Evl 101
/108	XI	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc, Gr. Z. 549 (655)	f. 292 [2]	Evl 108
/109	XIV	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z.550 (848)	f. 206 [2]	Evl 109
/113	XIII	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Plutei VI. 2	f. 341 [2]	Evl 113
/118	XIV	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Med. Pal. 243	f. 368 [2]	Evl 118
/119	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1155	f. 268 [2]	Evl 119
/121	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1157	f. 419 [1]	Evl 121
/126	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 2041	f. 337 [2]	Evl 126
/129	XII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Reg. Gr. 12	f. 339 [2]	Evl 129
/134	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 565	f. 343 [2]	Evl 134
/146	XII	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Dd. 8.23	f. 212 [2]	Evl 146
/150	995[U]	London, Brit. Libr., Harley 5598	f. 374 [2]	Evl 150
/184	1319	London, Brit. Libr., Burney 22	f. 248 [2]	Evl 184

<sup>221</sup> The complete contents of the codices should be verified (and the correctness of the number of folio's).

/ 185	XI	Cambridge, Christ College, GG. 1.6 (Ms. 6)	f. 218 [2]	Evl 185
/ 191	XII	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 18212	f. 297 [2]	Evl 191
/ 198	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., E. D. Clarke 45	f. 276 [2]	Evl 198
/ 200	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., E. D. Clarke 47	f. 292 [2]	Evl 200
/ 202	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Cromwell 27	f. 323 [2]	Evl 202
/ 203	?1067	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. F. 6.25	f. 300 [1]	Evl 203
/ 211	XII	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 18	f. 209 [2]	Evl 211
/ 213	XIII	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 23	f. 256 [2]	Evl 213
/ 226	XIV	Ann Arbor, Univ. Libr., Ms. 28	f. 220 [1]	Evl 226
/ 230	XIII	London, Lambeth Palace, 1188	f. 318 [2]	Evl 230
/ 233	XI	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 39603	f. 188 [S]	Evl 233
/ 238	XI	London, Brit. Libr., Egerton 3046	f. 144 [2]	Evl 238
/ 252	XI	St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библиот., Gr. 69	f. 498 [2]	Evl 252
/ 262	XVII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Gr. 242	f. 265 [2]	Evl 262
Etc.				

## SPECIMEN II : TETRAEVANGELION (e)

The Tetra-Evangelion comprises the complete text of the Four Gospels [Matt, Mark, Luke, John] together in one codex.

The table shows a realistic number of preserved codices of this type (not fragments, single folios etc), taken from Aland, with the shelf marks of the library where they can be found and other basic information for identification.

The Tetra-evangelion (also simply evangelion), is the most copied (used) clearly defined codex form (Sum Total: 1,312 codices).

Total: Tetraevangelion Codex items (e): 1,726.

Selected codices: 1,312.

Excluded: 414 codices.

Chronological limits: fourth-eighteenth centuries.

Result: Lect evidence.

Total selected: 1,312 codd.

Lect: 843 codd.

Lect: 353 codd.

Insufficient data (not counted in result): 116 codd.

Key:

Insuff. Data      Not in von Soden — mss found later than 1913  
                          Not in Hss-Kartei Munster

	Incomplete info in von Soden [nicht schematisiert], or little or no data
Lect	Lectionary equipment in margins
Lect <sup>text</sup>	Beginnings of lections in red in text
Lect <sup>tab</sup>	Tables of lessons provided
Lect <sup>m.s</sup>	Lectionary equipment added by a second hand
Lect [Schol]	Lectionary equipment and scholia

The registered lectionary equipment, taken from von Soden and checked against the HSS Kartei at the INTF in Munster (843 manuscripts with lect, as opposed to 353 without) is strong evidence of the thesis of liturgical heritage of the codices.

In this specimen only the first 50 manuscripts of the 1312 selected manuscripts are presented.

*Table 2: Tetraevangelion*

ALAND				VON SODEN
1994 <sup>2</sup>				1911 <sup>2</sup>
<i>Serial N<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Age/Date</i>	<i>Place/Library + Shelf Mark</i>	<i>fol. [col.]</i>	<i>Lectionary equipment</i>
E 07	VIII	Basel, Univ. Bibl., AN III 12	f. 318 [1]	€ 55 Lect
F 09	IX	Utrecht, Univ. Bibl., Ms. 1	f. 204 [2]	€ 86 Lect
G 011	IX	London, Brit. Libr., Harley 5684 [f. 251]	f. 252 [2]	€ 87 Lect
H 013	IX	Hamburg, Univ. Bibl., Cod. 91 in scrin.	f. 194 [1]	€ 88 -
K 017	IX	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 63	f. 267 [1]	€ 71 Lect <sup>tab</sup>
L 019	VIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 62	f. 257 [2]	€ 56 -
M 021	IX	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 48	f. 257 [2]	€ 72 Lect <sup>tab</sup>
N 022	VI	St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 537 [f. 182]	f. 231 [2]	€ 19 -
S 028	949	Vatican Library, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 354	f. 235 [2]	€ 89 Lect
U 030	IX	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., [App.] 1, 8 (1397)	f. 291 [2]	€ 90 -
V 031	IX	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 9, S. 399	f. 220 [1]	€ 75 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
W 032	IV/V	Washington D.C., Smithson. Inst., Freer Gall. 3 (06274)	f. 187 [1]	€ 014 -
Y 034	IX	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Add. Mss. 6594	f. 309 [1]	€ 073 Lect
Г 036	X	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 2.2 [f. 158] + St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 33 [f. 99]	f. 257 [1]	€ 70 -
Δ 037	IX	St. Gallen, Stifts-bibl., 48 [Gr.-Lt.]	f. 198 [1]	€ 76 -
Θ 038	IX	Tbilisi, Инст. рукописей, Gr. 28	f. 249 [2]	€ 050 -
Λ 039 + 566	IX	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. inf. 1. 1 + St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 54	f. 157 [2] + f. 122 [2]	€ 77 Lect <sup>m.s.</sup>
Π 041	IX	St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 34	f. 350 [1]	€ 73 -



Ω 045	IX	Athos, Διονυσίου (10) 55	f. 259 [2]	€ 61 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
047	VIII	Princeton, Univ. Libr, Med. a. Ren. Mss., Garrett 1	f. 152 [S]	€ 95 Lect
0211	IX	Tbilisi, Инст. рукописей, Gr. 28	f. 258 [2]	€, 051 -
2	XI/XII	Basel, Univ. Bibl., A. N. IV. 1	f. 248 [1]	€ 1214 Lect
4	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., 84	f. 212 [1]	€ 371 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
7	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 71	f. 186 [1]	€ 287 Lect <sup>text</sup> , Lect <sup>tab</sup>
8	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 49	f. 199 [2]	€ 164 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
9	1167	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 83	f. 298 [1]	€ 279 Lect <sup>tab</sup>
10	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 91	f. 275 [1]	€ 372 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
11	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 121.122	I. f. 230; II. f. 274 [1]	€ 297 -
13	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 50	f. 170 [2]	€ 368 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
14	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 70	f. 392 [1]	€ 1021 -
15	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 64	f. 225 [1]	€ 283 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
16	XIV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 54 [Gr.-Lt.]	f. 361 [2]	€ 449 Lect
17	XV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 55 [Gr.-Lt.]	f. 354 [2]	€ 525 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
21	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 68	f. 203 [2]	€ 286 Lect <sup>m.s.</sup> , Lect <sup>tab</sup>
22	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 72	f. 232 [1]	€ 288 -
23	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 77	f. 230 [1]	€ 1183 -
26	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 78	f. 179 [1]	€ 165 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
27	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 115	f. 460 [1]	€ 1023 Lect <sup>tab,m.s.</sup>
28	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 379	f. 292 [1]	€ 168 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
29	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 89	f. 169 [1]	€ 1022 Lect <sup>tab</sup>
30	XV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 100	f. 313 [1]	€ 522 -
30 <sup>abs</sup>	XV	Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Kk. 5.35	f. 403 [1]	€ 520 -
31	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 94	f. 188 [1]	€ 375 -
32	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 116	f. 244 [1]	€ 296 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>

44	XII	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 4949	f. 259 [1]	€ 239 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
45	XIII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 31	f. 398 [1]	€ 442 Lect
46	ε. 1300	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocci 29	f. 342 [1]	€ 1285 Lect, Lect- tab
47	XV	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D. 5. 2	f. 554 [1]	€ 515 -
49	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Roe 1	f. 223 [1]	€ 155 Lect
52	1285/86	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. Gr. 3	f. 158 [1]	€ 345 -
Etc.				

## SPECIMEN III. EVANGELION-APOSTOLOS-APOCALYPSE

codices (*eapr/NT*)

The codex form *eapr* (NT) should be considered as a composite corpus of an Evangelion, an Apostolos (*eap*) and additional to these two basic corpora, a Revelation codex. The total number *eapr* codex items is: 51 codd. Selected are 45 codd.

Thus: 6 excluded codices. The Chronological limits are: tenth/eleventh to seventeenth centuries.

A great deal of these codices has lectionary equipment. The reason that we present this codex is to show that the NT should be seen primarily as a liturgical book (see the 'lectionary equipment'), instead of a so called 'text codex' and that this codex form (commonly known as 'New Testament') was anyway a standard form in Byzantine manuscript tradition. Moreover, this codex form is closely related to the *eap* codex form (a large number of which also has lectionary equipment), and should be understood as an 'extended' apostolo-evangelion codex.

Result: Lect evidence

Selected codices: 45 codices

+ Lect: 30 codd.

- Lect: 9 codd.

Insufficient data (not counted in result): 6 codd.

List of Excluded Codices

18 [NT + Ps/Od]

241 [loc. uncertain]

242 [NT + Ps/Od]

339 [only fragm.]

1785 [loc. uncertain](δ 405 Lect, Lect<sup>tab</sup> [AKPApE])

Table 3: *Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices* [NT]

ALAND				VON SODEN
1994 <sup>2</sup>				1911 <sup>2</sup>
<i>Serial N<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Age Date</i>	<i>Place Library+ Shelf Mark</i>	<i>fol. [col.]</i>	<i>Lectionary equipment</i>
35	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 199	f. 328 [1]	δ 309 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
61	XVI	Dublin, Trinity Coll., Ms. 30	f. 455 [1]	δ 603 -
69	XV	Leicester, Leicester-shire Record Office, Cod. 6 D 32/1	f. 213 [1]	δ 505 - [EPAKAp]
141	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1160	I+II: f. 400 [1]	δ 408 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
149	X/XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Gr. 171	f. 179 [1]	δ 503 Lect <sup>beim Apostolos</sup>
175	X/XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 2080	f. 247 [1]	δ 95 -
180	e:XII + apr:1273	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Borg. Gr. 18	f. 444 [1]	ε 1498 Lect, Lect <sup>text</sup> , Lect <sup>tab</sup> m.s. + α 300
201	1357	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 11837	f. 493 [2]	δ 403 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
209	eap: XIV; r: XV	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z. 10[394]	f. 411 [1]	δ 457 Lect + α 1581 [Ap]
296	XVI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 123.124	I: f. 257; II: f. 303 [1]	δ 600 - [2Bd.]
367	1331	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Conv. Soppr. 53	f. 349 [1]	δ 400 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
386	XIV	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Gr. 66	f. 393 [1]	δ 401 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
498	XIV	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 17469	f. 186 [1]	δ 402 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
506	XI	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 12	f. 240 [2]	δ 101 Lect
517	XI/XII	Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 34	f. 201 [1]	α 214 + ε 167 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup> Lect
522	1515/16	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Canon. Gr. 34	f. 319 [1]	δ 602 -
680	XIV	New Haven, CT, Yale Univ. Libr., Ms. 248 (Phillipps 7682)	f. 190 [2]	δ 103 -
699	XI	London, Brit. Libr., Add. 28815 [eap] Idem, Egerton 3145 [pr]	f. 302 [1] f. 67 [1]	δ 104 -
757	XIII	Athens, 'Εθν. Βιβλ. 150	f. 414 [1]	δ 304 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
808	XIV	Athens, 'Εθν. Βιβλ. 2251	f. 414 [1]	δ 203 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
824	XIV	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. α. 1	f. 366 [1]	δ 404 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
922	1116	Athos, Γρηγορίου 3	f. 405 [1]	δ 200 Lect, Lect <sup>m.s.</sup>
935	XIV	Athos, Διονυσίου, 141 (27)	f. 410 [1]	δ 361 Lect
986	XIV	Athos, 'Εσφιγγένου 186	f. 441 [1]	δ 508 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1072	XIII	Athos, Λάυρας Γ' 80	f. 411 [2]	δ 406 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1075	XIV	Athos, Λάυρας Α' 195	f. 348 [1]	δ 506 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1094	XIII	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 29	f. 272 [1]	δ 307 Lect, Lect <sup>zum Apostolos</sup>

1248	XIV	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 267	f. 389 [1]	δ 409 Lect <sup>tab</sup> [+ Patr.]
1352 + 2824	XIII	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σιαυρου 94	f. 1-235 [cap] + f. 236-248 [r]	δ 396 Lect <sup>tab</sup> [cap + r]
1384	XI	Andros, Μονή Παναχράντου, 13 [omm. 2 J, 3 J]	f. 296 [1]	δ 100 Lect <sup>tab</sup> [+ Menaion]
1503	1317	Athos, Λαύρας Α' 99	f. 263 [2]	δ 413 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1597	1299	Athos, Βατοπαιδίου 966	f. 515 [1]	δ 308 Lect <sup>tab</sup> , Lect <sup>m.s.</sup>
1617	XV	Athos, Λαύρας Ε' 157	f. 362 [2]	δ 407 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1626	XV	Athos, Λαύρας Ω' 16	f. 272 [1]	δ 305 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1637	1328	Athos, Λαύρας Ω' 141	f. 294 [2]	δ 605 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1652	XVI	Athos, Λαύρας Θ' 152	f. 506 [1]	δ 604 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1668	XI+XVI	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 15	f. 317 [1]	δ 306 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1704	1541	Athos, Κουτλουμουσίου 356	f. 490 [1]	Insuff. Data
2136	XVII	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 26, S. 472 [Gr.-Sl.]	f. 479 [2]	δ 700 - [Gr.-Slav.]
2200	XIV	Elasson, Μονή τῆς Ὀλυμπιοτίσσης, 79	f. 286 [1]	δ 414 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
2201 [capr]	XV	Elasson, Μονή τῆς Ὀλυμπιοτίσσης, 6	f. 245 [1]	δ 374 - [AKPE not Ap]
2352	XV	Meteora, Μεταμορφώσεως, 237	f. 389 [1]	insuff. Data
2494	1316	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 1991	f. 315 [1]	insuff. Data
2495	XV	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 1992	f. 222 [1]	insuff. Data
2554	1434	Bucarest, Bibl. Acad. Române, 3/12610 <sup>6</sup>	f. 397 [1]	insuff. Data

## SPECIMEN IV : TETRAEVANGELION COMMENTARIES (οΕΚ)

In this table we present the Tetraevangelion commentary codex form, where Gospel text and patristic commentary text are united in the same codex: Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια (for the title, see for instance, Athens, Ἐθν. Βιβλ. Cod. 204).

The whole group of eK (Evangelion commentary codices) has been subdivided into sub-groups (see Aland 1994<sup>2</sup>: 'Sigel-konkordanz II. V. Soden: Gregory', 401-405): (1) Antiochian Ev. Comm. (A: 105 cod. items [anonym]); (2) Zigabenus Ev. Comm. (Z<sup>e</sup>: 13 cod. items); (3) Theophylact Ev. Comm. (Θ<sup>e</sup>: 133 cod. items); (4) Anonym Ev. Comm. (E<sup>e</sup>: 1 cod. item). The group presented here is the first of the four groups. This group of commentaries affirms the tetraevange-

lion codex form: the four gospels are interpreted together, in their concrete interrelated fourfold form. NB. The number of tetraevangelion commentary codices differ in: von Soden 1911: 228 cod. items; Sigelkonkordanz II in Aland 1994: 251 cod. items; the Kurzgefasste Liste: Minuskeln (eK): 314 cod. items. Total selected: 173 cod. Excluded: 140 cod.

In this group one can also find lectionary equipment in a substantial number of codices. See Ch. 1: Annex 3: *Table K: NT commentary codices (Aland/von Soden)*.

In this specimen only the first 50 manuscripts of the 173 selected manuscripts are presented

NB. R = Randglossen

*Table 4: Tetraevangelion commentaries*

ALAND				VON SODEN
1994 <sup>2</sup>				1911 <sup>2</sup>
<i>Serial N<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Age/Date</i>	<i>Place/Library + ShelfMark</i>	<i>fol.[col.]</i>	<i>Categories N<sup>o</sup></i>
X 033	X	Munich, Univ. Bibl., 2 <sup>o</sup> Cod. ms. 30	f. 160 [2]	A <sup>3</sup> -
055	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 201	f. 303 [1]	-
12	XIV	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 230	f. 294 [R]	A <sup>137</sup> Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
19	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 189	f. 387 [R]	A <sup>214</sup> -
20	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 188	f. 274 [R]	A <sup>138</sup> Lect, m.s.Lect <sup>tab</sup>
24	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 178	f. 240 [R]	A <sup>18</sup> m.s.Lect <sup>tab</sup>
25	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 191	f. 292 [R]	A <sup>139</sup> Lect passim
34	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 195	f. 469 [R]	A <sup>19</sup> -
36	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 20	f. 509 [R]	A <sup>20</sup> -
37	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 21	f. 357 [R]	A <sup>154</sup> Lect <sup>tab</sup>
39	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 23	f. 288 [R]	A <sup>140</sup> -
40	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 22	f. 312 [R]	A <sup>155</sup> -
48	XII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. D 2. 17	f. 145 [2]	A <sup>232</sup> -
50	XI	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. Gr. 33	f. 241 [R]	A <sup>152</sup> -
63	X	Dublin, Trinity Coll., Ms. 31	f. 1-237 [R]	A <sup>118</sup> m.s. Lect
77	XI	Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl., Theol. Gr. 154	f. 302 [R]	A <sup>143</sup> m.s.Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
100	X	Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. Gr. 1	f. 374 [R]	A <sup>11</sup> Lect, m.s.Lect <sup>tab</sup>
108	XI	Naples, Bibl. Naz., Cod. Neapol. Ex Vind. 3	f. 426 [R, I+II]	A <sup>144</sup> -
127	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 349	f. 378 [R]	A <sup>124</sup> Lect
129	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 358	f. 355 [R]	A <sup>200</sup> Lect <sup>tab</sup>
137	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 756	f. 300 [R]	A <sup>153</sup> Lect <sup>tab</sup>

138	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 757	f. 380 [1]	A <sup>201</sup> + C <sup>124</sup> -
143	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1229	f. 275 [R]	A <sup>125</sup> -
151	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Pal. Gr. 220	f. 224 [R]	A <sup>17</sup> -
154	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Reg. Gr. 28	f. 355 [1]	Θ <sup>ε30</sup> m.s.Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
168	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 570	f. 217 [2]	Θ <sup>ε31</sup> -
194	XI	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Plutei VI. 33	f. 258 [R]	A <sup>130</sup> -
195	XI	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Plutei VI. 34	f. 277 [R]	A <sup>131</sup> -
196	XII	Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laur., Plutei VIII. 12	f. 369 [1]	Z <sup>ε23</sup> -
210	XI	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z. 27 (341)	f. 372 [R]	A <sup>133</sup> -
215	XI	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. Z. 544 (591)	f. 272 [R]	A <sup>134</sup> Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
222	XIV	Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl., Theol. Gr. 180	f. 346 [1]	A <sup>404</sup> -
233	XIII	El Escorial, Real Bibl., Y. II. 8	f. 279 [2]	A <sup>305</sup> -
237	XI	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 85, S. 41	f. 289 [R]	A <sup>13</sup> -
238	XI/XII	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 91, S. 4 + Росс. Госуд. Архив, F. 1607, No. 3	f. 355 [1, Mt, Mk] f. 226 [1, L.J]	A <sup>145</sup> Lect
240	XII	Moskau, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 87, S. 48	f. 411 [1]	Z <sup>ε21</sup> -
244	XII	Moskau, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 88, S. 220	f. 274 [1]	Z <sup>ε20</sup> -
259	XI	Moskau, Гос. Ист. Музей, V. 86, S. 44	f. 262 [R]	A <sup>122</sup> Lect
299	X	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 177	f. 328 [R]	A <sup>21</sup> -
301	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 187	f. 221 [R]	A <sup>156</sup> -
303	1255	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 194A	f. 321 [1]	Θ <sup>ε32</sup> Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
305	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 195	f. 261 [1]	Z <sup>ε30</sup> m.s.Lect
329	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coislin. Gr. 19	f. 321 [R]	A <sup>219</sup> -
353	XII	Milan, Bibl. Ambros., M. 93 sup.	f. 194 [R]	A <sup>210</sup> -
370	XIV	Florence, Bibl. Riccard., 5	f. 437 [1]	Θ <sup>ε41</sup> Lect
373	XV	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1423	f. 221 [R]	A <sup>500</sup> -
374	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1445	f. 173 [1]	A <sup>204</sup> -
377	XVI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1618	f. 339 [1]	A <sup>501</sup> -
379	XV	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1769	f. 437 [1]	Z <sup>ε50</sup> -
391	1055	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Ottob. Gr. 432	f. 232 [R]	A <sup>128</sup> -
Etc.				

SPECIMEN V. EVANGELION-APOSTOLOS-APOCALYPSE

codices (*eaprk*)

In addition to the Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices, this commentary form [*eaprk*] is rare and not a common standard Byzantine commentary form. In this codex patristic commentaries and liturgical texts are united with the text of the NT biblical books. It should be noted that, even in this commentary codex form, ‘lectionary equipment’ is adopted.

Table 5. *Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Codices*

ALAND				von soden
1994 <sup>2</sup>				1911 <sup>2</sup>
886	1454?	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Reg. Gr. 6 [ <i>eaprk</i> : not Cat Ep]	f. 336 [1]	Θ <sup>ε56</sup> Θ <sup>π50</sup> Θ <sup>π56</sup> [+ comm. Ap]
1424	IX/X	Chicago, Jesuit Krauss-McCormick Libr., Gruber Ms. 152 [ <i>eapkr</i> ]	f. 337 [1]	δ 30 Lect [+ Schol + Komm. zu EAKP]
1678	XIV	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 770 [ <i>eaprk</i> ]	f. 334 [1]	Θ <sup>ε404</sup> Α <sup>π541</sup> Θ <sup>π404</sup> ; Α <sup>ν402</sup> Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup>
1780	XIII	Durham, N.C., Duke Univ. Libr., Gr. 1	f. 198 [1]	δ 412 Lect, Lect <sup>tab</sup> + [Komm. zu Evv. + Schol zu KP]

C. Group II. Byzantine Biblical Codices (OT)

SPECIMEN VI. PROPHETOLOGION (II)

In this table, the Prophetologion represents the second main group of Byzantine Greek Codices. The Prophetologion should be studied parallel to another prominent liturgical codex form – the Byzantine Psalterion. The two form the two liturgical pillars of the Byzantine offices. In the Prophetologia, one observes series of OT lessons grouped together and organised according to the lectionary structure of the Byzantine Orthodox calendar. The common structure of this type of codices is threefold: (1) lessons of the feasts of Christmas and Theophany, (2) lessons of the Triodion and Pentekostarion period, (3) lessons of the fixed feasts and commemorations. This codex form is now obsolete and the series of lessons have been adopted in the Byzantine liturgical books (Triodion, Pentekostarion, Menaia). The arrangement of

these three basic elements are diversified in the codices, without losing the main structure.

In this table we have updated the list of known Prophetologia compiled by Rahlfs (1914), by adding Engberg's update (1980/1981), as well as our own update. By excluding fragments and incomplete codices, this table provides a realistic picture of preserved manuscripts of this type (131 mss).

Total number of Prophetologion codices: 150 ms. items (Rahlfs 1914). Selected Prophetologia: 95 codices (Rahlfs 1914). Excluded are: 54 ms. items [fragm.: 45; excl. Engberg: 8; uncertain: 1]. Additions Engberg 1980-81: 14 codices [complete or incomplete, frag. ??]. Additions Engberg 2003: 3 integral mss [incl.] + 16 [incompl. codices/fragm. not incl.]. Supplements in Present Thesis: 18 codices (catalogue research). Total of all known ms. items and mss.: 201 Mss. Total of Selected Prophetologia Codices:  $96 + 14 + 3 + 18 = 131$  Mss. Total excluded ms. items:  $54 + 16 = 70$  codd. Chronological limits: ninth-seventeenth centuries. NB. S. Engberg correspondence of 29/07/05, states (estimates?) that there are more than 204 ms. items. But we do not know how many fragments and incomplete manuscripts are included in this estimated sum. A complete list is not yet available, but will be published in Engberg's forthcoming book on the subject.

The reason that we present this table (in more detail than the other specimens), is that it is precisely this codex form which is of such importance in Byzantine liturgical and patristic tradition, and it has been practically ignored in Western scholarly research, beside a small group of specialists.

We have followed the chronological order of ms-listings as set up by Rahlfs (*Verzeichnis der Lectionar-Handschriften*, 1914, 440-443).

The List of Rahlfs was checked by Engberg (1987).

A serial number 'A' has been introduced in the present thesis (this was not done by Rahlfs):

Not included are: (1) non-prophetologia; (2) mss of uncertain data; (3) incomplete codd; (4) codd with a too small number of folios; (5) fragments.



Table 6 : *Prophetologion*

RAHLFS (1914)				RAHLFS (1914)	ENGBERG 1980/1981
<i>Verzeichnis</i> , p. 440-443				<i>Verzeichnis</i> , Main Part	
<i>Serial N<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Age/Date</i>	<i>Library + Shelf Mark [ancient number]</i>	<i>fol. [col.]</i>	<i>data</i>	<i>Ms. code</i>
Π 1	IX [U]	St. Petersburg, Ροσσ. Ηαυ. Βιβλ., Gr. 51	f. 149	p. 223	Le [X in.]
Π 2	X	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. δ. II	f. 155	p. 76	δ2
Π 3	X	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Reg. Gr. 75	f. 101	p. 246	R [982 A. D]
Π 4	X	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Gr. 13	f. 324	p. 307	V [XI]
Π 5	X/XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1842	f. 85. [inc.]	p. 267	V1842
Π 6	X/XI [U]	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 7	f. ?	p. 285	Sin7
Π 7	X/XI [U]	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 8	f. 299	p. 285	Sin8
Π 8	X/XI [U]	Trier, Bistumsarchiv 143. F	f. 138	p. 296	T
Π 9	1054	St. Petersburg, Ροσσ. Ηαυ. Βιβλ., Gr. 217	f. 156	p. 225-226	Len217 [XIII]
Π 10	1072	Athens, Ἐθν. Βιβλ. 20	f. 224	p. 5	A
Π 11	1072	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. δ. V	f. 162	p. 76	δ5 [XII-XIII]
Π 12	1078	Athos, Λαύρα 190	f. 252	p. 19	L190
Π 13	XI	Athos, Φιλοθέου 6, [NT & OT Lect] [L <sup>7a</sup> 751]	f. ?	p. 23	
Π 14	XI	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A. δ. X	f. 83. (inc.)	p. 76	δ10
Π 15	XI	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr. 98	f. 182	p. 80	S98
Π 16	XI	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr. 99	f. 225	p. 80	S99 [XII]
Π 17	XI	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr. 143β+ 147 + 704 No 12	f. 143b + 147, 45 + 172	p. 80	S143/147
Π 18	XI	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr. 247	f. 188	p. 81	S247
Π 19	XI	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Laud. gr. 36	f. 275	p. 173	dz
Π 20	XI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 372	f. 291	p. 207	
Π 21	XI	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1860	f. 120	p. 267	V1860

Π 22	XI	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκα- τερίνης, Gr. 13	f. 182	p. 286	Sin13 [XIII]
Π 23	XI/XII	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκα- τερίνης, Gr. 12	f. ?	p. 286	Sin12 [XIII-XIV]
Π 24	XI/XII	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκα- τερίνης, Gr. 17	f. ?	p. 286	
Π 25	XI/XII?	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκα- τερίνης, Gr. 18	f. ?	p. 286	
Π 26	1116	Moscow, Гос. Ист. Музей, V, 8, S. 483	f. 200	p. 148	
Π 27	1133	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 243	f. 219	p. 206	P243
Π 28	XII	Athos, Διονυσίου 82	f. ?	p. 10	D82
Π 29	XII	Athos, Διοχαραίου 28	f. ?	p. 11	
Π 30	XII	Athos, Ἐσφυγμένου 46	f. 197	p. 11	Γενεσο- παροιμία
Π 31	XII?	Athos, Λάραξ 195	f. 111	p. 17	L195
Π 32	XII?	Athos, Λάραξ 196	f. 106	p. 18	
Π 33	XII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.δ. I	f. 141	p. 76	δ1
Π 34	XII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.δ. IIII	f. 107	p. 76	δ3
Π 35	XII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.δ. IX	f. 117	p. 76	δ9
Π 36	XII	London, Brit. Mus., Add. 11 841	f. 86	p. 104	B1
Π 37	XII	London, Brit. Mus. Add. 29 715	f. ?	p. 105	B2 [175b- 202b, 249a-end]
Π 38	XII	London, Brit. Mus., Add. 36 660	f. 192	p. 106	B3
Π 39	XII	Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., SS. Salv. 102	f. 254	p. 137	
Π 40	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 272	f. 434	p. 206	P272
Π 41	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 273	f. 203	p. 206	P273
Π 42	XII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 274	f. 98. [inc.]	p. 206	
Π 43	XII	Patmos, Μονή τοῦ Ἱωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, Gr. 210	f. 281	p. 218	Pt
Π 44	XII	St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 218	f. 130	p. 226	Len218
Π 45	XII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 391	f. 138	p. 237	B(arb)391
Π 46	XII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 446	f. 205	p. 238	Bb
Π 47	XII	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκα- τερίνης, Gr. 10	f. ?	p. 285	Sin10 [XIV]
Π 48	XII/XIII	El Escorial, Real. Bibl., Y (lat.)-III- 2	f. ?	p. 54	

Π 49	XII/XIII	Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., SS. Salv. 122	f. 237	p. 137	
Π 50	XII/XIII	Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., SS. Salv. 131	f. 198	p. 137	
Π 51	XII/XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 275	f. 198	p. 206	P275
Π 52	XII/XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 14	f. 124	p. 286	
Π 53	XII/XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 16	f. ?	p. 286	
Π 54	1202	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σταυροῦ, Gr. 48, and → St. Petersburg, <b>Росс. Нац. Библи.</b> , Gr. 325	f. 174 + f. 2	p. 83 + p. 230	
Π 55	1280	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 770	f. 106	p. 256	V770
Π 56	XIII	Athos, Φιλοθέου 34	f. ?	p. 23	
Π 57	XIII	Berat, βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μητροπόλεως (and other Churches). Nr. VII	f. ?	p. 27 [not incl.]	
Π 58	XIII	Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., Plut. X 27	f. 168	p. 67	
Π 59	XIII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.δ. IV	f. 257	p. 76	δ4
Π 60	XIII	Messina, Bibl. Reg. Univ., SS. Salv. 164	f. 187	p. 137	
Π 61	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Gr. 805	f. 63	p. 215-216 [n.incl]	P805
Π 62	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 338	f. 86	p. 237	B(arb)338
Π 63	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 346	f. 198	p. 237	B(arb)346
Π 64	XIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Barb. Gr. 418	f. 61	p. 238	B(arb)418
Π 65	XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 9	f. ?	p. 286	Sin9
Π 66	XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 15	f. ?	p. 286	
Π 67	XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 550	f. 489	p. 292	[Ps, Oktoe, Men, Triod, Lect V et NT]
Π 68	XIV	Amorgos, Μονὴ τῆς Χοζοβιωτίσσης 1 [Mel. S. 80]	f. 203	p. 2 [Politis 1976]	
Π 69	?	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 1720	f. 193?	p. 211-212 [n. Incl]	

Π 70	XIV	Athos, Ἰβήρων 264	f. ?	p. 12	
Π 71	XIV	Athos, Καρακάλλου 26,	f. ?	p. 15	
Π 72	XIV	Athos, Καρακάλλου 119	f. ?	p. 15	
Π 73	XIV	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 48	f. ?	p. 20	
Π 74	XIV	Athos, Πρωτάτου 27	f. ?	p. 23	
Π 75	XIV	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr.240	f. 272	p. 81	
Π 76	XIV	Patmos, Μονή τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου, Gr.211	f. ?	p. 218	
Π 77	XIV	St. Petersburg, Ροσ. Нац. Библи., Gr. 550	f. 251	p. 230	L550
Π 78	XIV	Roma, Bibl. Vallicell., Gr. 64	f. 124	p. 235	
Π 79	XIV/XV	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, A.δ. XIII	f. 142	p. 76	
Π 80	1449	Zakynthos, Δημ. βιβλ. Nr. 29	f. 285	p. 325	
Π 81	XV	Athos, Φιλοθέου 170	f. ?	p. 23	
Π 82	XV	Cambridge, Clare Coll. 31	f. 206	p. 38	
Π 83	1520	Athos, Ἰβήρων 882	f. ?	p. 14	
Π 84	1545	Sinai, Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr.19	f. ?	p. 286	
Π 85	1553	Athos, Κουτλουμουσίου 303	f. 200	p. 16	
Π 86	1555	Athos, Κουτλουμουσίου 337	f. 256	p. 16	
Π 87	1575	Athen, Ἐθν. Βιβλ. 24	f. 346	p. 5	
Π 88	1579	Athos, Λαύρας 207 [Rahlfs 1299 AD, p. 18?]	f. 202	p. 18	
Π 89	1593	Athos, Διονυσίου 432 [Litur.]	f. ?	p. 10	
Π 90	XVI	Athen, Ἐθν. Βιβλ.. 36	f. 137	p. 6	
Π 91	XVI	Athen, Ἐθν. Βιβλ.. 37	f. 227	p. 6	
Π 92	XVI	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 454	f. 164	p. 21	
Π 93	XVI	Athos, Παντοκράτορος 179	f. ?	p. 22	
Π 94	XVI	Athos, Σταυρονικήτα 126,	f. ?	p. 23	
Π 95	XVI	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα Gr. 300	f. ? [f. 216-311]	p. 81	

ADDITIONAL CODICES (Ed. Engberg 1980/1981)					
Π 96	IX	Athos, Παντελεήμονος 95	-	-	Ru
Π 97	IX	Moscow, Γοσ. Ист. Музей, V.262	-	-	Mon
Π 98	X	Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., Plut. IX. 15	-	-	F
Π 99	X	Athos, Λαύρας 177	-	-	L177
Π 100	X	London, Colleg. Sion., Arc. I.1	-	-	Sc
Π 101	XI	Thessaloniki, Μονή τῶν Βλαταίων 49	-	-	B1

Π 102	XI	Princeton, B. Firestone, cod. De Wald	-	-	W
Π 103	XI/XII	Alexandria, Βιβλ. τοῦ Πατρ., 141	-	-	A141
Π 104	XII	Athos, Λαύρας 309	-	-	L309
Π 105	XII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 768	-	-	V768
Π 106	XII/XIII	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σταυροῦ, Gr.42	-	-	St
Π 107	XII/XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 372	-	-	P372
Π 108	XIII	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Barocc. 99	-	-	Bc
Π 109	?	Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur., Plut. X. 26	-	-	Laur.X26
ADDITIONAL CODICES (Engberg 1988)					
Π 110	XIII	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 308	-		
Π 111	XV	[Mega Spelaion 135]	-		
ADDITIONAL CODICES (Engberg 2003)					
Π 112	XV	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 20	-	p. 96	
Π 113	XVII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 2042	-	p. 96	
Π 114	1285	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Auct. T. 3.6	[Proph. + Trio-dion]	p. 99	

ADDITIONAL CODICES (Supplemented in the Present Thesis)			Fol. [Col.]	Ms. Catalogues
Π 115	XI	Athos, Βατοπαίδιου 626,	f. 224	Eustratiades/Arcadios
Π 116	XI	Sofia, Народна Библиотека “Св.Св. Кирил и Методий”, Gr. 18	-	Stojanov (1973)
Π 117	XI/XII	Princeton, Univ. Libr., Gen. Coll., 112	-	Benett et al. (1991)
Π 118	XII	Athos, Βατοπαίδιου, 622	f. 160	Eustratiades/Arcadios
Π 119	XIV	Athos, Βατοπαίδιου, 623	f. 279	Eustratiades/Arcadios
Π 120	XIV	Kiev, Національна Бібліотека України імені В. І. Вернадського, Києво Печерська Лавра Gr. 550 [?]	-	Fonkič (1984)
Π 121	XIV	Athos, Λαύρας 746 [H 91.], [Menol. + Propheteiai]	f. 429	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 122	XV	Athos, Λαύρας 301 [’ 61], [Prov. Sal. + Propheteiai]	f. 61	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 123	XV	Athos, Βατοπαίδιου, 624	f. 172	Eustratiades/Arcadios
Π 124	XVI	Athos, Λαύρας 1226 [I 142.], [Trio-dion + Prophetologion]	f. 501	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 125	XVI	Athos, Λαύρας 1616 [7125.],	f. 187	Spyridon/Eustratiades

Π 126	XVI	Athos, Λαυρας 1617 [7126.],	f. 180	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 127	1561	Athos, Λαυρας 757 [H 102.],	f. 215	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 128	XVII	Athos, Λαυρας 599 [E 137.],	f. 226 [2]	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 129	XVII	Istanbul, Πατρ. Βιβλ. Μονή τῆς Ἀγίας Τριάδος (Chalki) 18	-	Tsakopoulos
Π 130	XVII	Athens, Ἐθν. Βιβλ. 25	f. 154	Sakkelion
Π 131	1655	Athos, Λαυρας, 1160 [I 76.]	f. 152	Spyridon/Eustratiades
Π 132	?	Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbibl., T. 276	-	Richard/Olivier

#### D. Group III. Byzantine Composite Codices (OT & NT)

##### SPECIMEN VII. PANDECT/COMPLETE BIBLES (OT/NT)

The Byzantine Greek OT & NT codex is a composite manuscript in which the books of both Testaments (ἐξῆγκοντάβιβλον) are placed together in order to provide a complete collection of Christian canonical literature.

Information about both constitutive parts (OT and NT) is dispersed over both disciplines. We took the basic data from Rahlfs/Fraenkel and supplemented it with Aland, von Soden and Gregory. Von Soden's (and Scrivener's, Bordier's, Engberg's) research indicates that several of these codexes also have lectionary equipment.

The reason for presenting the complete Bibles in this table is to demonstrate the codicological union of the manuscripts. Remarkable is that academia split their studies into two different disciplines, thus ignoring the very *raison d'être* of this codex form, especially since this group contains the jewels of critical text research. It would also be interesting to notate the lectionary equipment in these complete Bibles.

It seems as if this codex form is only a small one (11 codices.), and in fact a considerable number of them are not « complete » at all. The number and arrangement of included books differ. See for precise contents of the manuscripts Rahlfs and Fraenkel.

Table 7: *Pandect/Complete Bibles (OT/NT)*

RAHLFS				FRAEN- KEL I	ALAND	V. SODEN	GREGORY
1914 (OT)				2004 (OT)	1994 <sup>2</sup> (NT)	1911 (NT)	1900 (NT)
<i>Serial N<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>Age/ Date</i>	<i>Library + Shelf Mark</i>	<i>fol. [col.]</i>	<i>p.</i>			<i>p.</i>
S	IV [U]	St. Petersburg, Росс. Нац. Библ., Gr. 25	f. 393 [!]	201-206	ⲁ 01	Ⲕ 2	18-29
(p. 226-229)							
A	V [U]	London, Brit. Libr., Royal 1D V-VIII	f. 279 + 238 + 118 + 144	221-226	A 02	Ⲕ 4	29-32
(p. 114-116)							
B	IV [U]	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Gr. 1209	f. 1536	337-344	B 03	Ⲕ 1	32-40
(p. 258-260)							
C	V [U]	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coin- slin. 9	f. 209	313-315	C 04	Ⲕ 3	40-42
(p. 193-194)							
V [III]	VIII	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc. 1	f. 164	372-374	[NT lost]	-	-
(p. 306 [II])		+					
V [I]	VIII	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Gr. 2106	f. 132	344-346			
(p. 270 [II])							
55	X	Vatican City, Bibl. Vat., Reg. gr. 1	f. 565	-	[NT lost]		
(p. 245-246)							
130	XII/XI- II	Vienna, Österr. Nat. Bibl., Theol. Gr. 23	f. 623	-	218	Ⲕ 300	168
(p. 318-319)							
106	1334	Ferrara, Bibl. Com. 187 I.II, 188 II	f. 211 + 214 + 114	-	582	Ⲕ 410	205
(p. 59-61)							
68	XV	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc. 5	f. 441	-	205	Ⲕ 500	167
p. 306-307							
122	XV	Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marc. 6	f. 431	-	205 <sup>abs</sup>	Ⲕ 501	167
(p. 307)							
44	XV	Zittau, Stadtbibl. A.1	f. 775	-	664	Ⲕ 502	210
(p. 325-326)							

## E. Group IV. Byzantine Composite Codices (Bibl. &amp; Lit)

## SPECIMEN VIII. BYZANTINE BIBLICAL/LITURGICAL CODICES

This table shows the manuscripts that contain liturgical and biblical components, together in one codex. We expect that, due to the large number of unexplored liturgical manuscripts, plus the biblical and patristic manuscripts with liturgical elements, this group will grow to become a very large group.

Total selected Codices (/ Lit) : 27

Excluded Codices : 1

*Table 8 : Byzantine Biblical/Liturgical codices :  
with Evangelion/Apostle lessons*

ALAND				GREGORY I
1994				1900
Serial N <sup>o</sup>	Age/ Date	Library + Shelf Mark	fol. [col.]	Serial N <sup>o</sup>
/ 58	XVI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Gr. 50	f. 49	Evl 58
/ 93	XVI	Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 326	f. 144	Evl 93
/ 487	XVII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Γ.α. 18	f. 170	Evl 487
/ 490	IX	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Γ.β. 7	f. 172	Evl 490
/ 493	XII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Γ.β. 11	f. 20	Evl 493
/ 496	XIII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Γ.β. 14	f. 54	Evl 496
/ 503	XIII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Γ.β. 35	f. 83	Evl 503
/ 507	XIV	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Δ.γ. 7	f. 115	Evl 507
/ 508	XVIII	Grottaferrata, Bibl. della Badia, Δ.γ. 26	f. 103	Evl 508
/ 531	XI	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Borg. Gr. 431	f. 145	Evl 531
/ 552	XIII	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr. 1813	f. 266	Evl 552
/ 577	XVII	Athos, Διονυσίου, 174 [378]	f. 211	Evl 577
/ 693	XV	Athos, Ἰβήρων, 847 [880]	f. 28	-
/ 713	XVIII	Athos, Ξενοφώντος, 68	f. 66	Evl 713
/ 733	XVIII	Athos, Γρηγορίου, 71 [118]	f. 74	-
/ 755	XV	Athos, Φιλοθέου, 1889 [125]	f. 164	Evl 755
/ 896	XIII	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 550	f. 489	Evl 896
/ 897	1522	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 659	f. 397	Evl 897
/ 908	1697	Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἀγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Gr. 943	f. 80	Evl 908
/ 925	XVII	Venedig, Bibl. Naz. [Gr.-Lat.], Marc. Gr. II, 188 [1402]	f. 65	Evl 925
/ 940	XIII	London, Brit. Libr., Egerton 2743	f. 147	Evl 940
/ 1017	XII	Jerusalem, Πατρ. Βιβλ., Σάββα 257	f. 396	Evl 1017
/ 1213	XVII	Lesbos, Kalloni/Limonos, 221	f. 192	-



/1344	XIV	Alexandria, Βιβλ. Πατρ., 104	f. 48	-
/1361	XVIII	Athos, Ἐσφριγμένον, 237	-	-
/1387	XVI	Moskau, Гос. Ист. Музей, V.271. S.486	f. 135	-
/1580	XVI	Ann Arbor/Univ. Libr., 130	f. 416	-

### CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVE

In this article, we have attempted to demonstrate (1) the anchoring of the biblical as well as the patristic writings in the liturgy of the church; and (2) the close connection between the Scriptures and the interpretative framework of the fathers, by exploring: the codicological, liturgical forms of the Byzantine Greek manuscripts from which the Byzantine manuscripts stem.

A major conclusion of the basic idea is the desirability of new codico-liturgical parameters to classify the manuscripts, to broaden the horizon of our knowledge of the Byzantine biblical and patristic manuscripts, as they are today. To this end we have developed an outline for a *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts*, which is presented in the last two sections. If elaborated, such a classification would contribute towards a reorganisation of the study of the Byzantine biblical and patristic codices and open new doors for cross-disciplinary research. Through the Catalogue the extant manuscripts will be presented in a new way, whereby groups of manuscripts will be placed together side by side to show new interrelationships and to reunite (visually) the manuscript materials which have been isolated and abstracted from their codicological heritage.

A future research programme could contain the following components:

- (1) The inauguration of a cataloguing programme in which the Byzantine ecclesiastical manuscripts are selected/collected on the basis of a codico-liturgical model, taking the existing catalogues as a point of departure (involving existing institutes from e.g. Paris, Münster, Göttingen, Thessaloniki);

- (2) The extension of the groups of Byzantine manuscripts [normally limited to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries<sup>222</sup>] to include Byzantine codices up to the end of the nineteenth century and, in fact, up to our own time;
- (3) A revisit to the local library catalogues of manuscripts (even to the local handwritten catalogues) in order to reposition the codicological identification, so as to be able to return to the individual codices themselves.
- (4) The publishing of new manuscript editions that are more akin to the original codex forms, e.g. a Tetra-Evangelion, or an Evangelion (cf. formerly Chicago project), and particularly a commentary manuscript such as the (anonymous) Tetraevangelion Scholion Commentary (see Migne PG 106: Scholia Palaia) or the 'standard' commentary of Theophylact of Bulgaria;
- (5) Fresh evaluation of the manuscript texts, on the basis of new codicological parameters of collation, including the apparatuses used in the codices by the scribes (e.g. lectionary equipment, patristic scholia and commentaries, musical notation, text-division marks, iconographic design etc);
- (6) Comparison of the Greek manuscript tradition, with that of the Slavonic, Romanian, Georgian Middle Eastern traditions for example, against the background of the one Tradition from which they all stem and one library background in which they were housed.
- (7) Research of the Latin ecclesiastical manuscripts, because they are ruled by the same codico-liturgical laws of codex formation.

Finally, it would be very interesting to attune the intended cataloguing programme to a parallel cataloguing programme for Byzantine classical manuscripts, since this type of extra-ecclesiastical Greek literature is often combined with ecclesiastical material in the codices and such a catalogue does not exist, as far as we are aware. In a similar vain, it would be rele-

<sup>222</sup> This extension was never absent in the Greek & Russian scholarly and cataloguing traditions.

vant to compare the Jewish/rabbinical codices in the context of the study of the Byzantine Greek manuscripts.

*Pointers in the direction of future research*

The setting up and edition of a *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* along the principles set out in this thesis is the first task envisaged, to make the inner cohesion between Bible research and patrology fully concrete, and visible. In this process the following academic disciplines should be involved: NT and OT research, patristics, liturgical studies, hymnography, hagiography, iconography. The parameters for the structure of such a Catalogue can be found in the thesis at hand.

On the newly established ground of reclassified manuscripts, fresh investigations could be started in the field of textual research of the biblical books, according to the codicological entities in which these books and texts were transmitted. I conjecture that the model of “cohesion” will throw new light on questions of textual history and textual transmission and will have consequences for the future edition programmes.

New editions should be produced, for instance of the Prophetologion, which is very interesting from the point of view of ancient stages of textual tradition. Such a project could start with a diplomatic or phototype edition of the unique, printed edition of the Prophetologion (Venice, 1597). To our mind, such an edition should be executed according to the (codicological) viewpoints developed in this thesis.<sup>223</sup> Other publications could include academic editions of the Evangelion and/or Tetraevangelion, or the Apostolos, the more authentic codex forms of ancient Christianity. Most certainly, a NT (with or without the Apocalypse) could be “re-edited” according to the basic codicological forms in which it was transmitted (Evangelion/Apostolos &/or Tetraevangelion/Praxapostolos).

<sup>223</sup> The existing edition of the Prophetologion produced in the context of the MMB project (Copenhagen) was not developed in correspondence to the demands of the codicological approach.

Codicological and liturgical manuscript research could be combined with parallel research of the biblical manuscripts in Slavonic, Romanian, etc., because in these traditions the same philological and theological approaches have been maintained.

## ANNEX 1

*Tables I : Lectionaries [Lektionarien] (Gregory/Aland)*

## I. A. Byzantine Lectionary Codices

Εὐαγγέλια (I)

/e : ἐβδομάδες [ἐβδ]

Evangelion with lessons of all seven days of the week (ἐβδομάδες = κα-  
θημεριναί and σαββατο-κυριακαί)

/esk : ἐβδ + σαββατο-κυριακαί

Evangelion with lessons of all seven days of the week between Easter and  
Pentecost and lessons (the rest of the year) of the Saturday/Sunday  
(ἐβδομάδες and σαββατοκυριακαί)

/sk : σαβ.-κυρ.

Evangelion with lessons of the Saturday/Sunday only (σαββατοκυρια-  
καί)

/k : κυρ.

Evangelion with lessons of the Sunday only (κυριακαί)

/sel : ἐκλ.

Evangelion with lessons for particular days (ἐκλόγαι)

/Lit : Λειτ.

Evangelion lessons included in a Liturgical codex, i.e. Euchologion (Λει-  
τουργικόν)

/Unsp : ἄδηλ.

Evangelion with lessons which cannot be specified (ἄδηλοι)

Ἀπόστολοι (Ia)

/ae : ἐβδ.

Apostolos with lessons of all seven days of the week (ἐβδομάδες)

/aesk : ἐβδ + σαββατο-κυριακαί

Apostolos with lessons of all seven days of the week between Easter and  
Pentecost and lessons (the rest of the year) of the Saturday/Sunday  
(ἐβδομάδες and σαββατοκυριακαί)

/ask : σαβ.-κυρ.

Apostolos with lessons of the Saturday/Sunday only (σαββατοκυριακαί)

/ak : κυρ.

Apostolos with lessons of the Sunday only (κυριακαί)

/asel : ἐκλ.

Apostolos with lessons for particular days (ἐκλόγαι)

/aLit : Λειτ.

Apostle lessons included in a Liturgical codex, i.e. Euchologion (Λειτουργικόν)

/aUnsp : ᾠδῆλ.

Apostoloi lessons which cannot be specified (ᾠδηλοί)

Ἀποστολοευαγγέλια (/+a)

/+ae : ἐβδ.

Apostolo-evangelion with lessons of all seven days of the week (ἐβδομάδες)

/+aesk : ἐβδ + σαββατο-κυριακαί

Apostolo-evangelion with lessons of all seven days of the week between Easter and Pentecost and lessons (the rest of the year) of the Saturday/Sunday (ἐβδομάδες and σαββατοκυριακαί)

/+ask : σαβ.-κυρ.

Apostolo-evangelion with lessons of the Saturday/Sunday only (σαββατοκυριακαί)

/+ak : κυρ.

Apostolo-evangelion with lessons of the Sunday only (κυριακαί)

/+asel : : ἐκλ.

Apostolo-evangelion with lessons for particular days (ἐκλόγαι)

/+aLit : Λειτουργ.

Apostle-evangelion lessons included in a Liturgical codex, i.e. Euchologion (Λειτουργικόν)

/+aUnsp : ᾠδῆλ.

Apostle-evangelion lessons which cannot be specified (ᾠδηλοί)

#### Sources :

K. ALAND (et al.), 'Sigelkonkordanzen : II. von Soden : Gregory', in *Kurzgefasste Liste*, Berlin - New York, 1994, p. 401-405.

C. R. GREGORY, *Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908.

C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, I-III, Leipzig, 1900-1909.

## ANNEX 2

*Tables K : NT commentary codices (Aland/von Soden)*K. I<sup>224</sup> : Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices [eK]

## 1. Tetraevangelion Commentary Codices

- Anonymous Evangelion commentary codd [eK[Anon A]], originating between the fifth and eighth/ninth centuries;<sup>225</sup> this commentary edition with scholia in the margins is identified as comprising the commentaries of Chrysostom for M and J; of Victor of Antioch for Mk and for L Titus of Bostra, referred to as Antiochian commentary codex (von Soden: A);<sup>226</sup> [Aland: 105 codd; von Soden: 103 codd]
- Theophylact tetraevangelion commentary codd [eK[Theoph]], (von Soden: Ê); [Aland: 133 codd; von Soden: 115 codd]
- Zigabenus tetraevangelion commentary codd [eK[Zig]], (von Soden: Z); [Aland: 13 codd; von Soden.: 10 codd]
- An Anonymous Evangelion commentary of unknown origin [eK[Anon B]], (von Soden: Eâ); [Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 1 cod]

## 2. Separate Evangelion commentaries

- Nicetas' commentaries to John, Luke and Matthew [ePK: J[Nic], L[Nic], Mt[Nic]], (von Soden: Nμ, Nλ, Nι); [Aland: 32 codd, von Soden: 32 codd → Aland/von Soden: Nμ 7, 6 codd, Nλ 19, 17 codd, Nι: 6, 6 codd]
- Cyril of Alexandria's commentary to John [ePK: J[Cyr]], (von Soden: Kι) [Aland: 5 codd, von Soden: 5 codd]
- Anonymous catena scholia to Matthew and John [ePK: Mt[Anon], J[Anon]], (von Soden: Cμ, Cι) [Aland: John: 13 codd, Mt: 3 codd; von Soden: John: 13 codd, Mt: 3 codd]

## K. II: Praxapostolos Commentary Codices [apK]

## 1. The praxapostolos commentary (Acts, General and Pauline Epistles)

- Oecumenius commentary to the Praxapostolos [apK[Oec]], (von Soden: O: APK or PK/KP or PAp) [Aland: 25 codd; von Soden: 26 codd]

<sup>224</sup> The numbering K I through K V is ours, in order to mark the order of the whole group of classified K manuscripts.

<sup>225</sup> H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911<sup>2</sup>, p. 612.

<sup>226</sup> Compiled by an unknown editor, probably living in the Justinian age.

- Oecumenius' commentary to the Acts and General Epistles combined with Theodoretus' commentary to the Pauline Epistles [ap-K[Oec + Theod]], (von Soden: OΘδ) [Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 2 codd]
- Oecumenius' commentary to the Acts and General Epistles combined with Theophylacts' commentary to the Pauline Epistles [ap-K[Oec + Theoph]], (von Soden: OΘ) [Aland: 8 codd; von Soden: 7 codd]
- Anonymous commentary to the Praxapostolos [apK[Anon A]], (von Soden: Eα) [Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 1 cod]

## 2. The praxapostolos with the Apocalypse commentary

- Oecumenius commentary to the Praxapostolos and the Apocalypse, (von Soden: O: APKAp); [Aland: -; von Soden: 8 codd]
- Oecumenius commentary to the AK and Theophylacts' commentary to Paul and the Apocalypse, (von Soden: OΘ) [Aland: —; von Soden: 2 codd.]

## 3. Separate commentaries to parts of the Praxapostolos

Separate commentaries to the Acts and the Seven General Epistles of the Apostles (aK)

- Andreas' commentary to the Acts and the Seven General Epistles, (von Soden: Aπρ: AK or A or K); [Aland: 11 codd; von Soden: 10 codd]
- Oecumenius' commentary to the Acts and the Seven General Epistles, (von Soden: Oπρ) [Aland: 6 codd; von Soden: 6 codd.]

Separate commentaries to the Pauline Epistles (incl. Hebrews) (pK)

- Chrysostom (von Soden: X); [Aland: 11 codd; von Soden: 11 codd]
- Theodoret (von Soden: Θδ); [Aland: 7 codd; von Soden: 6 codd]
- John of Damascus (von Soden: I); [Aland: 2 codd; von Soden: 2 codd]
- Niketas (von Soden: N); [Aland: 3 codd; von Soden: 3 codd.]
- Zigabenus (von Soden: Z); [Aland: 3 codd; von Soden: 3 codd.]
- Theophylact (von Soden: Θ); [Aland: 42 codd; von Soden: 42 codd]
- Oecumenius (von Soden: Oπ); [Aland: 47 codd; von Soden: 47 codd]
- Anonymous catena commentary (von Soden: Cπ); [Aland: 6 codd; von Soden: 6 codd.]
- Anonymous commentary (von Soden: Eπ); [Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 1 cod]

## K. III: Apocalypse Commentary Codices (rK)

Separate commentaries to the Apocalypse

- Andreas' commentary to the Apocalypse (von Soden: Av); (Aland: 62 codd; von Soden: 57 codd]
- Arethas' commentary to the Apocalypse (von Soden: Ap); (Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 2 codd]



- Oecumenius' commentary to the Apocalypse (von Soden: O $\alpha$ ); (Aland: 5 codd; von Soden: 5 codd]
  - Maximus' commentary to the Apocalypse (von Soden: M); (Aland: 1 cod; von Soden: 3 codd]
- NB. See above: The praxapostolos with the Apocalypse commentary

#### K. IV: Apostolos-Evangelion Commentary Codices (eapPK)

- an Apostolos-Evangelion Commentary ("incomplete") codex (without comm. to Acts); [Aland: 1 cod; von Soden —]

#### K. V: Evangelion-Apostolos-Apocalypse Commentary Codices [NT commentary] (eaprK)

- a Complete Apostolos-Evangelion-Apocalypse Commentary codex; [Aland: 4 codd; von Soden —]

#### *Sources:*

- K. ALAND (et al.), 'Sigelkonkordanzen: II. von Soden: Gregory', in *Kurzgefasste Liste*, Berlin - New York, 1994, p. 401-405.
- H. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911, p. 249-292.

## ANNEX 3

*Byzantine OT Codices : Classification Rablfs*

## Byzantine OT Text Codices

## (1) Octateuch Codices

Octateuchus (Oct.): Genesis (Gen.), Exodus (Exod.), Leviticus (Lev.),  
Numeri (Num.), Deuteronomium (Deut.), Iosue (Ios.), Iudicum  
(Iud.), Ruth

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 374-377 |
| (b) Catenen             | p. 377-378 |
| (c) Commentare          | p. 378-382 |

## (2) Historical Codices

Regnorum I-IV (Reg.), Paralipomenon I-II (Par.), Esdrae I-II (Esdr.)

[NB. Esdr. I-II = apogryphes Esdrasbuch und kanonisches Buch Esdr.-  
Neh.]

- |                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte  | p. 382-385 |
| (b) Catenen              | p. 385     |
| (c) Commentare see above | p. 379-382 |

## 3) Historical Codices

Esther (Est.), Iudith (Idt.), Tobit (Tob.)

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 385-387 |
| [b and c are absent]    |            |

## (4) Historical Codices

Machabaeorum I-IV (Mac.)

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 387-390 |
| [b and c are absent]    |            |

## (5) Psalms and Odes

Psalmi, Odae (Ps. Od.)

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 390-399 |
| (b) Catenen             | p. 399-401 |
| (c) Commentare          | p. 402-410 |

## (6) Libri sapientiales incl. Ps. Sal.

Iob (Iob), Proverbia (Prov), Ecclesiastes (Eccl.), Canticum (Cant),  
Sapientia (Sap), Siracides (Sir), Psalmi Salomonis (Ps Sal)

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 410-414 |
| (b) Catenen             | p. 415-420 |
| (c) Commentare          |            |
| p. 420-424              |            |

## (7) XVI Prophetiae

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| (a) Einfache Bibeltexte | p. 424-428 |
| (b) Catenen             | p. 428-430 |
| (c) Commentare          | p. 430-438 |

[8] Verzeichnis der Lectionar-Handschriften p. 440-443

Additional Compilations

Octateuch and Historical Codices

Historical and Poetic Codices

Historical and Prophet Codices

Poetic and Prophets Codices

All OT books in one Codex [Psalms excluded]

<sup>a</sup> Excluded from this category are commentaries in the form of *Σειραί*, are the deuterio-canonical books (cf. Faulhaber, 1909, p. 387)

<sup>b</sup> There are many *Σειραί* or Catena manuscripts compiled by anonymous editors (see Athens/Ethn. Bibl./Sakkelion: Index)

<sup>c</sup> There are extensive manuscript materials, see Swete III, p. 811-834 (Faulhaber, 1909, p. 387)

*Source :*

A. RAHLFS, *Ibid.*, Berlin, 1914, p. 373; cf. p. xviii-xix.

References are given from Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis* (1914): 'Übersicht über das handschriftliche Material für die einzelnen Teile des A.T.', p. 373-439, and 'Verzeichnis der Lectionar-Handschriften', p. 441-443.

## ANNEX 4

*Rahlfs' serial numbering of manuscripts (sigla)*

Rahlfs used the list of Holmes/Parsons as a basis on which to build his catalogue, and proceeded to number the manuscripts as of serial number 312. We have given the first group of Holmes/Parsons, the group number [0].

[0] The Revised List of Holmes/Parsons (see for mutations/alterations 'Verzeichnis der Sigeln': n. 1 Holmes-Parsons, p. 335-337) including Psalterion manuscripts (Ps. Od.), p. 339-345. The letters/numbers of this group are:

(a) letter code: A B C D F G K L M Q R S T U V W Z I-VI = 22 manuscript items

(b) number code: 13 – 311 [299 numbers – 61 open numbers = 238 manuscript items]

Total a + b = 260 manuscript items

Note: there are respectively 4 (a) and 109 (b) separate Psalterion ms. items (Ps. Od.) in this group (see further Psalterion codices), besides the ones included in larger codex formations (OT + NT codices).

[1] The OT codices without Psalterion manuscripts (Ps. Od.), p. 345-355.

The numbers of this group are: 312-769 [458 numbers – 19 open numbers = 439 manuscript items]

Note: there are nevertheless several Ps. Od. in this group, due to their belonging to larger codex formations [508, 603, 613, 728 and 769 Od.]; Ps. Od. were also included in the so-called Complete Bible codices (OT and NT).

[2] Fragments of OT codices without Psalterion manuscripts (Ps. Od.), p. 355-356.

The numbers of this group are: 901-951 [51 numbers – 5 open numbers = 46 manuscript items]

[3] Psalterion manuscripts (Ps. Od.) of the ninth-twelfth centuries, p. 356-361.

The numbers of this group are: 1001-1229 [1229-1001 + 1 = 229 manuscript items; 0 open numbers]

Note: 1190 (XIII/IX), 1208 (VIII), 1219 (IV/V).

[4] Psalterion manuscripts (Ps. Od.) of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, p. 361-371.

The numbers of this group are: 1401-1916 [516 numbers – 10 open numbers = 506 manuscript items]

[5] Psalterion (Ps. Od.) fragments until the eighth century, p. 371-372.

The numbers of this group are: 2001-2048 [2048 – 2001 + 1 = 48 manuscript items; 0 open numbers]

Sum Total:	260 [0]	Sum Total: Psalterion (Ps. Od.):	113 [0]
	439 [1]		229 [3]
	46 [2]		506 [4]
	229 [3]		48 [5]
	506 [4]		=====
	48 [5]		896 Ps/ms. items
	=====		
	1,528 OT manuscript items [- Ps. Od. manuscript items = 632 OT manuscript items]		

*Source:*

- A. RAHLFS' *Verzeichnis*, Berlin, 1914: 'Allgemeine Vorbemerkungen: §4. 'Sigeln', p. xxi-xxvi and 'Verzeichnis der Sigeln', p. 335-372.

## ANNEX 5

*Structural overview of Ehrhard's Überlieferung*

Total manuscripts [Hagiographic and Homiletic]: *c.* 2,750.  
[*c.* 3,000, Hoeck 1951, p. 176] (See Vorwort, p. viii-xiii).

The rating of the consulted manuscripts and the number of codices per category are given by E. in I (1937), p. viii-ix.

## Bd. I

Abschn. II: p. 154-325. Alten Jahressammlungen [Hag/Hom]

Abschn. III: p. 326-437. Alten Jahresmenologien. [Hag]

Abschn. IV: p. 438-701. Alten Monatsmenologien. [Hag] [72 manuscripts]

## Bd. II

Abschn. V: Alten Panegyriken und Homiliarien p. 1-305. [Hom]

[280 manuscripts = Alten Panegyriken und Homiliarien + Jahressammlungen + Monatsmenologien]

Abschn. VI: p. Menol. Sym. Des Metaphr. [Hag] [700 manuscripts + 112 fragmenten]

TOTAL: *c.* 1,160 manuscripts [I, p. ix] [= 72 manuscripts + 280 manuscripts + 700 manuscripts + 112 (fragments)]

## Bd. III

Abschn. VII: p. 201-341. Verkürzte, Erweiterte, Vermischte Metaphrast [Hag/Hom] [230 manuscripts] [+ zwei kaiserlichen Menologien; 10 manuscripts]

Abschn. VII: p. 463-519. Vom Metaphrast Unabhängigen späten Menologien und Panegyriken [Hag/Hom] [49 manuscripts] [Menologien; Panegyriken: 11.-15. Jahrh.]

Abschn. VII: p. 520-722. Späten Spezialpanegyriken und Homiliarien [Hom] [*c.* 253 manuscripts]

TOTAL: *c.* 545 manuscripts [I, p. xi] [= Groups I 230 manuscripts + II *c.* 10 manuscripts + III *c.* 49 manuscripts + IV *c.* 253 manuscripts]

## Bd. III: p. 723-1033

Abschn. VIII. Nebenwege der Überlieferung.

I. Nichtmenologische Sammlungen: Privatsammlungen [Hag/Hom: without calendaric-liturgical order]

(1) Alte Texte [140 manuscripts]

(2) Mischung von alten und von metaphrastischen Texten [130 manuscripts]

(3) alte und junge Texte (without Metaphrast) [24 manuscripts]

TOTAL: *c.* 300 manuscripts.

## II. Spezialsammlungen

~ Apostel

~ Märtyrer- und Heiligenfeste

~ Feste weiblicher Heiliger

~ Mönchsleben

TOTAL : *c.* 100 manuscripts [Mönchsleben : *c.* 50]

## III. Einzelüberlieferung [ein einziger hagiographischer Text]

TOTAL (umfangreichere Texte) : 152 manuscripts [alte Texte 105 mss]

## IV. Akoluthien mit hagiographischen Texten [105 manuscripts]

## V. Manuscripts of Church fathers and Byzantine theologians

[150 manuscripts, but John Climakos 240 manuscripts]

TOTAL : I 300 mss + II 100 mss + III 152 mss + IV 105 mss + V 150 + 240 = 1,047  
manuscripts.

SUM TOTAL : *c.* 1160 + *c.* 545 + *c.* 1047 = *c.* 2,752 manuscripts.

*Sources :*A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, Leipzig - Berlin, 1937-1952.L. PERRIA, *I Manoscritti Citati da Albert Ehrhard*, Indice di A. Ehrhard, Roma 1979.

## ANNEX 6

*Catena Divisions of Karo|Lietzmann's Catenarum  
Graecorum Catalogus*

Total of the inventarised manuscripts: c. 450 ms. items [Faulhaber 1909, p. 386]

Cf. Index Codicum, Pars III, p. 615-618

## Pars I

Catena in Octateuchum et Regnorum Libros : p. 2-17 [items I-III]

Catena in Regnorum Libros : p. 17-20

Catena in Psalterium : p. 20-66 [items I- XXVII]

## Pars II

Catena in Proverbia : p. 299-310 [items I-V]

Catena in Ecclesiasten : p. 310-312 [items I-II]

Catena in Canticum : p. 312-319 [items I-V]

Catena in Iob : p. 319-331 [items I-II]

Catena in XII Prophetas : p. 331-334 [items I-II]

Catena in Isaïam : p. 334-342 [items I-V]

Catena in Ieremiam Baruch Threnos : p. 343-346 [items I-II]

Catena in Ezechielem : p. 346-348 [items I-II]

Catena in Danielelem : p. 348-350 [items I-II]

## Pars III

Catena in Matthaëum : p. 559-571 [items I-VI]

Catena in Marcum : p. 571-572

Catena in Lucam : p. 572-583 [items I-VI]

Catena in Iohannem : p. 583-591 [items I-VII]

Catena in Acta Apostolorum : p. 592-595

Catena in Epistulas Catholicas : p. 595-597

Catena in Epistulas S. Pauli : p. 597-610 [items I-IX]



## Conspectus codicum

- ALEXANDRIA, *uide* (EL-) ISKANDARĪYA
- AMORGOS  
 Monē Chozobiōtisses, s.n. (= ? CAMBRIDGE, MA, Harvard College Library, Ms. Typ. 215H + DUMBAR-TON OAKS, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, 58.105), 117 (*tab. 6*)
- ANDROS  
 Monē Panachrantou 13, 110 (*tab. 3*)
- ANN ARBOR, MI  
 University Library 28, 105 (*tab. 1*); 130, 123 (*tab. 8*)
- ATHĒNAI  
 Ethnikē Bibliothēkē tēs Hellados 20, 115 (*tab. 6*); 24, 118 (*tab. 6*); 25, 120 (*tab. 6*); 26, 93; 36, 118 (*tab. 6*); 37, 118 (*tab. 6*); 105, 53; 130, 89; 150, 109 (*tab. 3*); 153, 89; 199, 88; 200, 88; 204, 92; 207, 92; 2108, 91; 2251, 109 (*tab. 3*)
- ATHOS, *uide* HAGION OROS
- BALTIMORE, MD  
 The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W 535, 68
- BASEL  
 Universitätsbibliothek, A III 12, 106 (*tab. 2*); A IV 1, 107 (*tab. 2*)
- BERAT  
 Bibliothēkē tēs Mētropoleōs, Ms. VII (Battifol, 1887), 117 (*tab. 6*)
- BUCUREȘTI  
 Biblioteca Academiei Române 3/12610, 110 (*tab. 3*)
- BUDAPEST  
 Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. gr. 1, 111 (*tab. 4*)
- CAMBRIDGE, MA  
 Harvard College Library, The Houghton Library, Ms. gr. 3, 69
- CAMBRIDGE  
 Christ's College Library, GG.1.6 (Ms. 6), 105 (*tab. 1*)  
 Clare College Library 31, 118 (*tab. 6*)  
 University Library, Add. Ms. 6594, 106 (*tab. 2*); Dd.8.23, 104 (*tab. 1*); Kk.5.35, 107 (*tab. 2*)
- CHICAGO, IL  
 Jesuit-Krauss-McCormick Library, Gruber Ms. 152, 113 (*tab. 5*)
- CITTÀ DEL VATICANO  
 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
 Barb. gr. 338, 117 (*tab. 6*); 346, 117 (*tab. 6*); 391, 116 (*tab. 6*); 418, 117 (*tab. 6*); 446, 116 (*tab. 6*); 570, 112 (*tab. 4*)  
 Borg. gr. 18, 109 (*tab. 3*); 431, 122 (*tab. 8*)  
 Chis. gr. R.VIII.54, 75  
 Ottob. gr. 66, 109 (*tab. 3*); 432, 112 (*tab. 4*)  
 Palat. gr. 171, 109 (*tab. 3*); 220, 112 (*tab. 4*)  
 Pii II gr. 20, 74  
 Regin. gr. 1 (NT deperd.), 121 (*tab. 7*); 6, 113 (*tab. 5*); 28, 112 (*tab. 4*); 75, 115 (*tab. 6*)  
 Vat. gr. 12, 104 (*tab. 1*); 349, 111 (*tab. 4*); 354, 106 (*tab. 2*); 358, 111 (*tab. 4*); 455, 91; 565, 104 (*tab. 1*); 592, 92; 654, 91; 746, 74; 747, 74 (2); 755, 75; 756, 111 (*tab. 4*); 757, 112 (*tab. 4*); 768, 119 (*tab. 6*); 770, 117 (*tab. 6*); 1067, 104 (*tab. 1*); 1153, 75; 1154, 75; 1155, 104 (*tab. 1*); 1156, 69;

- 1157, 104 (*tab. 1*); 1160, 109 (*tab. 3*); 1209, 27/28 *n. 68*, 76, 121 (*tab. 7*); 1229, 112 (*tab. 4*); 1423, 112 (*tab. 4*); 1445, 112 (*tab. 4*); 1618, 112 (*tab. 4*); 1769, 112 (*tab. 4*); 1813, 122 (*tab. 8*); 1842, 115 (*tab. 6*); 1860, 115 (*tab. 6*); 2041, 104 (*tab. 1*); 2080, 109 (*tab. 3*); 2106 (= I; *vide* II: VENEZIA, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 1), 121 (*tab. 7*)
- DUBLIN  
Trinity College, Ms. 30, 109 (*tab. 3*); Ms. 31, 111 (*tab. 4*)
- DUMBARTON OAKS, DC  
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection of Harvard University, Ms. 3, 71
- DURHAM, NC  
Duke University Library, gr. 1, 113 (*tab. 5*)
- ELASSONA  
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*Summary*

Different traditions of Bible interpretation have always existed. One of these, which is based on an abundant manuscript delivery, is the hermeneutic tradition of Eastern Orthodoxy. This article presents a surprising, quite unknown codico-liturgical approach to the Biblical manuscripts, which looks at the codex formations within the framework of the Byzantine liturgy. This manner of evaluating Byzantine biblical and hermeneutic codices transforms current practice, in which texts are isolated from their position in a codex. It leads to a more inclusive picture of the original biotope in which the manuscripts were manufactured and used. A new Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts is demanded.

# I « figli della maledizione » fra la Medea di Euripide e la Seconda Lettera di Pietro : una nota al v. 15 del *Christus Patiens*\*

da  
Giorgio SCROFANI  
(Pisa)

La tecnica centonaria del *Christus Patiens*, tragedia cristiana composta in un periodo imprecisato tra il IV e il XII secolo, è stata oggetto di numerosi studi tesi per lo più a identificare i versi delle tragedie greche che l'opera pseudo-nazianzena riprende<sup>1</sup>. Sebbene alcuni studiosi, a cominciare da Francesco

\* Questo lavoro è stato presentato in forma preliminare nel corso del seminario di ricerca coordinato dal prof. G. W. Most presso la Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa nell'a.a 2004/05 e ha potuto trarre beneficio dai consigli e dai suggerimenti emersi in quell'occasione. Ringrazio inoltre il dott. Peter Van Nuffelen (Università di Exeter) per averlo letto e discusso con me.

<sup>1</sup> Si vedano ad esempio I. GIUDICE RIZZO, « Sul *Christus Patiens* e le Bacchanti di Euripide », *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 30 (1977), p. 1-63; R. RONCALI, « Euripide, Ippolito 43 - *Christus patiens* 745 », *Bollettino dei classici*, 17 (1996), p. 116-118; I. PRIVITERA, « L'Agamennone di Eschilo in *Christus Patiens* 44 », *Studi classici e orientali*, 48 (2002), p. 415-416. L'edizione critica di riferimento è quella di A. TUILIER, *Grégoire de Nazianze. La Passion du Christ*, Paris 1969 (rimando all'introduzione alle p. 11-121 per un'analisi dettagliata della tradizione manoscritta, dello stile e del contenuto dell'opera). L'unica traduzione italiana disponibile è quella curata da F. TRISOGLIO, *Gregorio di Nazianzo. La Passione di Cristo*, Roma 1990<sup>2</sup>. Un elenco completo delle attribuzioni proposte (da Gregorio di Nazianzo ad Apollinare di Laodicea a Romano il Melodo e Teodoro Prodromo) in F. TRISOGLIO, « Il *Christus patiens*. Rassegna delle attribuzioni », *Rivista di Studi Classici*, 22 (1974), p. 351-423, ripreso e sviluppato in Id., *San Gregorio di Nazianzo e il *Christus Patiens*. Il problema dell'autenticità gregoriana del dramma*, Firenze 1996.



Trisoglio, abbiano cercato di mostrarne l'originalità, riconoscendole, non senza esagerazioni, una dignità letteraria paragonabile o addirittura superiore a quella dei modelli classici cui si ispira<sup>2</sup>, la tragedia continua per lo più ad essere considerata e trattata come un mero contenitore di versi.

In questo breve intervento intendo mostrare, a partire dalla presenza in *Cbr. Pat.* 15 di un riferimento alla *Seconda Lettera di Pietro*, presenza che in base alle mie conoscenze non è stata finora riconosciuta, in che modo l'espressione ἄρ᾽α τέκνα vada correttamente intesa (i discendenti di Eva in quanto figli non di Eva ma della maledizione che Dio ha scagliato su di lei). Mostero inoltre, a partire da questo esempio, come la tecnica compositiva dell'opera non si limiti a trasferire *tout court* in contesto cristiano il patrimonio tragico del passato a scopo puramente esornativo, ma come questo sia tipologicamente adattato alla rivelazione del Cristo e utilizzato per creare delle precise assonanze e riferimenti intratestuali: la ripresa di un passo tragico o neotestamentario non è fine a se stesso ma si inserisce pienamente nell'economia del testo<sup>3</sup>.

I versi 1-19 del *Christus Patiens*, modellati sullo ὕστερον πρότερον del prologo della *Medea* di Euripide, rivestono una funzione fondamentale nell'economia del dramma al di là del loro valore proemiale, individuando nella caduta originaria

<sup>2</sup> Si vedano in particolare F. TRISOGLIO, «I deuteragonisti del *Christus patiens*», *Dioniso*, 49 (1978), p. 117-187; ID., «Forme e sviluppi del monologo nella tragedia classica greca e nel *Christus patiens*», *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 1 (1980), p. 7-48; ID., «La tecnica centonica nel *Christus patiens*», in I. GALLO (ed.), *Studi salernitani in memoria di R. Cantarella*, Salerno 1981, p. 371-409; e in particolare ID., «Il *Christus patiens* e la tragedia classica greca», *Dioniso*, 63 (1993), p. 83-119, che nel tentativo di mostrare come l'autore del centone non dipenda passivamente dalle sue fonti, si spinge ad affermare, forse troppo audacemente, che la tragedia merita di essere considerata una delle espressioni più alte della drammaturgia classica.

<sup>3</sup> Su questa stessa linea interpretativa A. COMSA, «Le 'Prométhée enchaîné' et le 'Christus patiens'», *Kentron*, 13 (1997), p. 133-138, e J. M. Mathieu, «'C'est mon enfant, je sais comment je l'ai engendré': Grégoire de Nazianze (?), 'Christus Patiens'», *Kentron*, 13 (1997), p. 111-117. Invece secondo STAROWIEYKI, «Entre Euripide, la Bible et les apocryphes», in A. JERZY - W. GÖRLER, *Scaenica Saravi-Varsoviensia: Beiträge zum antiken Theater und zu seinem Nachleben*, Warszawa 1997, p. 142-155, i classici costituirebbero solo la materia con cui il dramma espone la rivelazione cristiana.

l'antefatto della tragedia che ha luogo sul Golgota: Eva, con il suo peccato e la maledizione divina che ne è seguita, è la prima responsabile dell'incarnazione e della morte di Cristo (vv. 20-25). All'origine e al culmine della storia della salvezza si pongono due donne: Eva, μήτηρ γένους e μήτηρ τέκνων, origine del peccato e fonte di maledizione per tutto il genere umano (v. 15), e Maria, μήτηρ παρθένος (v. 23), portatrice, invece, di salvezza<sup>4</sup>. Risulta chiara in questo contesto la centralità del v. 15, che descrive le conseguenze della maledizione che colpendo Eva si è trasmessa a tutto il genere umano:

ἰδρῶτ' ἂν ὥκει τήνδε γῆν ὀλεθρίαν  
σὺν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέκνοισιν ἄρ᾽ ὅς ἐστ' αὐτῆς

Non abiterebbe con sudore questa terra funesta,  
con il marito e i figli della maledizione estrema<sup>5</sup>.

La fuga dal Paradiso terrestre richiama all'autore la condizione di esule di Medea, che lasciò la Colchide, e quindi Iolco, per seguire Giasone. *Med.* 9-10 è, di conseguenza, il modello naturale di *Christ. Pat.* 14-15:

οὐδ' ἂν κτανεῖν πείσασα Πελιάδας κόρας  
πατέρα κατώκει τήνδε γῆν Κορινθίαν  
ξὺν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέκνοισιν

<sup>4</sup> Solo il parto virginale di Maria ha potuto sciogliere la maledizione di Eva si è trasmessa. Si vedano ad esempio [Greg. Nyss.], *annunt.* p. 79-83; Procl. *hom.* 5; Rom., *cant.* 13.7.4. Dio ha voluto ricondurre all'innocenza delle origini la storia umana per quella stessa via per la quale essa era precipitata nel baratro del peccato e della morte. È questo il senso del parallelismo antitetico istituito tra Eva e Maria, i cui vertici sono rispettivamente la disobbedienza dell'una e l'obbedienza dell'altra: ai due poli opposti, peccato e salvezza, c'è una vergine. Cfr. SFAMENI-GASPARRO, «La donna nell'esegesi patristica di Gn 1-3», in U. MATTIOLI (ed.), *La donna nel pensiero cristiano antico*, Genova 1992, p. 17-50, (soprattutto 26 ss.). Sull'opposizione Eva/Maria nel pensiero dei Padri rimando a L. CIGNELLI, *Maria nuova Eva nella patristica greca (sec. II-V)*, Assisi 1966; E. GULDAN, *Eva und Maria. Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv*, Graz 1966; e al recente M. C. STEENBERG, «The Role of Mary as Co-Recapitulator in St. Irenaeus of Lyons», *Vigiliae Christianae*, 58 (2004), p. 117-137. Sull'origine di questo tema nel Giudaismo del Secondo Tempio e nel primo Cristianesimo, vedi B. HEININGER, «Die 'mystische' Eva: 1 Tim 2, 8-15 und die Folgen des Sündenfalls in der 'Apokalypsis Mosis'», *Biblische Zeitschrift*, 46 (2002), p. 205-221.

<sup>5</sup> *Christ. Pat.* 14-15.

E non avrebbe persuaso le figlie di Pelia a uccidere il padre,  
non abiterebbe adesso in questa terra corinzia  
con il marito e i figli<sup>6</sup>.

Eva è l'unica vera responsabile della caduta come Medea lo è delle sventure che si sono abbattute su Corinto. Il superlativo ὑστάτη non va inteso in senso temporale (tra le maledizioni che Dio scaglia sui tre colpevoli, quella della donna occupa il secondo posto) ma di grado: la maledizione è «ultima» nel senso di «estrema». La maledizione che grava sulla donna, su tutte le donne, è la più pesante, la più umiliante, è l'*estrema punizione* che Dio ha riservato ai trasgressori e che ha per conseguenza la morte. Questa particolare interpretazione di Gen 3, 16 è sostenuta in particolar modo in quelle opere dedicate all'esaltazione della verginità (solo la vergine sfugge alla condanna di Eva), che si diffondono in Oriente a partire dal iv secolo<sup>7</sup>. L'atteggiamento di Giovanni Crisostomo nei confronti della donna, quale si esprime nel *De Verginitate*, risulta esemplare di una tendenza che rimarrà praticamente immutata nel corso dei secoli e fornisce al tempo stesso il contesto ideale in cui inserire il riferimento alla maledizione di *Christ. Pat.* 15:

<sup>6</sup> Eur. *Med.* 8-10.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. SFAMENI GASPARRO, *La donna*, p. 30. Questo tipo di interpretazione è così generalizzata da rendere impossibile il suo utilizzo per datare il *Christus*. TRISOGLIO, *Il Christus patiens*, p. 14 nel tentativo di attribuire a tutti i costi la tragedia a Gregorio di Nazianzo, a proposito dei vv. 14-15 nota una «concomitanza concettuale ed enunciativa» con *Carm.* I, 2, 10, 479, col. 714 che ricorda che la trasgressione dei protoplasti condannò l'uomo alle fatiche della terra, e tace invece sul riferimento al concetto di maledizione e alla sua funzione drammatica. Piuttosto mi sembrerebbe più opportuno accostare il passo al tema della verginità di Maria che pone fine alla maledizione di Eva. Cfr. V. LIMBERIS, «Hymns to Mary, the Mother of God, the Theotokos», in R. VALANTATIS (ed.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in practice*, Princeton 2000, p. 357-363. Sulla figura della vergine nel *Christus Patiens* alla luce della riflessione teologica dei Cappadoci vedi J. A. de ALDAMA, «La tragedia Christus patiens y la doctrina mariana en la Capadocia del siglo IV», in J. FONTAINE - C. KANNENGISSER (ed.), *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts à Jean Daniélou*, Paris 1972, p. 417-423; F. TRISOGLIO, «La Theotokos quale 'signora' nel Christus patiens», *Sileno*, 23 (1997), p. 225-241. Per un'introduzione generale sulla presenza di Maria nel pensiero dei Padri rimando a L. GAMBERO, *Mary and the Fathers of the Church: The Blessed Virgin Mary in Patristic Thought*, San Francisco 1999.

Τοσαύτη γὰρ τῆς ἀλγῆδόνος ταύτης ἡ τυραννὶς ὥς καὶ τὴν θείαν γραφὴν ἡνίκα ἂν αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ λιμὸν καὶ λοιμὸν καὶ τὰ ἀφόρητα τῶν κακῶν αἰνίττεσθαι βούληται, ὠδῖνας πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς δὲ ἀντὶ τιμωρίας αὐτὸ καὶ ἄρᾶς ἐπέθηκε τῇ γυναικί, οὐ τὸ τίκτειν λέγω ἀλλὰ τὸ οὕτω τίκτειν μετὰ πόνων καὶ ὠδίνων.

Tale è la tirannia di simile sofferenza (*scill.* la maternità) che le Scritture quando vogliono riferirsi alla schiavitù, alla fame, alla peste e in genere ai mali peggiori, li rapportano ai dolori del parto. Infatti come castigo e maledizione Dio impose alla donna questo: non solo di partorire, ma di partorire con dolori e doglie<sup>8</sup>.

Il Crisostomo si spinge fino a negare il significato letterale di Gen 1, 28 («Crescete e moltiplicatevi»): come dimostra il fatto che proprio i progenitori vennero alla luce senza atto sessuale, il Creatore non aveva bisogno della sessualità per popolare il mondo. Secondo la sua interpretazione del racconto della Genesi, la storia dell'umanità si sviluppa da uno stato virginale originario, che avvicinava l'uomo a Dio, per precipitare nella maledizione del peccato e finalmente ritrovare nella castità il modello ideale della vita paradisiaca<sup>9</sup>. Gli uomini generati da Eva sono ἄρᾶς τέκνα non tanto nel senso che sono «gravati dalla maledizione» dei progenitori<sup>10</sup>, ma in quanto hanno avuto origine dalla maledizione che Eva ha attirato su di sé: non sono figli di Eva, che non è stata creata allo scopo di procreare, ma della procreazione stessa che è il castigo che Dio ha inflitto alla donna.

Il riferimento alla maledizione connette idealmente le Scritture con la cultura greca già a livello lessicale e stilistico<sup>11</sup>: la

<sup>8</sup> *de. Verg.* 65, 5-11.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem* 14.

<sup>10</sup> Secondo la traduzione fornita da TRISOGLIO, *Gregorio di Nazianzo*, p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> L'uso del sostantivo ἄρᾶς, rispetto a κατάρᾶς, oltre che ad esigenze metriche, dipende dalla sua diffusione nella tragedia classica. Cfr. ad esempio Aesch. *Prom.* 910; *Agamenn.* 457; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 151-152; Eur. *Phoen.* 67. Sul significato storico-religioso di ἄρᾶς rimando a S. PULLEYN, *Prayer in Greek religion*, Oxford 1997, p. 70-95.

concezione giudaico-cristiana della maledizione divina trova, infatti, una perfetta corrispondenza nel destino che colpisce i grandi eroi tragici e la loro discendenza, secondo il principio dell'ereditarietà della colpa presente già in Omero e formulato da Solone<sup>12</sup>. Esso crea inoltre una corrispondenza ulteriore tra Eva e Medea: entrambe sono strumenti di vendetta e fonte di maledizione, causa di sciagura per il marito e di morte per i figli; entrambe sono esuli in una terra straniera per una colpa commessa. Nella versione di Euripide, Medea maledice i suoi stessi figli al v. 112, quando invoca vendetta divina su Giasone e la sua nuova sposa:

ὦ κατάρατοι  
παῖδες ὅλοισθε στυγεράς ματρὸς  
σὺν πατρί, καὶ πᾶς δόμος ἔρροι

Maledetti figli di una madre miserabile,  
possiate morire con vostro padre e che questa casa precipiti in  
rovina<sup>13</sup>.

La vendetta, che avrà compimento nella morte dei due bambini, è presentata nei termini di una maledizione ancora al v. 608 nelle parole di Medea a Giasone:

καὶ σοῖς ἀραία γ' οὔσα τυγχάνω δόμοις

Io sono una maledizione per la tua casa<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Basti pensare alla maledizione che si abbatte sui Tantalidi e sui Labdacidi e che domina interamente il dramma classico. Cfr. ad esempio Aesch. *Agam.* 1577-1582; *Coeph.* 503-504; *Eum.* 934; Soph. *Ant.* 583-603; *Oed. Col.* 367-370; Eur. *Ipb. Taur.* 186-202; *Or.* 811-818. Quest'argomento è troppo conosciuto e studiato per poter fornire qui una bibliografia di riferimento. Per un'analisi di carattere storico-religioso rimando a R. PARKER, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, p. 191-206.

<sup>13</sup> Eur. *Med.* 112-114.

<sup>14</sup> La maledizione è conseguenza di un giuramento infranto, e anche se è Medea a compiere materialmente la vendetta si intravede, nello svolgimento della vicenda, la mano divina. Cfr. A. P. BURNETT, *Revenge in Attic and Later Tragedy*, Berkeley 1998, p. 192-224. È importante precisare che la ripresa di modelli classici non condiziona l'«ortodossia» del messaggio evangelico. Sul ruolo della donna nel dramma antico rimando alla recente analisi di H. P. FOLEY, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton 2001.

L'aggiunta del genitivo ἄρ᾽ς al modello euripideo fornito da *Med.* 10 risponde, a mio avviso, ad un preciso criterio compositivo. Il v. 15 ha un chiaro modello letterario in 2 Pt 2, 14 a proposito dei falsi maestri che hanno abbandonato abbandonato la via di verità (ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας) per il vizio, guadagnandosi il buio delle tenebre (ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους)<sup>15</sup>:

ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος καὶ ἀκαταπαύστου ἁμαρτίας, δελεάζοντες ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους, καρδίαν γεγυμνασμένην πλεονεξίας ἔχοντες, κατάρσας τέκνα.

Hanno gli occhi gonfi di adulterio e insaziabili di peccato, adescano le anime deboli, il loro cuore è allenato alla cupidigia, sono figli di maledizione<sup>16</sup>.

È altamente improbabile che con l'espressione τέκνα ἄρ᾽ς, sconosciuta in questa forma al greco profano, l'autore del *Christus* non volesse richiamarsi al passo neotestamentario. La ripresa è giustificata dalla connessione concettuale e argomentativa tra *Med.* 10 e 2 Pt, 14, che l'autore riteneva adatta a descrivere la condizione di Eva, condannata secondo Gen 3, 16 a partorire con dolore (ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα), e del genere umano legato, a causa sua, ad un destino di morte e sofferenza<sup>17</sup>.

Riprendendo il v. 10 della *Medea*, e apponendovi il riferimento alla maledizione di Eva con un'espressione ricalcata sulla *Seconda lettera di Pietro*, l'autore del *Christus* istituisce un nesso, una corrispondenza ideale, tra Medea, il simbolo della

<sup>15</sup> Cfr. ad esempio Sir. 41, 8-10: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀσεβεῖς, οἵτινες ἐγκατελίπετε νόμον θεοῦ ὑψίστου: καὶ ἐὰν γεννηθῇτε, εἰς κατάραν γεννηθήσεσθε, καὶ ἐὰν ἀποθάνητε, εἰς κατάραν μερισθήσεσθε. πάντα, ὅσα ἐκ γῆς, εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσεται, οὕτως ἀσεβεῖς ἀπὸ κατάρας εἰς ἀπώλειαν. Ulteriori riferimenti in F. BÜCHSEL, ἄρ᾽, καταράομαι, κατάρα, ἐπικατάρατος, ἐπάρατος, *Grande Lessico del Nuovo Testamento*, I, col. 1197-1204.

<sup>16</sup> L'espressione ricorre inoltre in [Joh. Chrys], *Pseud.* 59, 557 in cui 2 Pt, 14 è citato espressamente in riferimento a Simon Mago, μαθητὴν τοῦ διαβόλου ἐν ταῖς αἵρεσεσιν. Sull'uso e la funzione della maledizione negli scritti agiografici fra II e VI secolo, in particolare nelle Passioni dei martiri, rimando a P. BOULHOL, *La prière dangereuse: Imprécations et maledictions dans l'hagiographie antique (II-VI siècle)*, in G. DORIVAL - D. PRALON, *Prières méditerranéennes hier et aujourd'hui*, Aix-en-Provence 2000, p. 177-199.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. *Christ. Pat.* 19: οὐδ' ἂν γένος τ' ὅλωλεν ἀνθρώπων ἅπαν.

donna-strega, ed Eva, l'origine del peccato e più in generale tra la concezione scritturistica e quella greca della trasgressione come di una macchia ereditaria. Se queste sono le premesse teologiche del confronto, dal punto di vista drammatico la Vergine si presenta come l'antitipo dell'eroina della tragedia greca, di cui è invece Eva, nuova Medea, a costituire il simbolo: nel gioco di rimandi e corrispondenze che compongono la trama del *Christus*, la Nutrice e la Vergine sono opposte a Medea e ad Eva. La disinvoltura con cui l'autore si muove all'interno della tragedia classica, la libertà con cui interpreta temi e situazioni alla luce del messaggio evangelico suggeriscono un rapporto profondo ed estremamente complesso che non si limita alla citazione di un verso come mero artificio retorico. La ripresa di un verso della *Medea* o delle *Baccanti* è funzionale all'intreccio drammatico del *Christus* e sottintende la creazione di una rete di corrispondenze tra il dramma antico e quello cristiano: componendo la sua tragedia «secondo Euripide», l'autore del *Christus* non poteva non trasportare nel nuovo mondo cristiano, risanandolo attraverso la parola di Cristo, il vecchio mondo degli dei e degli eroi così come appariva ai suoi occhi e alla luce della sua cultura.

### *Sommario*

In *Chr. Pat.* 15 i figli di Eva sono definiti ἀρᾶς τέκνα. I discendenti di Eva in quanto figli non di Eva ma della maledizione che Dio ha scagliato su di lei. La fuga dal Paradiso terrestre richiama all'autore del dramma la fuga di Medea dalla Colchide e la sua condizione di Esule a Corinto (Med. 9-10). I figli di Eva sono maledetti a causa della colpa della madre come ifigli di Medea. Al tempo stesso l'espressione ἀρᾶς τέκνα ha la sua unica attestazione in 2 Pt 2,14, dov'è usata a proposito dei falsi maestri che con il loro vizio si sono guadagnati il buio delle tenebre. La tecnica compositiva dell'opera non si limita a trasferire *tout court* in contesto cristiano il patrimonio tragico del passato a scopo puramente esornativo, ma come questo sia tipologicamente adattato alla rivelazione del Cristo e utilizzato per creare delle precise assonanze e riferimenti intratestuali. Modellando il v. 15 su Med. 10 e apponendovi il riferimento alla maledizione di Eva con un'espressione ricalcata sulla Seconda lettera di Pietro, l'autore del *Christus* istituisce un nesso, una corrispondenza ideale tra Medea, il simbolo della donna-strega, ed Eva, l'origine del peccato.

# Patristische Analekten

VON

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## 1. Zu den neugefundenen arianischen *Sermones* aus Clm 6329 (= CPL<sup>3</sup> 695a)

Vor einigen Jahren hat R. Étaix aus Clm 6329 (s. VIII) eine offenbar aus dem 4. Jh. stammende Predigtsammlung mit insgesamt 23 kürzeren Texten herausgegeben (*Recherches Augustiniennes*, 26 [1992], p. 143-179), deren arianische Provenienz eindrucksvoll von R. Gryson (*Revue des Études augustiniennes*, 39 [1993], p. 333-358) unterstrichen wurde. Auch wenn Gryson den von Étaix edierten Text an einer Reihe von Stellen hat korrigieren (oder die Überlieferung rechtfertigen) können, bleibt noch viel im Detail unsicher. Dennoch soll der Versuch gewagt werden, wenigstens an einigen der unstrittig fehlerhaft überlieferten Partien dem ursprünglichen Wortlaut näherzukommen.<sup>1</sup>

7,6 *nullus enim potuit alligare fortem nec vasa eius diripere*. In dieser Mt-Paraphrase (12, 29) ist *vasa* eine Besserung des überlieferten *vacua*. Näher liegt *vascula*, mag auch im folgenden Satz die Paraphrase mit *vasa eius diriperet* gestaltet sein.

13,19 *interrogo te adhuc, corde cece (ecce cod.) haeretice*. Ich würde eher nach *te* ein Komma setzen (ohne Interpunktion die Hs.).

14,20 *sed non homo purus secundum imperitum (inperium cod.) dictum, sed iuxta prophetarum praedicationem Dominus fortis, potens*. Der Stil erfordert *inperi<tor>um*.

<sup>1</sup> Zitiert wird nach Nummer und Zeile bei Étaix.



19,8 *quae sunt autem opera tenebrarum? Homicidia scilicet, adulteria, furta, maleficia, auguria, divinationes, invidiae, irae, ebrietates.* Statt das überlieferte *beneficia* in ein inhaltlich in der Reihe der konkreten Schandtaten unpassendes, allgemeines *maleficia* zu bessern, wird man *veneficia* lesen.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Beiträge zum Brief des Asterius

Unter dem Namen des Hieronymus-Schülers Asterius ist in der Handschrift Verona, Bibl. capit. CXIII (214) fol. 69r-76v (1511) ein *Liber ad Renatum monachum* titulierter Mahnschreiben über den rechten mönchischen Lebenswandel erhalten. Obwohl man von der Existenz dieses in bester Kunstprosa verfaßten Textes schon länger wußte<sup>3</sup>, erfolgte die Erstedition erst im Jahre 1970 durch S. Gennaro, der auch für den wenig später erschienenen Druck im *Corpus Christianorum* (Bd. 85) verantwortlich zeichnet. Eine Vielzahl der vom Ersteditor nicht erkannten Verderbnisse ist von Cazzaniga (*Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 102 [1974], p. 432-439), Tandoi (*Atene e Roma: Rassegna trimestrale dell'Associazione Italiana di Cultura Classica*, 21 [1976], p. 94f.), Gualandri (*Scripta Philologica*, 1 [1977], p. 151-158; 2 [1980], p. 149-157), Grilli (*Res publica litterarum: studies in the classical tradition*, 1978, p. 95-99; *Scripta Philologica*, 2 [1980], p. 131-148) und Löfstedt (*Arctos*, 16 [1982], p. 66-69) aufgezeigt und behoben worden. Indes ist noch manche Korruptel stehengeblieben.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Die gleiche Schlimmbesserung läßt sich bereits in der Spätantike nachweisen: Der Horazerkklärer Ps-Acro hat im Horazkommentar des Porphyrio zu *epod.* 17, 60 ein zu *beneficia* verschriebenes *veneficia* zu Unrecht in *maleficia* verbessert (vgl. G. NOSKE, *Quaestiones Pseudacronaeae*, Diss. München 1969, p. 229).

<sup>3</sup> Gefunden wurde der Text, woran S. Rizzo (*Nota sulla scoperta del Liber ad Renatum monachum di Asterio*, *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica*, 102 [1974], p. 439-441) und F. Dolbeau (*Découvertes récentes d'œuvres Latines inconnues [fin III<sup>e</sup> - début VIII<sup>e</sup> s.]*, *Sacris erudiri*, 38 [1998], p. 101-142, dort 117 Anm. 72) erinnern, von Niccolò Niccoli um 1430-1431: Vgl. R. SABBADINI, *Le scoperte de codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Firenze, 1905, I 91.

<sup>4</sup> Zitiert wird im folgenden nach den Zeilen der Ausgabe im CC 85, p. 3-25.

92 Adams Leben im Paradies wird als Vorstufe mönchischer Enthaltsamkeit interpretiert: *verum quia* (Gennaro: *qui V*) *simili modo statimque subsecuta sit femina, velut in solacium hominis praeeparata, non satis sufficit intentioni quam sequimur* (d.h. dem mönchischen Leben). *Quia* mit Konjunktiv ist problematisch, v.a. aber ergibt ein Begründungssatz „aber weil die Frau auf gleiche Weise geschaffen ist, ist sie nicht zu asketischem Leben fähig“ schwerlich Sinn: *qui* ist vielmehr zu *quamvis* (*q[uam]vis* mit Ausfall des *-s* vor *simili* → *qui*) zu bessern oder zu konzessivem *quae* (so M. Beck): „Mag jene auch ...“.

132 Niemand, auch kein Mönch, ist gegen Ruhmsucht geübt: *quod vitium* (Gennaro: *quo vicio V*) *quemquam minus crediderim, ac tamen usu ipso et diuturna eruditione vitare posse concedam etc.* Der von Gennaro hergestellte Satz ist nicht konstruierbar. Unter Beibehaltung des überlieferten Wortlautes wird man e. gr. *quo vitio quemquam* <*carere*> *minus crediderim* ergänzen.

198 Auch die geistige Himmelsschau gehört zu den Vorzügen des eremitischen Lebens: *ut de praemio futurae vitae taceam, quam magnum est huic solo fixis haerere vestigiis, et animum per caelum cum sideribus ambulare!* Schon aus Gründen der Stilistik ist *animo* als Pendant zu *vestigiis* zwingend gefordert.

311 *sed quis aequo animo ferat, cum fora, cum trivia, cum plateae subinde repleantur?* An dieser Partie, die den Auftakt eines neuen Kapitels über spontane, von Mönchen besuchte Versammlungen bildet, bleibt das logische Subjekt zu *repleantur* unklar. Ich gebe zu erwägen, e. gr. <*a monachis*> *repleantur* zu ergänzen. Darauf heißt es: *et quod pudoris est, ut ipsi audire volunt populum, nulla monachorum in urbe seditio, nulla caterva, quam non aut faciant, aut magis augeant.* Entweder ist *ut* zu *et* zu korrigieren und hinter *populum* mit Doppelpunkt zu interpungieren oder es muß *ut* ..., <*ita*> *nulla* ... heißen. Unabhängig von diesem Problem birgt auch der mit *nulla* eingeleitete Satz einen logischen Schnitzer, den man ungern dem Verfasser der Schrift anlasten möchte: *nulla monachorum in urbe seditio* fügt sich noch zu *quam non aut faciant*, aber nicht nicht mehr zu *aut magis augeant*. Mit der Tilgung von *monachorum* (so M. Beck) wird ein in sich logischer Gedankengang gewonnen.

359 Mönche dünken sich als Kenner der Geheimwissenschaften: *quo sub promisso dubiae rei curiosius illiciant sectatores.* Der Sinn erfordert *curiosos*.

369 *per istos* (d.h. falsche Lehrer gemäß Mt 23, 15) *novorum dogmatum error exsurgit* (Gualandri [1977], 156: -et cod.), *et inimica fidei haeresis accipit nomen; ex quibus Arrium et Origenem saeva huius mundi evomuit et inaudita produxit impietas, quorum linguis antiquus ille coluber tortuosus tot sanctorum illisus* <soleis> (add. Gual.) *lasso adhuc insibilat murmure calcatoque* (Grilli 1980, 143: *sancto*que cod.) *capite, quae palam non audet* (Gual.: -it cod.), *occulte venena disseminat*. Das von Gualandri (1980, p. 154 Anm. 17) beanstandete *huius mundi* – sie schlägt *huiusmodi* vor – scheint mir ohne Fehl. Ich vermisste vielmehr ein Subjekt zu *evomuit*, das einerseits den Genitiv *huius mundi* syntaktisch verankert, andererseits stilistisch mit *saeva* ein Pendant zu *inaudita ... impietas* bildet, und schlage deshalb vor, *saeva huius mundi* <*iniquitas*> zu ergänzen.

570 Die Liebschaften der Mönche: '*carulus*' et '*nonnullus*' *vocant; quae per amorem mens incorrupta conceperit, haec etiam vitiosa lingua depromit*. Allein wer schon an Liebe denkt, ist nicht mehr reinen Sinnes,<sup>5</sup> sondern ist bereits vom Feuer der Liebe entflammt: *mens iam corrupta*.

### 3. Ratramnus und Salvian

Paris, BN. lat. 13385, die älteste Handschrift von Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei* und stemmatisch einer von zwei Hyparchetypi, stammt aus Corbie.<sup>6</sup> Von der Salvian-Philologie seit Halm auf das 10.-11. Jh. datiert, ist der Codex von D. Ganz<sup>7</sup> in die Mitte des 9. Jh. gesetzt worden.

Das Manuskript weist zwei Randnotizen von der Hand des in Corbie wirkenden Mönches und Theologen Ratramnus auf, der sich aber auch einige einschlägige Salvian-Partien als Testimonien für seine Karl dem Kahlen gewidmete Schrift 'De praedestinatione Dei' notiert hat. So schreibt Ratramnus in seinem Traktat wörtlich die Kapitel 2 bis 5 aus dem

<sup>5</sup> Ein *incorrupta* im Sinne von *valde corrupta* (vgl. grundsätzlich E. LÖFSTEDT, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität*, Stockholm, 1907, p. 117ff.) ist laut Ausweis des *TbLL* bisher nicht nachgewiesen.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. zuletzt G. LAGARRIGUE in seiner Praefatio zu *Salvien de Marseille, Œuvres*, t. II: *Du Gouvernement de Dieu*, Paris, 1975 (SC 220), p. 45f.

<sup>7</sup> *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Beihefte der Francia, 20), Sigmaringen, 1990, p. 144.

3. Buch von 'De gubernatione' aus (in der Ratramnus-Edition von Roberts, p. 127-129<sup>8</sup> = PL 121, 28D-29C), die gleiche Partie, zu der er in der Salvian-Hs. fol. 15<sup>v</sup> eine Randnote *ut deus omnia dicit* angebracht hat.<sup>9</sup> Wo die Salvian-Hs. aus Corbie heute aufgrund von Blattschäden unleserlich ist, wird man nunmehr das Exzerpt instar codicis nutzen können.

Zudem verdanken wir Ratramnus eine bedenkenswerte Konjektur: In gub. 3, 2 *cur iniquis vel maxime potestatibus universa succumbant? possim quidem rationabiliter et satis constanter dicere: nescio; secretum enim et consilium divinitatis ignoro* hat Ratramnus das in dieser Fassung stilistisch auffällige *et* – Salvian kennt ansonsten kein Hendiadyoin – ausgelassen und damit eine Verderbnis aufgedeckt, jedoch wohl nicht geheilt. Auszugehen ist m.E. eher von Textausfall: *secretum enim et <abditum> consilium divinitatis ignoro*.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4. Zur Überlieferung von Isidors „De ortu et obitu patrum“

Die erste kritische Ausgabe von Isidors 'De ortu et obitu patrum', einem biographischen Abriß über die Väter des Alten und Neuen Testaments, wird C. Chaparro Gómez<sup>11</sup> verdankt.<sup>12</sup> Leider muß der Text völlig neu eingerichtet werden, weil das vom Herausgeber erstellte und p. 90 gebotene Stemma nicht den tatsächlichen Befund repräsentiert: Zwei jüngere von Chapparro Gómez stemmatisch an unterer Stelle eingeordnete Textzeugen, *f* (Firenze, Bibl. Sct. Crucis, Plut. XXII

<sup>8</sup> T. R. ROBERTS, *A Translation and Critical Edition of Ratramnus of Corbie's De Predestinatione Dei*, Diss. Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, 1977.

<sup>9</sup> Ganz 77 mit Hinweisen auf entsprechende Adnoten zu Augustinus-Hss. aus Corbie, deren gekennzeichnete Partien ebenfalls in 'De Praedestinatione Dei' ausgeschrieben sind.

<sup>10</sup> Die Ergänzung versteht sich e. gr. (möglich wären etwa auch *remotum*, *incognitum*, *altum* oder *reconditum*). – Eine Reihe ähnlicher Synonymenpaare von Adjektiven haben L. ROCHUS, *La latinité de Salvien*, Bruxelles, 1934, p. 121 und Lagarrigue 576 gesammelt.

<sup>11</sup> Erschienen in der Reihe 'Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge', Paris, 1985.

<sup>12</sup> Die Quellenfrage ist durch die Edition zweier von Chaparro Gómez noch nicht berücksichtigter Sammlungen von Propheten- und Apostelviten geklärt worden: F. DOLBEAU, *Deux opuscules latins, relatifs aux personnages de la Bible et antérieurs à Isidore de Séville*, *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 16 (1986), p. 83-139.

cod. XII, s. XIII) und G (Urgel, Bibl. Cath., s. x), bieten an einer Reihe von Stellen gegen die Phalanx der karolingischen Hss. einen Wortlaut, der mit den verschiedensten von Isidor ausgeschriebenen Quellen übereinstimmt: So unter anderem 15 *Zabulon, possessor maris magni et litorum et dominans in cunctis urbibus Sidonum*, wo fG nach *urbibus* ein *phoenicum et* anführen, eine Fassung, die der von Chapparo Gómez selbst angeführten Vorlage Hieronymus, Quaest. Hebr. Gen. 49, 14f. (CC 72, p. 54, 1) *quia supra de Zabulon dixerat quod maris magni esse litora possessor, Sidonem quoque et reliquias Phoenicis urbes contingeret* entspricht<sup>13</sup>. Da fG ein *Phoenicum et* nicht per Konjekturen gewonnen haben können, andererseits man sich nicht vorstellen kann, daß deren Vorlage ihren Text im Rückgriff auf eine entlegene Schrift des Hieronymus (bzw. die anderen zahlreichen und disparaten Vorlagen des Isidor) gebessert hat, ist die Annahme zu prüfen, ob nicht f – G scheint mir mit Chaparro Gómez eine kontaminierte Hs. zu sein – gegen alle übrigen Handschriften. eine selbständige Überlieferung darstellt: *recentiores, non deteriores*. Ein künftiger Editor wird wohl viele Lesarten der karolingischen Vulgata, die bei Chapparo Gómez im Text gedruckt sind, als stemmatisch zu eliminierende Sonderfehler nicht einmal in den Apparat aufnehmen.

Zwei Adnoten zu Partien, die einheitlich überliefert sind, und ein Hinweis auf eine bisher nicht aufgespürte Quelle Isidors mögen das Kapitel beschließen:

9      *Loth, filius Aran, ... apud Chaldaeos natus, homo iustus, hospitalis, in Sodomis pie casteque inter nefariam gentem conversatus.*  
Das Komma gehört nicht hinter *hospitalis*, sondern ist nach *Sodomis* zu setzen, wie die von Chapparo Gómez nicht nachgewiesene Vorlage, Augustinus c. *Faust.* 22, 41 [CSEL 25,

<sup>13</sup> Einige weitere Stellen, an den f oder f mit wenigen anderen Handschriften das Richtige bietet, sind 6, 4 *Constantii* f] *Constantini* cert.; 18 *filiis*] *fratribus* f: *patribus* G (Gen. 49, 19 bestätigt die f-Lesart); 27, 2 *ibique*] *ubi usque* f VDLU (von Hier. *situ* [PL 23, 972D] bestätigt); 28 *coemtem impudicam simul cum Madianitide*] *Zamri coemtem i.s. cum scorto Madianitide* f (und die Vorlage Hier. *epist.* 78, 43 [CSEL 55, p. 84, 10ff.]); 31, 1 *interea*] *intexta* Gf (und die Vorlage Ambr. *off.* 2, 131); 43, 2 *sepultus*] *sepultusque* f H (und die vorisidorianische Vorlage 'De ortu et obitu patrum', 7 [DOLBEAU, p. 132].

p. 634, 5] empfiehlt: *Loth autem frater eius iustus et hospitalis in Sodomis et ab omni Sodomitarum contaminatione purus.*

10, 3 *Exactisque aetatis centum decem annis, longae quietis gratiam, diem ultimum clausit* (sc. *Ioseph*). Die Syntax von *longae quietis gratiam* ist in der Tat „unklar“ (Apposition oder adverbialer Akkusativ laut dem jüngsten Herausgeber). Durch die Ergänzung *<post>longae quietis gratiam diem ultimum clausit* kommt der Passus ins Lot. Vgl. 23, 2 *ibique etiam post longam vitae quietem occubuerunt atque sepulti sunt*.<sup>14</sup>

Schließlich sei darauf hingewiesen, daß im Kapitel über Helisaeus der ‘Liber promissionum’ des Quodvultdeus benutzt worden ist, wodurch im übrigen wiederum die Fassung von *f* (nebst *AG*) bestätigt wird: Wo Chapparo Gómez *pueros insultantes sibi verbo, traditis bestiis, repente voravit* (36, 2) liest, wird das grammatisch einzig verständliche *tradidit* (so *f* [*AG*]) und damit implizit auch *repente vorandos* (*f*: *om. AG*) durch die Vorlage gesichert: *insultantes sibi propheta bestiis tradidit pueros* (2, 31, 68 [*CC* 60, p. 134, 53]<sup>15</sup>; auch 36, 1 *Helisens, Heliae discipulus* ist Quodvultdeus 2, 30, 64 [p. 131, 3] *Helias discipulum Helisaeum reliquit* geschuldet).

##### 5. Kritische Bemerkungen zu einer Beda zugeschriebenen Homilie

Aus dem Codex 48.9 (fol. 56v-58v) der Kapitularbibliothek in Toledo, einem umbrischen Homiliar aus dem Ende des 12. Jh.s, hat J. Lemarié eine unbekannte, dem Beda zugeschriebene Predigt *In die ascensionis Domini* veröffentlicht (*Recherches augustinienes*, 22 [1987], p. 332-336). An einigen Stellen läßt sich der Text noch verbessern (zitiert wird nach der Zeilenangabe der Erstausgabe):

<sup>14</sup> Als Alternative könnte man allenfalls noch auf der Basis von Stellen wie Heges. 1, 1, 10 (*CSEL* 66, p. 8, 7) *Hyrcanus trigesimo et primo anno longae quietis gratia functus diem clausit* an eine Ergänzung wie *gratia[m] <functus>* denken.

<sup>15</sup> B. LÖFSTEDT, der ebenfalls an *traditis* Anstoß genommen hat, wollte *traditos* schreiben (*Bemerkungen zu Isidors „De ortu et obitu patrum“*, *Orpheus*, 16 [1995], p. 142-144; dort 143). Doch die Vorlage weist auf *tradidit*.

13 *ascensus saluator in caelum increpare voluit discipulorum suorum duritiam, non quae tunc erat in cordibus ipsorum, sed quae tunc illo tempore*<sup>16</sup> *quando credere noluerunt illis qui eius resurrectionem videntes et agnoscentes credere noluerunt.* Der Sinn erfordert *voluerunt*.

22 *... ita saluator recessurus ab apostolis ea verba studuit dicere ultima quae illis et omnibus < qui > credituri essent necessaria.* Die Ergänzung von Lemarié entstellt die Syntax des Satzes. Der Fehler liegt vielmehr in *credituri*, wo nur ein Buchstabe ergänzt werden muß: *quae illis et omnibus credituri < s > essent necessaria.*

31 Über ungläubige und gläubige Juden: *ipsis vero Iudaeis credere nolentibus pulchre antequam ascendat dicit ut eant 'in mundum universum' et praedicent 'evangelium omni creaturae'.* Angeredet sind die Apostel, die aber zu der Gruppe der gläubigen Juden zu rechnen sind (*volentibus*).

84 *'super aegrum manus imponit ut bene habeat'* (Mc 16, 18), *qui infirmantem in fide < per exemplum > vel opera sua ad meliorem rationem provocat.* So scheint mir die von Lemarié angezeigte Lücke (er verweist auf Haymo *hom.* 96 [PL 118, 546C] *quisquis ergo talibus ideo verbum praedicationis impendit, vel exemplum boni operis ostendit, ut eos in bono opere firmiores reddat, 'super aegros manus imponit'*) am einfachsten zu füllen zu sein; Vorlage ist m.E. hier Gregor *hom.* 29 (PL 76, 1215D-1216A) *qui quotiens proximos suos in bono opere infirmari conspiciunt, dum eis tota virtute concurrunt, et exemplo suae operationis illorum vitam roborant, qui in propria actione titubant; quid aliud faciunt, nisi 'super aegros manus imponunt, ut bene habeant'?*

97 Über einen sachlichen Unterschied betreffs der Erhebung Christi (*filius hominis*) zwischen einer Evangelienperikope und einem Stephanus-Wort aus der Apostelgeschichte: *quid est quod hunc Marcum sedentem, Stephanus vero stantem se vidisse testatur?* Natürlich muß es *Marcus* heißen (vgl. 101 *hunc post assumptionem Marcus sedere scribit*). Der ganze Satz stammt so aus Gregor *hom.* 29 [PL 76, 1217 C], wie bereits

<sup>16</sup> Zur pleonastischen Verbindung von Partikel und synonym umschreibenden adverbiallem Ausdruck vgl. E. LÖFSTEDT, *Syntactica II*, Lund, 1933, p. 221, der auf Apul. *Ascl.* 27 *modo tamen hoc in tempore* und Sempron. *Asell.* frg. 7 *tum in eo tempore* verweist.

81-82 auf Gregor 1215D und 84ff. auf Gregor 1215D-1216A zurückgehen.

108 *Si creditis in Iesum que m occiso et sepulto spem vos perdidisse putabitis etc.* Syntax und Sinn erfordern *quo*.

151 *qui ista veraciter credunt † male vivere isti veraciter salvabuntur †*. Aus dem vorhergehenden Satz 149 *qui male vivere non timent, quomodo credunt etc.* läßt sich die Korruptel heilen: *qui ista veraciter credunt <et timent (oder timentes)> male vivere, isti veraciter salvabuntur*.

### *Zusammenfassung*

Der Betrag gilt der *recensio* und *emendatio* einiger kleiner patristischer Texte: (1) Zur Textherstellung der neuen arianischen Predigten aus clm 6329; (2) Emendationen zum *Liber ad Renatum Monachum* des Hieronymus-Schülers Asterius; (3) Ratramnus als Textzeuge (und Konjekturealkritiker) für Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei*; (4) Ein neues Stemma für Isidor, *De ortu et obitu patrum* nebst Emendationen; (5) Textkritische Kleinigkeiten zu Ps.-Beda, *In die ascensionis Domini*.



Las cartas no conservadas de la  
correspondencia entre  
Próspero de Aquitania, Hilario  
de Marsella y Agustín de Hipona.  
Los orígenes de la llamada  
« controversia semipelagiana »\*

por

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Las cartas 225 y 226 del epistolario agustiniano, enviadas por Próspero de Aquitania e Hilario de Marsella a Agustín de Hipona en el año 427,<sup>1</sup> constituyen el punto de partida de la

\* Este estudio se ha realizado en el marco de los proyectos de investigación HUM2007-61070 del MEC y 2005SGR-379 de la AGAUR. El autor es miembro del GRAT (*Grup de Recerques en Antiquitat Tardana*), grupo de investigación dirigido por el Dr. Josep Vilella. Las ediciones de las fuentes aparecen indicadas, entre corchetes, en su primera cita.

<sup>1</sup> El principal indicio para establecer la cronología de las cartas 225 y 226 – que fueron enviadas a Agustín en la misma fecha, como señala Hilario en su carta, *vide* Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480 [ed. A. GOLDBACHER, *CSEL* 57, Wien, 1911] –, es la mención que Próspero hace en su epístola de un obispo de Arles como uno de los portavoces de la crítica provenzal al agustinismo (Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 9, p. 467 [ed. A. GOLDBACHER, *CSEL* 57, Wien, 1911]). La mayoría de los manuscritos que han conservado esta carta ofrecen, en este pasaje, la lectura *sanctum Hilarium, Arelatensem episcopum*. Sin embargo, uno de estos manuscritos – el MS. *Parisinus nouv. acq.* 1449, de notable autoridad –, sustituye la lectura *Hilarium* por *Elladium*. Se ha señalado que resultaría extraño que el copista de este manuscrito sustituyera el nombre de Hilarius – tan común – por el mucho menos frecuente Elladius: también en este caso se debería dar mayor autoridad a la *lectio difficilior*, Ella-

dus. Además, una lista episcopal de Arles cuyos orígenes se remontan al siglo ix sitúa el obispado de un cierto Euladius entre los de Patroclo y Honorato, personaje aquel que podría identificarse con el Elladius mencionado en la carta de Próspero. Este Elladius podría ser asimismo aquel a quien Casiano dedica su primera serie de *Conlationes*, y de quien alaba su dedicación al ascetismo (*sancti studii feruor*; *uide* Cassianus, *praef. in Conl.* 1-10, p. 3 [ed. M. PETSCHENIG, *CSEL* 13, Wien, 1886]); posteriormente, en la carta-prefacio a las *Conlationes* 11-17 – dirigida a Euquerio y Honorato, futuros obispos de Lyon y Arles, respectivamente –, Casiano menciona de nuevo a Helladius, señalando que había alcanzado la cátedra episcopal (Id., *praef. in Conl.* 11-17, p. 312). A partir de los testimonios de la lista episcopal de Arles y de las *Conlationes* se puede afirmar con casi total seguridad tanto la existencia de un obispo de Arles llamado Helladius, sucesor de Patroclo y antecesor de Honorato, como su cercanía al círculo de opositores a la teología agustiniana de la gracia – a ello apuntan sus estrechas relaciones con Casiano. Y todo ello refuerza aún más la hipótesis – ya bien cimentada en la tradición manuscrita – de que sea Helladius, y no Hilarius, el obispo citado por Próspero en su carta. Esta tesis, apuntada en primer lugar por O Chadwick (O. CHADWICK, «Euladius of Arles», *Journal of Theological Studies*, 46 [1945], p. 200-205), fue asumida por É. GRIFFE, *La Gaule Chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, II: *L'Église des Gaules au v<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1966, p. 239-241, y ha sido aceptada por la amplia mayoría de investigadores que han abordado el tema (una buena y reciente revisión de la cuestión, que refuerza la tesis de Griffe, puede obtenerse de D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen. The Relationship between Grace and Free Will in the Discussion of Augustine with the so-called Semipelagians*, Leuven, 2003, p. 93-97, con abundante bibliografía; de entre los pocos investigadores que rechazan la tesis de O. Chadwick y É. Griffe podemos destacar a R. H. WEAVER, *Divine Grace and Human Agency. A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy*, Macon, 1996, p. 94-98). Otro argumento que, indirectamente, refuerza la hipótesis de que el obispo arelatense citado por Próspero es este Helladio, es la descripción que de su propia conversión hace Hilario en su *Sermo de uita Honorati*, la cual ha servido de base a algunos autores para afirmar que Hilario no pertenecía al círculo de críticos provenzales del agustinismo. El pasaje en cuestión delata una fuerte influencia del relato que Agustín hizo de su conversión a la fe en las *Confessiones*, y presenta a Hilario como víctima de una fuerte tensión espiritual de la que sólo la gracia divina le pudo arrancar para inclinarle a la conversión (*uide* Hilarius Arel., *Sermo de uita Hon.*, 23, p. 132-138 [ed. M.-D. VALENTIN, *SC* 235, Paris, 1977]). En este pasaje, Hilario se nos muestra bastante alejado de la tesis acerca del *initium fidei* defendida por los teólogos provenzales (sobre el sentido de este concepto en el contexto de la controversia semipelagiana, *uide* J. CHÉNÉ, «Que signifiaient *initium fidei* et *affectus credulitatis* pour les semipélagiens?», *Recherches de science religieuse*, 35 [1948], p. 566-588), y mucho más cercano a las agustinianas – de hecho, en el *De dono perseuerantiae* Agustín alude al relato que de su conversión hizo en las *Confessiones* para demostrar su temprana adhesión a la idea de que el *initium fidei* es un don divino, contra lo que pen-

mayoría de estudios sobre la llamada «controversia semipelagiana», término por el que se conoce a los debates generados por la teología de la gracia agustiniana en círculos monásticos y eclesiásticos de Provenza.<sup>2</sup> Sin embargo, no ha escapado a la investigación moderna que en estas dos cartas, así como en el tratado que Agustín envió a sus corresponsales provenzales como respuesta a las mismas – el *De praedestinatione sanctorum/De dono perseuerantiae* –,<sup>3</sup> hay indicios de la existencia de relaciones epistolares entre Próspero, Hilario y Agustín cuyos testimonios documentales no se han preservado íntegramente. El objetivo del presente trabajo es la reconstrucción de esta correspondencia perdida y la valoración de su aportación al conocimiento de los orígenes de la «controversia semipelagiana».<sup>4</sup>

saban los provenzales, *vide* Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 20, 53, col. 1026 [PL 45]. Sobre el agustinismo de Hilario, *vide* M. LABROUSSE, *Saint Honorat, fondateur de Lérins et évêque d'Arles*, Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1995, p. 83-90; C. SCHERLIESS, *Literatur und Conuersio. Literarische Formen im monastischen Umkreis des Klosters von Lérins*, Frankfurt am Main - Berlin - Bern - Bruxelles - New York - Oxford - Wien, 2000, p. 109, n. 73. Volviendo a Helladio, su episcopado debe situarse entre finales de 426 y finales de 427/principios de 428 (*vide*, en este sentido, D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 94), con lo cual la fecha más plausible para las epístolas de Próspero e Hilario es la del año 427, sin poder fijarse ésta con mayor precisión.

<sup>2</sup> Disponemos de buenos estudios sobre el contenido de las epístolas 225 y 226, que en este trabajo serán analizadas únicamente con el propósito de sistematizar y tratar de reconstruir las relaciones epistolares no conservadas entre Agustín, Próspero e Hilario. Para un estudio más detallado de las citadas cartas, remitimos a los trabajos de J. CHÉNÉ, «Le semipélagianisme du midi de la Gaule d'après les lettres de Prosper d'Aquitaine et d'Hilaire à Saint Augustin», *Recherches de science religieuse*, 43 (1955), p. 321-341; C. M. KASPER, «Der Beitrag der Mönche zur Entwicklung des Gnadestreites in Südgallien, dargestellt an der Korrespondenz des Augustinus, Prosper und Hilarius», en *Signum Pietatis. Festgabe C. P. Mayer*, ed. A. ZUMKELLER, Würzburg, 1989, p. 166-181; R. H. WEAVER, *Divine Grace*, p. 44-49; D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 93-105.

<sup>3</sup> Como es sabido, el *De praedestinatione sanctorum* y el *De dono perseuerantiae* fueron concebidos por Agustín como un único tratado en dos partes. *Vide* D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 153, n. 294.

<sup>4</sup> El término «semipelagiano» se acuña durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, en el marco de la conocida en la historia de la teología cristiana como «controversia de auxiliis». Esta controversia se origina por la reacción

### 1. *La correspondencia perdida entre Próspero y Agustín*

La epístola 225, enviada por Próspero<sup>5</sup> a Agustín, nos ofrece el testimonio seguro de una relación epistolar anterior entre

del dominico D. Bañez a la publicación del teólogo jesuita L. de Molina *De concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiae donis* (1588). En las reuniones de la *Congregatio de auxiliis*, el término «semipelagiano» fue utilizado para designar el pensamiento de los teólogos provenzales que, entre el primer cuarto del siglo v y el primero del vi, integraron un movimiento crítico con el predestinacionismo agustiniano y defendieron un sistema teológico de gracia y libertad humana alternativo a aquél. El jesuita Molina fue acusado de profesar ideas cercanas a las de estos teólogos, tachadas de «semi-pelagianas» (cercanas al pensamiento de Pelagio pero sin compartirlo en su totalidad). El uso del término se generalizó durante el siglo xvii, pero la historiografía moderna se ha mostrado muy reticente a emplearlo porque encerraría una falsedad histórica – la filiación pelagiana del pensamiento de los teólogos provenzales. Sin embargo, seguimos sirviéndonos de él por razones de claridad expositiva. Sobre la historia del término «semipelagiano», vide A. M. JACQUIN, «À quelle date apparaît le terme ‘semipélagien’?», *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 1 (1907), p. 506-508; C. LEYSER, «Semipelagianismo», en *Diccionario de San Agustín. Agustín a través del tiempo*, ed. A. D. FITZGERALD, Burgos, 2001, p. 1178-1179 (traducción española del original inglés de 1999); D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 6-9.

<sup>5</sup> Muy poco es lo que podemos saber de la vida de Próspero, más allá de lo relacionado con su actividad en defensa de la teología de la gracia agustiniana en Provenza. Nació probablemente hacia finales del siglo iv, en Aquitania según refiere Genadio en la noticia que le dedica en su *De viris illustribus*. Sus escritos muestran que recibió una sólida educación clásica, quizás en Burdeos. Cuando establece su primer contacto epistolar con Agustín – a quien, sin duda, empezó a leer y admirar en fecha muy temprana – se encuentra establecido ya en Marsella – como veremos a continuación –, a donde posiblemente se desplazó huyendo de las convulsiones generadas en tierras aquitanas tras la penetración de suevos, vándalos y alanos en Galia la última noche del año 406. En Marsella habría llevado una vida de laico *conuersus* – de pleno compromiso con el ideal ascético –, en estrecha relación con los monjes de San Víctor, aunque sin llegar nunca a ingresar en el monasterio. Al estallar la controversia semipelagiana se compromete en la defensa de la teología agustiniana, lo que le lleva a escribir de nuevo a Agustín y a componer diversos escritos – la *Epistula ad Rufinum* o el *Carmen de ingratis*, entre otros – en los que se propone refutar las críticas que distintos teólogos provenzales habían vertido contra las teorías sobre la gracia de su maestro. En el año 431, ya muerto Agustín – de cuya iniciativa parece que había esperado una respuesta más dura, quizás en forma de condena sinodal, a las teorías de los teólogos provenzales –, viaja a Roma, junto con Hilario, para solicitar del obispo Celestino la condena de los semipelagianos – acerca de esta intervención, y de la carta que Celestino envió a diversos obispos ga-

ambos corresponsales que no ha llegado hasta nosotros. Aunque Próspero no había tenido ocasión de ver en persona a su maestro, el espíritu y las ideas del aquitano no eran desconocidos por el obispo de Hipona (*ignotus quidem tibi facie sed iam aliquatenus, si reminiscaris, animo ac sermone compertus*),<sup>6</sup> puesto que, con anterioridad al envío de esta carta, Próspero había escrito a Agustín y había recibido de él respuesta:

*nam per sanctum fratrem meum Leontium diaconum misi epistulas et recepi.*<sup>7</sup>

los como consecuencia de la misma, *vide infra*, n. 58. De regreso en Provenza, continuó su campaña en defensa del agustinismo – en esta época hay que situar la redacción de obras como el *Contra collatorem* o las *Responsiones ad capitula objectionum Vincentianarum* –, hasta que en una fecha imprecisa, quizás hacia 435, se establece en Roma, donde se convierte en estrecho colaborador del poderoso archidiacono de la iglesia romana León – a quien habría conocido durante su primera estancia en Roma, cuatro años antes. Cuando, en el año 440, León sea elegido obispo de la *Sedes Petri*, su plena confianza en las dotes literarias de Próspero y en su competencia y rectitud en materia de doctrina cristiana le llevarán a confiar al aquitano la composición de algunas de las homilías y cartas predicadas y firmadas por el obispo romano. La fecha de la muerte de Próspero se ha fijado hacia poco después del 455, año al que corresponden los últimos acontecimientos narrados en su *Chronica*. Sobre la biografía de Próspero *vide*, entre otros trabajos, D. M. CAPPUYNS, «Le premier représentant de l'augustinisme médiéval, Prosper d'Aquitaine», *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 1 (1929), p. 310-337; G. BARDY, «Prosper d'Aquitaine», en *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XIII, Paris, 1936, cols. 846-848; G. DE PLINVAL, «Prosper d'Aquitaine, interprète de s. Augustin», *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 1 (1958), p. 341-343; A. SOLIGNAC, «Prosper d'Aquitaine», en *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique*, XII, Paris, 1986, col. 2446-2447; D. RAMOS-LISSON, «Prosper v. Aquitanien», en *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. W. KASPER, VIII, Freiburg-Basel-Roma-Wien, 1999, cols. 644-645; M. P. MCHUGH, «Próspero de Aquitania», en *Diccionario de San Agustín*, p. 1098-1101; A. ELBERTI, *Prospero d'Aquitania. Teologo e discepolo*, Roma, 1999, p. 25-27; D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 91-93, n. 4. Acerca de la colaboración de Próspero con el obispo romano León I, *vide* N. W. JAMES, «Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: a Fifth-Century Pope and his Adviser», *Journal of Theological Studies*, 44 (1993), p. 554-584; R. VILLEGAS, «En polémica con Julián de Eclanum. Por una nueva lectura del *Syllabus de gratia* de Próspero de Aquitania», *Augustinianum*, 43 (2003), p. 81-124.

<sup>6</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 1, p. 454.

<sup>7</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 1, p. 454-455.

Es difícil precisar el volumen de esta relación epistolar, puesto que, aunque la mayoría de manuscritos ofrecen en este punto la lectura *epistulas*, el *cod. Trecentis* 5 presenta el término en acusativo singular, *epistulam*.<sup>8</sup> Estaríamos, por consiguiente, ante una correspondencia perdida que constaría de una o varias cartas de Próspero a Agustín – hay que atribuir sin duda al aquitano la iniciativa en este intercambio epistolar – y de la correspondiente respuesta del obispo de Hipona.

El mismo pasaje de la epístola 225 que atestigua esta relación epistolar previa no conservada nos ofrece el único indicio que permite conjeturar acerca del contenido de la misma. Próspero señala que, a diferencia de las razones que le habían movido a escribir a Agustín la epístola 225 (el *fidei affectus*, el amor por la fe católica, cuyos fundamentos creía amenazados por la crítica provenzal a la teología de la gracia agustiniana), con anterioridad se había dirigido al obispo de Hipona únicamente con el propósito de saludarle (*salutationis studio*):

*nunc quoque beatitudini tuae scribere audeo non solum salutationi ut  
tunc studio sed etiam fidei, qua ecclesia uiuit, affectu.*<sup>9</sup>

Estaríamos, por tanto, ante una carta o cartas por medio de las cuales Próspero se presentaría ante Agustín y le expresaría la admiración que sentía por su figura y su magisterio, admiración de la que las obras del aquitano dan constante testimonio.<sup>10</sup>

La cuestión de la cronología de esta primera relación epistolar entre Próspero y Agustín está íntimamente relacionada con lo que acabamos de señalar acerca de su contenido. El hecho de que Próspero escribiera al obispo de Hipona únicamente *salutationis studio* apunta a una cronología bastante tem-

<sup>8</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 1, p. 455 (*in app. crit.*).

<sup>9</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 1, p. 455.

<sup>10</sup> Basten aquí, como ejemplo de la devoción que Próspero sentía por la figura de Agustín, estos versos del *Carmen de ingratis* del aquitano: *Augustinus erat, quem Christi gratia cornu | uberiore rigans nostro lumen dedit aeno | accensum uero de lumine; nam cibus illi, | et uita, et requies Deus est, omnisque uoluptas | unus amor Christi est, unus Christi est honor illi? | et dum nulla sibi tribuit bona, fit Deus illi | omnia et in sancto regnat Sapientia templo* (Id., *Carmen de ing.*, vv. 92-98, p. 48 [ed. C. T. HUEGELMEYER, *Patristic Studies* 95, Washington, 1962]).

prana, anterior a las primeras manifestaciones de abierta oposición a la teología de la gracia agustiniana en Marsella,<sup>11</sup> puesto que, de haberse ya dado éstas cuando Próspero escribió por primera vez a Agustín, es difícil pensar que el gran agustiniano galo hubiera dejado de comunicárselas a su maestro, como hizo con la epístola 225. Debemos tener presente que es prácticamente seguro que cuando Próspero inicia su relación epistolar con Agustín se encuentra ya asentado en Marsella. A ello apunta el hecho de que el portador de las cartas intercambiadas por Próspero y Agustín fuera aquel a quien el aquitano llama *sanctus frater meus Leontius*, personaje que sin duda debe ser identificado con el *sanctus Leontius diaconus*, diácono probablemente de la iglesia de Marsella y admirador también de la figura de Agustín, en nombre del cual Hilario saluda al obispo de Hipona al final de la carta 226.<sup>12</sup> A una cronología temprana de esta primera relación epistolar apunta asimismo el hecho de que Próspero dude de si Agustín se acordará de ella (*si reminiscaris*) en el momento de recibir la epístola 225. A partir de estos argumentos, apuntamos para esta relación epistolar una cronología cuyo *terminus ante quem* sería el estallido de la controversia semipelagiana en Marsella, sobre la cronología de cuyo desarrollo trataremos en el apartado siguiente.

## 2. La correspondencia perdida entre Hilario y Agustín

### a. La carta perdida de Hilario y los orígenes de la controversia semipelagiana

La epístola enviada a Agustín por Hilario de Marsella<sup>13</sup> – su único escrito conservado – atestigua la existencia de una rela-

<sup>11</sup> Como es bien sabido, el epicentro de la crítica al predestinacionismo agustiniano en Provenza fue el monasterio de San Víctor de Marsella (*vide* Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 2, p. 455), aunque esta oposición tuvo focos en otros lugares de la Galia (Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469), como el monasterio de Lérins o la sede episcopal de Arles bajo el pontificado de un «hijo» de Lérins, Helladio.

<sup>12</sup> Id., *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480: *sanctus Leontius diaconus, cultor tuus, cum meis parentibus multum te salutat.*

<sup>13</sup> Apenas nada conocemos de la biografía de Hilario. Posiblemente nació en Marsella, donde parece que en el año 427 residían tanto sus padres – en

ción epistolar previa entre ambos corresponsales que no ha llegado hasta nosotros. En el capítulo 9 de la epístola 226, Hilario señala a su maestro que no debe extrañarse de que esta carta contenga algunas tesis de los teólogos provenzales no contenidas en una misiva que le había hecho llegar con anterioridad, así como ideas sí reseñadas en aquella epístola pero expresadas ahora de un modo distinto:

nombre de los cuales saluda a Agustín en la carta 226, *uide Id., Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480 – como su hermano y su cuñada – quienes, según señala Hilario en esta misma carta, habían decidido de mutuo acuerdo vivir su matrimonio en abstinencia, *uide Id., Epist.* 226, 10, p. 481: *fratrem meum, cuius maxime causa hinc discessimus, cum matrona sua ex consensu perfectam deo continentiam deuouisse*. Hilario conoció personalmente a Agustín y pasó algunos años a su lado, recibiendo de él una sólida formación teológica (*uide Id., Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480: *sufficiat mihi poena mea, quod a praesentiae tuae deliciis exulatus, ubi salubribus tuis uberibus nutriebar*). Es posible que estos años coincidieran con los del desarrollo de la controversia generada por las ideas de Pelagio y sus seguidores, y que Hilario viviera muy de cerca la actividad antipelagiana de Agustín, obteniendo un conocimiento muy profundo de las cuestiones discutidas, así como de las tesis agustinianas sobre la gracia divina y la libertad humana. Ello podría explicar su temprana implicación, a su vuelta a Marsella – por razones familiares, *uide Id., Epist.* 226, 10, p. 481: *fratrem meum, cuius maxime causa hinc discessimus* –, en la defensa de la teología de la gracia agustiniana frente a las críticas de los teólogos provenzales (Tillemont propuso identificar a nuestro Hilario con el homónimo autor de la carta 156 del epistolario agustiniano, que informaba a Agustín de la presencia pelagiana en Sicilia hacia 414-415, hipótesis acogida con escepticismo por la historiografía posterior, *uide L.-S. LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, t. 13, Paris, 1702, art. 243). No se puede descartar que Hilario se estableciera en Hipona huyendo de las conmociones político-militares derivadas de la penetración bárbara en Galia a inicios del año 407. Cuando escribió a Agustín la epístola 226, Hilario era laico (*uide Hilarius, Epist.* 226, 9, p. 478: *sunt ex parte tales personae, ut his consuetudine ecclesiastica laicos summam reuerentiam necesse sit exhibere. quod quidem ita curauimus deo iuuante seruare*), y probablemente llevaba una vida de pleno compromiso ascético – al igual que su amigo Próspero, al que había conocido recientemente, como veremos a continuación –, lo que le condujo a establecer relaciones con los monjes de San Víctor, sin llegar a ingresar en el monasterio, y le permitió conocer de primera mano sus opiniones sobre las ideas de su maestro Agustín. Sabemos que tras la muerte de Agustín, Hilario viajó a Roma junto con Próspero para solicitar la intervención de Celestino en la controversia semipelagiana – sobre esta iniciativa, *uide infra*, n. 58 –, el último hecho conocido de su vida. *Cf.* C. BREUER-WINKLER, «Hilarius aus Afrika», en *Lexikon*, V, 1996, col. 99, quien se inclina por un origen africano de Hilario.



*nec mireris, quod aliter uel aliqua in hac epistula addidi, quantum puto, quae in superiore non dixeram.*<sup>14</sup>

De este pasaje se infiere, además de la existencia de una carta, anterior a la conservada, enviada por Hilario a Agustín, la total imbricación de ésta en el contexto de la controversia generada por la teología agustiniana de la gracia en tierras provenzales. Para determinar las razones que motivaron el envío de esta primera carta del marsellés al hiponense, y poder asimismo esbozar las líneas maestras de su contenido, resulta imprescindible fijar la vista en la frase que cierra el pasaje anteriormente citado de la carta 226:

*talis est enim nunc eorum definitio.*<sup>15</sup>

Tras advertir a Agustín de la existencia de tesis no consignadas en la epístola precedente, Hilario lo justifica afirmando que su nueva carta recoge el posicionamiento teológico de los provenzales en aquel momento (*nunc*). En esta frase se insinúa la existencia de una cierta evolución en dicho posicionamiento, del que serían testimonio las dos cartas sucesivas de Hilario y del que, asimismo, no faltan indicios en otros pasajes de las cartas a Agustín de Próspero y del mismo Hilario.

En su epístola a Agustín, Próspero señala — tras haber resumido en los capítulos anteriores las tesis sobre la gracia de los opositores al agustinismo —, que el desarrollo de un sistema teológico alternativo al del obispo de Hipona fue consecuencia de la inquietud ante la constatación de que el predestinacionismo agustiniano cuestionaba el sentido del esfuerzo ascético cristiano, así como el valor de la exhortación a la disciplina moral y a la experimentación vital del Evangelio. A partir de una tal inquietud — lógica en los corazones de los *serui Christi* de Marsella —, muchos monjes marselleses — entre ellos, Juan Casiano —, en un primer momento muy cercanos a las ideas sobre la gracia de Agustín, habrían sentido la necesidad de impugnar algunas de las conclusiones de la especulación teológica agustiniana:

<sup>14</sup> Id., *Epist.* 226, 9, p. 479.

<sup>15</sup> Id., *Epist.* 226, 9, p. 479.

*in istam uero talis gratiae praedicationem hi, quorum contradictione offendimur, cum prius meliora sentirent, ideo se uel maxime contulerunt, quia, si profiterentur ab ea omnia bona merita praeueniri et ab ipsa, ut possint esse, donari, necessitate concederent deum secundum propositum et consilium uoluntatis suae occulto iudicio et opere manifesto aliud uas condere in honorem aliud in contumeliam, quia nemo nisi per gratiam iustificetur et nemo nisi in praeuocatione nascatur. sed refugiunt istud fateri diuinoque adscribere operi sanctorum merita formidant nec adquiescunt praedestinatum electorum numerum nec augeri posse nec minui, ne locum apud infideles ac negligentes cohortantium incitamenta non habeant ac superflua sit industriae ac laboris indictio, cuius studium cessante electione frustrandum sit.*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 6, p. 463-464. En este pasaje encontramos un claro indicio de la presencia del abad de San Víctor de Marsella, Juan Casiano, entre aquellos *serui Christi* marselleses que, partiendo de tesis sobre la gracia muy cercanas a las de Agustín, fueron asumiendo progresivamente una actitud cada vez más crítica ante buena parte del sistema teológico diseñado por el obispo de Hipona. Cuando Próspero señala que los monjes de Marsella temen atribuir a la acción divina todos los méritos de los hombres santos (*diuinoque adscribere operi sanctorum merita formidant*), sus palabras nos evocan la sentencia que expresa la idea matriz de la teología de la gracia de la *Conlatio* 13 de Casiano: *unde cauendum nobis est, ne ita ad dominum omnia sanctorum merita referamus, ut nihil nisi id quod malum atque peruersum est humanae adscribamus naturae* (Cassianus, *Conl.* 13, 12, p. 379-380). De ello no hay que inferir forzosamente que la *Conlatio* 13 ya hubiera sido publicada cuando Próspero escribió su epístola 225 a Agustín. Hay que tener presente que buena parte de las ideas expuestas por escrito en la *Conlatio* 13 ya habían sido tratadas en los debates orales que, en Marsella, enfrentaron a defensores y detractores de la teología de la gracia agustiniana. En su *Contra collatorem*, opúsculo en el que Próspero procede a un análisis crítico de la *Conlatio* 13, el aquitano señala que apenas se podría creer que las ideas sobre la gracia de Casiano fueran divulgadas entre los católicos, de no ser que lo que antes se defendía en discusiones privadas, en aquel momento ya hubiera sido puesto por escrito: *quis haec praedicari a catholicis inter catholicos crederet, nisi quae in collocutionibus domesticis saepe defensa sunt, etiam scripta legerentur?* (Prosper, *Contra coll.*, 14, 2, col. 253 [PL 51]). De cualquier modo, si la *Conlatio* 13 fue publicada después de que Próspero escribiera a Agustín para informarle de las tesis provenzales, no pudo serlo mucho tiempo más tarde: la redacción de la epístola 225 y la publicación de la serie de *Conlationes* 11-17 tuvieron lugar durante el corto episcopado de Helladio, probablemente a lo largo del año 427 (*uide supra*, n. 1). Además, éste no es el único pasaje de su carta en el que Próspero recoge tesis expuestas por Casiano en su *Conlatio* 13 (*uide infra*, n. 66). Por ello, consideramos que cuando el aquitano escribió su epístola a Agustín, o bien la *Conlatio* 13 ya había sido publicada, o bien Casiano estaba trabajando en la

En este pasaje de Próspero se refleja el proceso de evolución del pensamiento de los teólogos semipelagianos, quienes habrían pasado de defender unas tesis sobre la gracia muy próximas a las de Agustín (y por ello valoradas positivamente por el agustiniano de Aquitania: *cum prius meliora sentirent*), a un alejamiento progresivo de las mismas, que desemboca, finalmente, en la crítica abierta al agustinismo y en la elaboración de un sistema teológico alternativo cuyas líneas maestras recogen las cartas de Próspero e Hilario.

De la carta de Próspero se infiere, además, que este proceso duró bastantes años. Según el aquitano, los monjes de Marsella consideraron como opuestas a la tradición patrística y al sentir de la Iglesia las tesis predestinacionistas defendidas por Agustín en sus tratados antipelagianos:

*multi ergo seruorum Christi, qui in Massiliensi urbe consistunt, in sanctitatis tuae scriptis, quae aduersus Pelagianos haereticos condidisti, contrarium putant patrum opinioni et ecclesiastico sensui, quicquid in eis de uocatione electorum secundum Dei propositum disputasti.*<sup>17</sup>

Este pasaje nos presenta a los monjes marselleses como espectadores atentos de la controversia pelagiana, ante la cual asumieron un posicionamiento crítico tanto con las tesis pelagianas<sup>18</sup> como con las agustinianas. El sentido de la más tem-

redacción — o reelaboración — y publicación de la *conlatio* en la que iba a plasmar por escrito las críticas a la teología predestinacionista agustiniana que ya había formulado en sus debates orales contra los agustinianos sudgálicos.

<sup>17</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 2, p. 455.

<sup>18</sup> Próspero e Hilario señalan que los teólogos marselleses reconocían la solidaridad de todo el género humano en el pecado adánico, y su absoluta incapacidad para resurgir del estado de postración en el que se encuentra por sus propias fuerzas, necesitando de la gracia regeneradora de Dios (*uide* Id., *Epist.* 225, 3, p. 457; Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469). Las obras de diferentes autores que han sido asociados con el movimiento provenzal de crítica al predestinacionismo agustiniano atestiguan su adhesión a la teología del *originale peccatum* (*uide*, por ejemplo, Cassianus, *Conl.* 13, 7, p. 370; Vincentius Ler., *Commonit.*, 24, 9, p. 181 [ed. R. DEMEULENAERE, *CCSL* 64, Turnhout, 1985]). Los teólogos provenzales condenaron sin ambigüedad a Pelagio y sus seguidores, a los que atribuían tesis extremas tales como la afirmación de que el hombre puede alcanzar un estado de *impeccantia* y de que, para ello, no necesita de la ayuda de la gracia divina (*uide*, por ejemplo, Cassianus, *De*

prana crítica provenzal al agustinismo lo desvela Próspero en las líneas siguientes. El aquitano señala que, durante un cierto período de tiempo, algunos de estos monjes consideraron la posibilidad de no haber entendido bien a Agustín y concibieron la idea de pedirle una explicación de los puntos de su teoría predestinacionista que consideraban más oscuros.<sup>19</sup> Sin embargo, y siempre según Próspero, esta petición nunca llegó a cursarse, porque la llegada del *De correptione et gratia* la hizo innecesaria. Esta obra, escrita por Agustín en respuesta a la controversia generada por su doctrina sobre la gracia en el monasterio africano de Hadrumeto,<sup>20</sup> suponía igualmente una

*inc. Dom.* 1, 3, p. 239-241 [ed. M. PETSCHENIG, *CSEL* 17, Wien, 1888]; Vincentius Ler., *Commonit.*, 24, 8, p. 181).

<sup>19</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 2, p. 455: *et cum aliquamdiu tarditatem suam culpae maluerint quam non intellecta reprehendere quidamque eorum lucidiorem super hoc atque apertiore beatitudinis tuae expositionem uoluerint postulare.*

<sup>20</sup> Las críticas a la teología agustiniana de la gracia en el monasterio de Hadrumeto (actual Soussa, Túnez) nacen cuando Floro, un monje de la mencionada comunidad monástica en viaje a Cartago, lee, a su paso por Uzalis, la epístola 194 de Agustín. Esta carta, concebida como una suerte de *commonitorium* para Sixto, presbítero romano – futuro obispo de la *Sedes Petri* Sixto III – que había simpatizado con las tesis pelagianas, contiene una exposición precisa y detallada de la teología de la gracia agustiniana. Floro copia la carta y la hace llegar a su monasterio. Allí genera un notable estupor entre algunos monjes, quienes, de su firme afirmación de que todo en el hombre justo es fruto de la gracia divina (la carta contiene la conocida sentencia agustiniana *cum deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronet quam munera sua*, vide Augustinus, *Epist.* 194, 5, 19, p. 190 [ed. A. GOLDBACHER, *CSEL* 57, Wien, 1911]), infieren que el Juicio Final no será verdaderamente un juicio en el que el hombre sea premiado por sus buenas obras. Estos monjes prefieren preservar la tesis de la pervivencia en el hombre de un libre albedrío que coopera con la gracia divina, la cual le concede la capacidad de conocer la justicia y le incentiva a escogerla a la luz de la promesa de la recompensa eterna. La carta generó gran conmoción entre algunos monjes – otros, por el contrario, se mostraron plenamente de acuerdo con sus postulados teológicos –, los cuales llegaron a pensar que, en realidad, se trataba de un texto pseudo-agustiniano. Por ello, su abad Valentín escribe a Evodio de Uzalis, a un presbítero llamado Sabino y a un tal Ianuarius solicitando una exposición detallada del contenido teológico de la epístola 194. Las respuestas de Evodio – que se remite al magisterio agustiniano –, Ianuarius – un firme defensor de las tesis agustinianas –, y Sabino – cuya carta no ha llegado hasta nosotros –, no calman los ánimos de los monjes hadrumetinos, por lo que Valentín decide – poco antes de la Pascua del 426 – enviar a visitar al mismo Agustín a tres monjes, probablemente de los más inquietos.

respuesta válida a las dudas de los marselleses, a las que venía a contestar punto por punto :

*euenit ex dispositione misericordiae dei, ut, cum quosdam intra Africam similia mouissent, librum de correptione et gratia plenum diuinae auctoritatis emitteres. quo in notitiam nostram insperata opportunitate delato putauimus omnes querelas resistentium sopiendas, quia uniuersis quaestionibus, de quibus consulenda erat sanctitas tua, tam plene illic absoluteque responsum est, quasi hoc specialiter studueris, ut, quae apud nos erant turbata, componeres.*<sup>21</sup>

Este pasaje de Próspero atestigua cuál era el sentido de la primera crítica provenzal al agustinismo, plenamente coincidente con la que surgió en Hadrumeto – significativamente, también en un monasterio – y que motivó la réplica de Agustín en el *De correptione et gratia*. En esta obra, Agustín afronta principalmente la cuestión, formulada por los hadrumetinos, de cómo conciliar la teología de la gracia agustiniana con la defensa del valor de la predicación de los principios morales cristianos y de la exhortación a la práctica de la virtud, predicación y exhortación que no tendrían sentido si se afirma que es Dios, con su gracia que actúa en el alma, quien genera en el hombre el amor por el bien.<sup>22</sup> Corregir a un pecador, según

tos por la teología del Doctor de la Gracia. Agustín, que retiene a su lado durante algún tiempo a los monjes, escribe dos cartas a Valentín (epístolas 214-215) en las que expone su pensamiento, junto con el tratado *De gratia et libero arbitrio*. Valentín responde al obispo de Hipona con una carta que es llevada por Floro, el monje que había copiado la epístola 194 desencadenante de la tormenta en Hadrumeto y cuya presencia había sido requerida por el propio Agustín. Floro, que se mostró plenamente de acuerdo con las tesis del hiponense, le comunica nuevas dudas y controversias surgidas en el seno de su comunidad monástica. Estas dudas se referían a la necesidad y utilidad de la corrección y reprobación del pecado si se acepta, con Agustín, que el arrepentimiento del pecado y la rehabilitación para la virtud sólo se dan en el hombre por don gratuito de Dios. Como respuesta a estas cuestiones, el obispo de Hipona escribe el *De correptione et gratia*. Acerca del desarrollo histórico de la controversia en Hadrumeto, uide R. H. WEAVER, *Divine Grace*, p. 4-35; D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 28-40.

<sup>21</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 2, p. 455-456.

<sup>22</sup> Vide, por ejemplo, Augustinus, *De corr. et grat.*, 2, 4, p. 221 [ed. G. FOLLIER, CSEL 92, Wien, 2000]: *non se itaque fallant, qui dicunt: « Ut quid nobis praedicatur atque praecipitur, ut declinemus a malo et faciamus bonum, si hoc nos non agimus, sed id uelle et operari deus operatur in nobis? »*; Id., *De corr. et grat.*,

los hadrumetinos, tendría sentido únicamente si se cree que quien no se corrige y persevera en el mal lo hace *sua culpa*. De asumirse plenamente las tesis agustinianas, sería únicamente necesario y realmente efectivo orar a Dios para que éste se digne hacer buenos a los hombres.<sup>23</sup> En esencia, éste sería el sentido de las primeras críticas marsellesas al agustinismo, coincidentes con las hadrumetinas y, por ello, contestadas punto por punto en el *De correptione*, como afirma con claridad Próspero (*quia uniuersis quaestionibus, de quibus consulenda erat sanctitas tua, tam plene illic absoluteque responsum est*). Esta afirmación de Próspero se concilia perfectamente con aquel otro pasaje de su misma carta en el que el aquitano señala que el motor de la crítica provenzal al agustinismo fue la creencia en que esta doctrina cuestionaba el valor del esfuerzo ascético y de la exhortación a la virtud.

La actitud de los monjes marselleses ante la teología agustiniana de la gracia experimentó una evolución que parte de la aprobación de las tesis del hiponense para derivar, primero, hacia una creciente inquietud por la dificultad de conciliarlas con el ideal ascético cristiano, y desembocar, finalmente, en la abierta crítica al agustinismo y en la defensa de un sistema teológico de gracia y libertad humana alternativo a aquél.<sup>24</sup> Desde nuestro punto de vista, la primera carta de Hilario a Agustín,

6, 9, p. 226: « *Apostolus* », inquit, « ait: *Quis enim te discernit? Quid autem habes quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis? Cur ergo corripimur arguimur reprehendimur accusamur? Quid fecimus, qui non accepimus?* »

<sup>23</sup> Id., *De corr. et grat.*, 4, 6, p. 223: « *praecepe mihi quid faciam, et si fecero, age pro me gratias deo, qui mihi ut facerem dedit; si autem non fecero, non ego corripiendus sum, sed ille orandus est ut det quod non dedit, id est ipsam, qua praecepta eius fiunt, fidelem dei et proximi caritatem. Ora ergo pro me ut hanc accipiam, et per hanc ex animo cum bona uoluntate quae praecipit faciam. Recte autem corripere, si eam mea culpa non haberem, hoc est si eam possem mihi dare uel sumere ipse, nec facerem, uel si dante illo accipere noluissem. Cum ergo et ipsa uoluntas a domino praeparatur, cur me corripis, quia uides me praecepta eius facere nolle, et non potius ipsum rogas, ut in me operetur et uelle?* »; Id., *De corr. et grat.*, 3, 5, p. 222: « ergo », inquit, « *praecipiant tantummodo nobis quid facere debeamus qui nobis praesunt, et ut faciamus orent pro nobis; non autem nos corripiant et arguant, si non fecerimus* ».

<sup>24</sup> Sobre este punto, véanse las interesantes puntualizaciones de C. M. Kasper, quien define la teología provenzal como una *praktische Theologie*, una teología vivida y no especulativa, construida sobre la práctica vital del ascetismo y por ella modulada. *Vide* C. M. KASPER, *Theologie und Askese. Die*

hoy perdida, debió comunicar al hiponense las líneas esenciales de la primera crítica provenzal a su sistema teológico, centrada, repetimos, en denunciar la supuesta amenaza que el agustinismo representaba para la expansión del ascetismo y el valor de la predicación de los valores morales cristianos. Ello explicaría que Hilario señale en su carta conservada que ésta contiene, en comparación con la primera – la perdida –, tesis provenzales expresadas de un nuevo modo,<sup>25</sup> y otras totalmente nuevas (*aliter uel aliqua in hac epistula addidi, quantum puto, quae in superiore non dixeram*), ideas estas últimas que serían la expresión de una crítica al agustinismo más elaborada en comparación con la recogida en la primera carta. Las dos cartas de Hilario a Agustín – la primera, no conservada, y la segunda, que ha llegado hasta nosotros – recogerían la evolución de la crítica provenzal al agustinismo, desde sus primeras manifestaciones (carta no conservada) hasta la expresión más desarrollada de ésta (epístola 226).

b. La cuestión de los *scripta prolixiora* de *De praed. sanct.*, 3, 7

Las epístolas 225-226 proporcionaron a Agustín una información sobre la repercusión de sus tesis predestinacionistas en las iglesias y monasterios provenzales más extensa y detallada que la que Hilario había podido consignar en su carta anterior. Ello se infiere de un pasaje del *De praedestinatione sanctorum* en

*Spiritualität des Inselmönchtums von Lérins im 5. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 1991, p. 225-226.

<sup>25</sup> Debemos tener presente que, entre las objeciones provenzales al predestinacionismo agustiniano reseñadas en la epístola 226, sigue ocupando un lugar destacado – como lo habría hecho en la epístola anterior – la acusación de que el predestinacionismo cuestiona el valor de la predicación cristiana y la exhortación a la virtud. *Vide*, por ejemplo, Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469: *nouum et inutile esse praedicationi, quod quidam secundum propositum eligendi dicantur, ut id nec arripere ualeant nec tenere nisi credendi uoluntate donata. excludi putant omnem praedicandi uigorem, si nihil, quod per eam excitetur, in hominibus remansisse dicatur. consentiunt omnem hominem in Adam perisse nec inde quemquam posse proprio arbitrio liberari; sed id conueniens adserunt ueritati uel congruum praedicationi, ut, cum prostratis et numquam suis uiribus surrecturis adnuntiatur obtinendae salutis occasio, eo merito, quo uoluerint et crediderint a suo morbo se posse sanari*; Id., *Epist.* 226, 5, p. 474: *adserunt inutilem exhortandi consuetudinem, si nihil in homine remansisse dicatur, quod correptio ualeat excitare*.

el que Agustín se refiere a las cartas de Próspero e Hilario como *scripta uestra prolixiora*:<sup>26</sup> el adjetivo en grado comparativo *prolixiora* («más extensos») debe entenderse en relación con la primera carta de Hilario a Agustín, que contenía un volumen de información menor que el que al obispo de Hipona proporcionaron las cartas 225-226. Algunos autores, sin embargo, han propuesto identificar estos *scripta prolixiora* con una o varias cartas o informes, hoy perdidos, enviados por Próspero o Hilario a Agustín en fecha posterior a la de las cartas conservadas, y que contendrían una relación más precisa y detallada de la crítica provenzal al agustinismo que la que nos proporcionan las citadas cartas 225 y 226.<sup>27</sup> Esta tesis podría encontrar apoyo en varios pasajes de la carta de Hilario en los que éste afirma haberse visto obligado a recoger sumariamente las tesis provenzales, dejándose varias cuestiones en el tintero, dada la inminente partida hacia África del que iba a ser portador de su epístola.<sup>28</sup> Cabe pensar que, de haberse presentado la ocasión, Hilario habría podido escribir una vez más a Agustín exponiéndole las tesis marsellesas que se había visto obligado a soslayar. Ignoramos si esta hipotética nueva relación epistolar Hilario-Agustín tuvo lugar. De cualquier modo, lo que sí podemos afirmar con casi total certeza es que los *scripta prolixiora* a los que hace alusión Agustín en el citado pasaje del *De praedestinatione sanctorum* no pueden identificarse

<sup>26</sup> Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 3, 7, col. 964 [PL 44].

<sup>27</sup> D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 295; J. CHÉNÉ, «Le semipélagianisme», p. 322, n. 2, defendió igualmente la existencia de una o varias cartas de Próspero o Hilario a Agustín escritas en fecha posterior a las conservadas.

<sup>28</sup> En el capítulo 9 de su carta, Hilario señala que restan *alia interminabiliter plura* tesis, defendidas por los provenzales junto con las que ha reseñado, que hubiera deseado comunicar personalmente a Agustín o, dado que no le era posible hacer el viaje, recoger con más tiempo en un escrito más extenso. Tampoco tuvo ocasión de componer este escrito, pero dada la gravedad de la situación, no pudo dejar de comunicar a Agustín todo aquello que reseñó en la carta que finalmente le envió. En este mismo pasaje, Hilario insiste en que ha recogido *summatim* las tesis de los provenzales, obligado a ello por la *festinatio perlatoris*. Vide Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 9, p. 478-479. Hilario afirma igualmente que estas prisas y el temor consiguiente a dejar de comunicar a Agustín cosas importantes le condujeron a pedir a Próspero que se sumara a su iniciativa y recogiera cuantas tesis marsellesas pudiera para hacérselas llegar por vía epistolar a Agustín. Vide Id., *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480.



con cartas de Próspero o Hilario enviadas a Agustín después de las dos epístolas conservadas. En este pasaje, el obispo de Hipona señala que fue la reflexión sobre las palabras de Pablo en I Cor. 4, 7 (*quid habes quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis?*) lo que le condujo a abandonar el error en que había caído – y en el que permanecían aún los teólogos marselleses – al creer que la fe no es un don de Dios, sino que surge del hombre, quien, como recompensa al mérito que por ella contrae, obtiene el don de las virtudes que le permiten vivir en santidad.<sup>29</sup> Este error, sigue Agustín, podía encontrarse en algunas de las obras que había escrito antes de acceder al episcopado, entre ellas la *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos*, citada por Hilario en su carta como ejemplo al que recurrían los teólogos provenzales para demostrar que, al igual que hacían ellos, también Agustín había defendido el origen humano de la fe, razón de la elección divina de los hombres para concederles los dones de la virtud cristiana.<sup>30</sup> En el pasaje del *De praedestinatione* que estamos analizando, Agustín señala que ya se había retractado de esta tesis errónea en el primer libro de sus *Retractationes*, en el que había tratado de la *Expositio*, antes de recibir los *scripta prolixiora* de Hilario y Próspero.<sup>31</sup> La mención de los *scripta*

<sup>29</sup> Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 3, 7, col. 964: *quod ut ostenderet, adhibuit Apostolum testem dicentem: Quid autem habes quod non accepisti? Si autem et accepisti, quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis? Quo praecipue testimonio etiam ipse conuictus sum, cum similiter errarem, putans fidem qua in Deum credimus, non esse donum Dei, sed a nobis esse in nobis, et per illam non impetrari Dei dona quibus temperanter et iuste et pie uiuamus in hoc saeculo.*

<sup>30</sup> Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 3, 7, col. 964: *quem meum errorem nonnulla opuscula mea satis indicant, ante episcopatum meum scripta. In quibus est illud quod commemorastis in litteris uestris, ubi est expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Epistola quae est ad Romanos.* En efecto, en el capítulo 3 de su carta Hilario señala que los teólogos marselleses defendían su tesis acerca de la presciencia divina de la fe del hombre como razón de la elección basándose en el testimonio de algunas de las primeras obras de Agustín, y cita en este sentido un pasaje de la epístola 102 de Agustín y dos más de la *Expositio quarumdam propositionum ex Epistula ad Romanos*. Vide Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 3, p. 471-472.

<sup>31</sup> Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 3, 7, col. 964: *denique, cum mea cuncta opuscula retractarem, eamque retractationem stilo prosequer, cuius operis iam duos absolueram libros, antequam scripta uestra prolixiora sumpsissem, cum ad hunc librum retractandum in primo uolumine peruenissem, sic inde locutus sum.*

*prolixiora* en este contexto expositivo no deja lugar a dudas sobre su identificación: Agustín quiere dejar claro que ya se había retractado explícitamente de la tesis sobre el origen de la fe que había defendido en la *Expositio* antes de que unos *scripta prolixiora* de Próspero e Hilario le hicieran saber que, en Provenza, había quien se remitía al testimonio de la *Expositio* agustiniana para defender sus propias teorías acerca del origen humano de la fe. Dado que, como acabamos de señalar, el capítulo tercero de la epístola conservada de Hilario contiene esta noticia, no existe razón alguna para no identificar los *scripta prolixiora* a los que hace alusión Agustín con las cartas conservadas de Próspero e Hilario y hacerlo, por el contrario, con unos hipotéticos escritos de los dos agustinianos provenzales enviados a Agustín con posterioridad a sus cartas conservadas. Carecemos de testimonios concluyentes sobre la existencia de tales escritos.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> A nuestro juicio, el intento de D. Ogliari de reconstruir a grandes rasgos el contenido de estos *scripta prolixiora* de Próspero e Hilario, supuestamente posteriores a sus cartas conservadas, tampoco es convincente (*vide* D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 154, n. 296). Según este investigador, estos *scripta prolixiora* habrían comunicado a Agustín aquella información acerca de las teorías de los teólogos provenzales que habría servido al hiponense para establecer puentes entre sus ideas sobre la gracia y las de sus críticos galos. De acuerdo con Ogliari, Agustín no habría podido afirmar que sus críticos reconocían que la acción de la gracia divina antecedería siempre el nacimiento de un buen propósito en el alma humana (*vide* Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 2, col. 961: *peruenerunt etiam, ut praeueniri uoluntates hominum Dei gratia fateantur*) únicamente a partir de la información que le proporcionan las cartas conservadas de Próspero e Hilario. Sin embargo, en este pasaje Agustín está parafraseando una sentencia de la carta de Próspero: *quas* (sc.: *uoluntates*) *ab ea* (sc.: *gratia Dei*) *secundum suam phantasiam non negant esse praeuentas* (Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 5, p. 461-462). Es cierto que, como ha subrayado Ogliari, Agustín soslaya el *secundum suam phantasiam* de Próspero, quien manifestaba de este modo que los provenzales no entendían del mismo modo que los agustinianos la sentencia según la cual la gracia precede a todo mérito del hombre. Pero, como ya señaló en su momento A. Trapé (*vide* A. TRAPÉ, «Introduzione a *La predestinazione dei santi*» en *Sant'Agostino. Grazia e libertà: La grazia e il libero arbitrio, La correzione e la grazia, La predestinazione dei santi, Il dono della perseveranza*, ed. A. TRAPÉ, Roma, 1987, p. 201; p. 225, n. 5), Agustín trata de establecer en este pasaje puntos de acuerdo entre sus ideas y las de los provenzales que constituyan la base a partir de la cual estos últimos, guiados por la argumentación agustiniana, puedan acabar entendiendo y aceptando la teoría predestinacionista. Agustín expresa esta convicción al

c. Los pasajes de la carta perdida de Hilario citados en el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono*

A partir de lo señalado hasta ahora, podemos concluir que la epístola perdida de Hilario a Agustín, escrita y enviada en fecha anterior a su carta conservada, es el único documento que, junto con las epístolas 225 y 226, proporcionó a Agustín la información sobre las críticas provenzales a su doctrina sobre la gracia a partir de la cual el obispo de Hipona iba a elaborar su respuesta en el tratado *De praedestinatione sanctorum*/*De dono perseuerantiae*. La epístola o epístolas perdidas enviadas por Próspero a Agustín no abordaban cuestiones relativas a controversias doctrinales. Por otra parte, carecemos de pruebas concluyentes de la existencia de cartas de Próspero o Hilario, hoy perdidas, escritas y enviadas en fecha posterior a la de las cartas 225 y 226 y anterior a la elaboración del *De praedestinatione*/*De dono*. En el momento de escribir este tratado, es más que probable que Agustín dispusiera tan sólo de tres documentos que le informaran de las críticas de sus adversarios

final del pasaje citado: *retenta ergo ista in quae peruenerunt, plurimum eos a Pelagianorum errore discernunt. Proinde, si in eis ambulent et orent eum qui dat intellectum, si quid de praedestinatione aliter sapiunt, ipse illis hoc quoque reuelabit; tamen etiam nos impendamus eis dilectionis affectum ministeriumque sermonis, sicut donat ille quem rogauimus, ut in his litteris ea quae illis essent apta et utilia diceremus. Vnde enim scimus ne forte Deus noster id per hanc nostram uelit efficere seruitutem, qua eis in Christi libera charitate seruimus?* (Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 2, col. 961). La voluntad agustiniana de establecer puentes con sus críticos provenzales explica su lectura benévola del citado pasaje de Próspero o de aquel otro de Hilario del que Agustín infiere el firme reconocimiento por parte de sus adversarios teológicos de la absoluta incapacidad humana de iniciar o llevar a término una obra de virtud (Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 2, col. 961: *atque ad nullum opus bonum uel incipiendum uel perficiendum sibi quemquam sufficere posse consentiant*; pasaje que es cita literal de Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469: *ceterum ad nullum opus uel incipiendum nedum perficiendum quemquam sibi sufficere posse consentiunt*). Tampoco podemos descartar que la actitud positiva de Agustín para con las ideas de sus críticos provenzales responda al firme posicionamiento antipelagiano de éstos — lo que les eximía, en principio, de toda sospecha de simpatizar con la causa de Pelagio y les hacía acreedores de un trato diferenciado al que se daría a un hereje —, así como a la alta estima que tenían por la figura y el magisterio agustinianos — a excepción de los puntos entonces en discusión —, algo de lo que Próspero e Hilario no habían dejado de informar a Agustín (*uide* Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 9, p. 467; Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 9, p. 479).

provenzales: las cartas 225-226 y la *relatio*<sup>33</sup> anterior de Hilario, de la que, como vamos a ver a continuación, el obispo de Hipona iba a hacer un uso considerable en su nuevo tratado.

El *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* es la respuesta agustiniana a las críticas que sus teorías sobre la gracia habían suscitado en Marsella. Agustín articula su respuesta partiendo de la exposición de las teorías de sus adversarios, en su mayor parte tomadas de las epístolas conservadas de Próspero e Hilario, cuyas palabras reproduce literalmente e introduce con verbos de comunicación en tercera persona del plural – *inquiunt*, *dicunt* o *aiunt* –, o con otras locuciones análogas – tales como *peruenerunt ut credant* | *ut fateantur*.<sup>34</sup> A menudo, Agustín cita muy libremente a sus corresponsales provenzales, lo que hace difícil establecer la relación entre una determinada proposición agustiniana que presenta una tesis provenzal y el pasaje de referencia de la carta de Próspero o Hilario.<sup>35</sup> En algunos casos, la

<sup>33</sup> Hilario se sirve del término *relatio* para designar a su carta conservada (*vide* Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 1, p. 468: *arbitror gratiorem fore sedulitatem nostrae relationis*).

<sup>34</sup> Así, Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 2, col. 961: *peruenerunt etiam, ut praeueniri uoluntates hominum Dei gratia fateantur, atque ad nullum opus bonum uel incipiendum uel perficiendum sibi quemquam sufficere posse consentiant*, es, como señalamos anteriormente, cita casi literal de Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 5, p. 461-462, e Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469. Lo mismo podemos decir de Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 20, 52, col. 1025-1026 (*quod autem dicunt, « non opus fuisse huiusmodi disputationis incerto minus intelligentium tot corda turbari: quoniam non minus utiliter sine hac definitione praedestinationis per tot annos defensa est catholica fides, tum contra alios, tum maxime contra Pelagianos, tot catholicorum et aliorum et nostris praecedentibus libris »*), pasaje que reproduce, con algunos retoques, Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 8, p. 478 (*quid opus fuit huiusce modi disputationis incerto tot minus intelligentium corda turbari? neque enim minus utiliter sine hac definitione, aiunt, tot annis a tot tractatoribus tot praecedentibus libris et tuis et aliorum cum contra alios tum maxime contra Pelagianos catholicam fidem fuisse defensam*).

<sup>35</sup> Tal sería el caso de Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 20, 51, col. 1025 (*quid est quod inuicta conclusi uolentia ueritatis recte se isti nostri dicere existimant, « etsi uerum est quod dicitur de praedestinatione beneficiorum Dei, non est tamen populis praedicandum »*), que no es una cita literal de Próspero o Hilario, sino un pasaje en el que el obispo de Hipona funde y condensa sendas proposiciones paralelas de Próspero (Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 3, p. 459: *eo postremo pernicacia tota descendit, ut fidem nostram aedificationi audientium contrariam esse definiant ac sic, etiam si uera sit, non promendam*) e Hilario (Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 8, p. 477-478: *ad summam fatigatis omnibus nobis ad id prosecutio eorum uel potius querela conuertitur con-*

cita literal es sustituida por una frase con la que Agustín sintetiza las opiniones de sus adversarios, o bien pretende presentar lo que, a su juicio, sería conclusión lógica de las mismas.<sup>36</sup>

A pesar de que las cartas 225-226 son la fuente principal de la que se sirve Agustín para componer el *De praedestinatione/De dono*, una lectura atenta de este tratado confirma que, en el momento de su composición, Agustín disponía de noticias acerca de las opiniones de sus opositores que no le habían sido comunicadas a través de las cartas conservadas de Próspero e Hilario. En ocasiones, el hiponense presenta estas noticias de un modo tal que induce a pensar que se trata de una cita literal del documento que le ha comunicado la tesis provenzal en cuestión; en otros casos, Agustín introduce en su argumentación determinadas referencias a opiniones y juicios de los teólogos provenzales de los que tampoco hay noticias en las cartas conservadas y que también hay que atribuir, en con-

*sistentibus etiam his, qui hanc definitionem improbare non audent, ut dicant: Quid opus fuit huiusce modi disputationis incerto tot minus intellegentium corda turbari?*

<sup>36</sup> Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 7, 12, col. 970 (*et dicitur nobis; «fides est a nobis, caetera a Domino ad opera iustitiae pertinentia»*) podría considerarse una exposición sintética de la teoría provenzal recogida en Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469 (*sed id conueniens adserunt ueritati uel congruum praedicationi, ut, cum prostratis et numquam suis uiribus surrecturis adnuntiatur obtinendae salutis occasio, eo merito, quo noluerint et crediderint a suo morbo se posse sanari, et ipsius fidei augmentum et totius sanitatis suae consequantur effectum. ceterum ad nullum opus uel incipiendum nedum perficiendum quemquam sibi sufficere posse consentiunt; neque enim alicui operi curationis eorum adnumerandum putant exterrita et supplici uoluntate unumquemque aegrotum uelle sanari*), a pesar de no constatarse paralelismo textual alguno entre ambos pasajes. También es posible que el texto de referencia de Agustín en este caso sea un pasaje de la carta perdida de Hilario que el obispo de Hipona cita literalmente en el *De dono* (*uide infra*). Por otro lado, Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 11, 22, col. 976 (*sed cum dicitur, inquit, «si credideris, saluus eris, unum horum exigitur, alterum offertur. Quod exigitur, in hominis; quod offertur, in Dei est potestate»*), es un buen ejemplo de la libertad con la que Agustín cita sus textos de referencia. La primera proposición (*si credideris, saluus eris, unum horum exigitur, alterum offertur*), es una cita más o menos literal de Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 2, p. 469 (*quod enim dicitur: «Crede et saluus eris», unum horum exigi adserunt aliud offerri*); la segunda proposición (*quod exigitur, in hominis; quod offertur, in Dei est potestate*), por el contrario, expone lo que Agustín considera — acertadamente — consecuencia lógica de la interpretación que sus adversarios hacían de *Rom.* 10, 9 — exégesis reseñada en el texto hilariano —: si Dios exige del hombre la fe, es porque ésta tiene su origen en el alma humana y no en la iniciativa divina.

secuencia, a esta documentación perdida. Este hecho plantea al investigador dos cuestiones: la identificación del documento o documentos que proporcionaron a Agustín este caudal de información, y la delimitación exacta de los fragmentos de esta documentación hoy perdida que el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* ha preservado a través de citas explícitas, paráfrasis o alusiones.

En las líneas anteriores ya hemos propuesto una respuesta a la primera cuestión: el documento que proporcionó a Agustín esta información debe identificarse con la carta perdida que Hilario envió al obispo de Hipona antes de su epístola 226. Ésta es la única relación epistolar entre Próspero o Hilario y Agustín, plenamente inserida en el contexto de la controversia semipelagiana, de la que hay constancia segura – exceptuadas, obviamente, las cartas 225-226. Además, como veremos a continuación, los temas abordados en los fragmentos de esta documentación perdida preservados en el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* encajan a la perfección con lo que – según nuestra hipótesis – sería el *leit motiv* de la carta perdida de Hilario a Agustín, testimonio de unas primeras críticas provenzales al agustinismo orientadas a mostrar la incompatibilidad del predestinacionismo agustiniano con la predicación de la moral evangélica y el esfuerzo ascético.

La resolución de la segunda cuestión presenta mayor dificultad, dado el modo en que Agustín articula su argumentación contra las críticas de los teólogos provenzales. En ocasiones, lo que la estructuración del discurso agustiniano parece presentar como cita más o menos literal de una tesis provenzal, tomada de la documentación no conservada que poseía el de Hipona cuando escribió su tratado, debe leerse más bien como una sentencia forjada por el propio Agustín para recoger de modo sintético una tesis provenzal que, en las cartas conservadas de Próspero o Hilario, encontramos expresada en otros términos – procedimiento éste del que ya hemos hablado anteriormente.<sup>37</sup> En otros casos, Agustín introduce en su

<sup>37</sup> Citemos como ejemplo de este proceder, además de los recogidos anteriormente (*supra*, n. 36), esta sentencia de Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 11, 21, col. 976: *sed incerta est mihi, inquit, de me ipso uoluntas Dei*, con la que Agustín apostrofa su discurso acerca de la fe como don concedido a los hombres por voluntad divina. Esta sentencia, introducida con el verbo *inquam* en ter-

discurso la hipotética respuesta que su argumentación podría encontrar en los teólogos de Marsella, inspirándose siempre en lo que de las opiniones de aquéllos conoce. La identificación de estos pasajes, de exclusiva factura agustiniana, es sencilla, puesto que Agustín los introduce con el adverbio *forsitan* y frecuentemente también con el verbo de expresión en subjuntivo (*sed forsitan dicant ...*).<sup>38</sup> A veces, Agustín dispone su argumentación en forma de diálogo con un interlocutor ficticio, cuyas sucesivas preguntas – leídas erróneamente por algunos autores como citas de tesis provenzales – sirven al obispo de Hipona para aclarar los puntos más oscuros de su enseñanza predestinacionista.<sup>39</sup>

cera persona del singular – y no del plural, el número del que Agustín suele servirse para introducir las opiniones de los teólogos provenzales –, debe ser leída en su contexto como una hipotética objeción de un sujeto abstracto – de ahí el uso de la forma impersonal *inquit*, «se dice» –, pero que recoge en otros términos la protesta de los teólogos provenzales contra la inquietud que genera en el alma humana la incerteza de no saber si Dios le ha escogido para donarle la fe: *nec ad incertum uoluntatis dei deduci se uolunt, ubi eis, quantum putant, ad obtinendum uel admittendum euident est, qualecumque sit, initium uoluntatis* (Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 4, p. 473).

<sup>38</sup> Vide Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 7, 12, col. 969: *sed forsitan dicant*, «*ab operibus fidem distinguit Apostolus: gratiam uero non ex operibus esse dicit; non autem dicit quod non sit ex fide*»; Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 13, 25, col. 978: *quod si forsitan dicunt, poenitentibus peccata dimitti; et ideo istos non baptizari in paruula aetate morientes, quia praesciti sunt poenitentiam, si uiuerent, non acturi, eos autem qui baptizantur, et paruuli de corporibus exeunt, Deum praescisse acturos poenitentiam fuisse, si uiuerent*; Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 19, 38, col. 988: *sed hi nostri, de quibus et pro quibus nunc agimus, forsitan dicunt, Pelagianos hoc apostolico testimonio refutari, ubi dicit ideo nos electos in Christo et praedestinos ante mundi constitutionem, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in conspectu eius in charitate. Ipsi enim putant, «acceptis praeceptis iam per nos ipsos fieri liberae uoluntatis arbitrio sanctos et immaculatos, in conspectu eius in charitate: quod futurum Deus quoniam praesciuit», inquit, «ideo nos ante mundi constitutionem elegit et praedestinauit in Christo». Cum dicat Apostolus: Non quia futuros tales nos esse praesciuit, sed ut essemus tales per ipsam electionem gratiae suae, qua gratificauit nos in dilecto Filio suo. Cum ergo nos praedestinauit, opus suum praesciuit, quo nos sanctos et immaculatos facit. Vnde recto hoc testimonio Pelagianus error arguitur. «Nos autem dicimus», inquit, «nostram Deum non praescisse nisi fidem, qua credere incipimus, et ideo nos elegisse ante mundi constitutionem, ac praedestinasse, ut etiam sancti et immaculati gratia atque opere eius essemus».*

<sup>39</sup> Un buen ejemplo de este procedimiento lo ofrece un largo pasaje del *De dono perseuerantiae* (Id., *De dono pers.*, 7, 15-8, 19, col. 1002-1003) que se inicia con una extensa cita paulina (Eph. 1, 4-11), texto fundamental en la argu-

A nuestro juicio, las únicas citas seguras de documentación no conservada relativa a la controversia semipelagiana preservadas en el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* son las siguientes:

1. En un pasaje del *De dono*, a propósito de sus adversarios teológicos Agustín señala:

*sed aiunt « praedestinationis definitionem utilitati praedicationis aduersam ».*<sup>40</sup>

Esta proposición – introducida con el verbo de comunicación en tercera persona del plural, como es habitual cuando Agustín cita una tesis provenzal – vuelve a ser citada en un pasaje posterior en su forma más extensa:

*respondendum putant « praedestinationis definitionem utilitati praedicationis aduersam, eo quod hac audita, nemo possit correptionis stimulis excitari ».*<sup>41</sup>

Esta sentencia introducía, en el documento que Agustín está citando, un largo pasaje que reproducía los supuestos térmi-

mentación escriturística del predestinacionismo agustiniano. El obispo de Hipona cierra la cita con una interrogación retórica: *contra istam ueritatis tam claram tubam, quis homo sobriae uigilantisque fidei uoces ullas admittat humanas?* En las líneas sucesivas, este hipotético *quis homo* formula una serie de interrogaciones que dan pie a la exposición agustiniana de su doctrina sobre la elección divina de una parte de los hombres por misericordia y el justo abandono de otros: *sed « cur, inquit, gratia Dei non secundum merita hominum datur? »*; *« cur ergo, inquit, non omnibus? »*; *« sed cur, inquit, non solum in paruulorum, uerum etiam in geminorum una atque eadem causa, tam diuersum iudicium? »*; *« sed si iam, inquit, hoc oportebat, ut damnatis non omnibus, quid omnibus deberetur ostenderet, atque ita gratius suam gratiam uasis misericordiae commendaret, cur in eadem causa me quam illum potius puniet, aut illum quam me potius liberabit? »*; *« cur quibusdam qui eum coluerunt bona fide, perseuerare usque in finem non dedit? »*. Estas proposiciones, repetimos, son obra exclusiva del ingenio agustiniano, y no una cita de tesis o protestas provenzales, como pensó J. Chéné (vide J. CHÉNÉ, *Œuvres de Saint Augustin. Aux moines d'Adrumète et de Provence* [Bibliothèque Augustinienne, 24], Paris, 1962, p. 742-743, n. 1). El sujeto de la forma verbal *inquit* – una vez más en singular y no en plural, *inquiunt*, la forma utilizada por Agustín para introducir las citas de tesis provenzales – es aquel *quis homo sobriae uigilantisque fidei*, introducido por el de Hipona como portavoz virtual de las dudas que la doctrina agustiniana puede generar al creyente y a las que Agustín quiere responder.

<sup>40</sup> Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 14, 34, col. 1013.

<sup>41</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 17, 43, col. 1020.



nos en los que – a juicio de los teólogos provenzales – debería hacerse la predicación al pueblo cristiano de las tesis predestinacionistas. Esta «propuesta de predicación del predestinacionismo agustiniano» había sido ideada por los teólogos provenzales para demostrar la incompatibilidad de predestinacionismo agustiniano y predicación, comunicada a Agustín – sin duda a través de la carta perdida de Hilario – y citada por éste en dos pasajes del *De dono* para darle respuesta.<sup>42</sup> Pocas

<sup>42</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 15, 38, col. 1016: *sed aiunt, ut scribitis: «Neminem posse correptionis stimulus excitari, si dicatur in conuentu Ecclesiae audientibus multis: Ita se habet de praedestinatione definita sententia uoluntatis Dei, ut alii ex uobis de infidelitate accepta obediendi uoluntate ueneritis ad fidem, uel accepta perseuerantia maneatis in fide; caeteri uero qui in peccatorum delectatione remoramini, ideo nondum surrexistis, quia necdum uos adiutorium gratiae miserantis erexit. Verumtamen si qui estis necdum uocati, quos gratia sua praedestinauerit eligendos, accipietis eandem gratiam, qua uelitis et sitis electi; et si qui obeditis, si praedestinati estis reiiciendi, subtrahentur obediendi uires, ut obedire cessetis.»* El pasaje vuelve a ser reproducido fragmentariamente en Id., *De dono pers.*, 22, 58, col. 1029: *quamuis ergo haec uera sint, non tamen isto modo dicenda sunt audientibus multis, ut sermo ad ipsos etiam conuertatur, eisque dicantur illa istorum uerba, quae uestris litteris indidistis, et quae superius interposui: «ita se habet de praedestinatione definita sententia uoluntatis Dei, ut alii ex uobis de infidelitate, accepta obediendi uoluntate, ueneritis ad fidem»*; en Id., *De dono pers.*, 22, 59, col. 1029: *«caeteri uero qui in peccatorum delectatione remoramini, ideo nondum surrexistis, quia necdum uos adiutorium gratia miserantis erexit»*; en Id., *De dono pers.*, 22, 60, col. 1029: *«uerumtamen si qui estis nondum uocati, quos gratia sua praedestinauerit eligendos, accipietis eandem gratiam, qua uelitis et sitis electi»*; y en Id., *De dono pers.*, 22, 61, col. 1030: *«et si qui obeditis, si praedestinati estis reiiciendi, subtrahentur obediendi uires, ut obedire cessetis»*. Como se puede apreciar, a partir de *De dono pers.*, 22, 58, Agustín vuelve a citar el pasaje ya recogido en *De dono pers.*, 15, 38, aunque ahora de modo fragmentado. Falta en esta segunda serie de citas una proposición presente en la primera, *uel accepta perseuerantia maneatis in fide*. Es posible que esta frase no figurara en el documento que cita Agustín, sino que se trate más bien de un añadido suyo. Si nuestra hipótesis es correcta, Agustín está citando de la carta perdida que le envió Hilario, anterior a su carta conservada y – como veremos a continuación – a la llegada del *De correptione et gratia* a Marsella. Este tratado es el que contiene la exposición más detallada de las teorías agustinianas acerca de la cuestión de la perseverancia del hombre en la fe hasta el final de sus días, tema tratado por Agustín anteriormente sólo de manera puntual (tal y como él mismo reconocerá en Id., *De dono pers.*, 21, 55, col. 1027: *et ego quidem in illo libro, cuius est titulus, De correptione et gratia, qui sufficere non potuit omnibus dilectoribus nostris, puto me ita posuisse donum Dei esse, etiam perseuerare usque in finem ut hoc antea, si me non fallit obliuio, tam expresse atque euidenter, uel nusquam, uel pene nusquam scripserim*). Sería extraño que antes de la llegada del *De*

dudas puede haber de que se trata de una cita literal de la carta perdida de Hilario, dado que la «propuesta de predicación» viene introducida por Agustín con las palabras *sed aiunt, ut scribitis e istorum uerba, quae uestris litteris indidistis*. La disposición del texto de Hilario que Agustín cita de modo disperso en los mencionados pasajes debía ser aproximadamente la siguiente:

(*aiunt* – sc.: los teólogos provenzales –) *praedestinationis definitionem utilitati praedicationis aduersam, eo quod hac audita, nemo possit correptionis stimulis excitari, si dicatur in conuentu Ecclesiae audientibus multis: ita se habet de praedestinatione definita sententia uoluntatis Dei, ut alii ex uobis de infidelitate accepta obediendi uoluntate ueneritis ad fidem [uel accepta perseuerantia maneatis in fide];*<sup>43</sup> *caeteri uero qui in peccatorum delectatione remoramini, ideo nondum surrexistis, quia necdum nos adiutorium gratiae miserentis erexit. Verumtamen si qui estis necdum uocati, quos gratia sua praedestinauerit eligendos, accipietis eamdem gratiam, qua uelitis et sitis electi; et si qui obeditis, si praedestinati estis reiiciendi, subtrahentur obediendi uires, ut obedire cessetis.*

Probablemente, a este texto seguía, en la carta de Hilario, la exposición de la tesis provenzal según la cual predicar que la fe es un don de Dios proporcionaría a los hombres ocasión de desesperación, puesto que quienes escucharan tal predicación vivirían en la incertidumbre de saber si van a recibir este don. Agustín parafrasearía la exposición hilariana de esta tesis provenzal en *De dono pers.*, 17, 43, cuando completa la cita de la carta perdida de Hilario recogida anteriormente (*praedestinationis definitionem utilitati praedicationis aduersam, eo quod hac audita, nemo possit correptionis stimulis excitari*) con esta frase:

*correptione* a Marsella los teólogos semipelagianos ya hubieran protestado por las teorías agustinianas sobre esta cuestión, algo que sí hicieron tras leer esta obra. Al citar Agustín el pasaje de la carta perdida de Hilario, pudo pensar en completarlo con una proposición de su propia factura que recogiera las nuevas protestas provenzales – comunicadas en las cartas 225 y 226 – contra sus teorías acerca de la *perseuerantia in fide usque in finem* expresadas en el *De correptione*. Esta hipótesis explicaría la ausencia de la proposición *uel accepta perseuerantia maneatis in fide* cuando Agustín vuelve a citar literalmente el pasaje en *De dono pers.*, 22, 58 ss.

<sup>43</sup> Acerca de la posible ausencia de este pasaje en el texto original de Hilario, *vide supra*, n. 42.

*haec dicentes nolunt « hominibus praedicari dona Dei esse, ut ueniat ad fidem, et permaneat in fide, ne plus desperatio quam exhortatio uideatur affferri, dum cogitant qui audiunt, incertum esse humanae ignorantiae cui largiatur Deus, cui non largiatur haec dona ».*<sup>44</sup>

Encontramos una posible confirmación de que estamos ante una paráfrasis de la carta perdida de Hilario en la exposición de esta misma idea provenzal, en idénticos términos, en un pasaje posterior del *De dono*, en este caso en un contexto más amplio que podría considerarse, todo él, paráfrasis de un fragmento de la carta de Hilario. En este fragmento se insistiría en la incompatibilidad (como tal percibida por los provenzales) entre predestinacionismo y predicación:

*(nec timemus) ne permoti diuinae uoluntatis incerto, plus in hac praedicatione desperationis quam exhortationis inueniant, nec correptionis stimulis aduersus se ipsos, sed potius aduersus nos excitentur, quia eos corripimus haec non habentes, quae ipsi dicimus non humana uoluntate proferri, sed diuina largitate donari?*<sup>45</sup>

Finalmente, la tesis provenzal según la cual la predicación de la predestinación generaría en los oyentes desesperación, y no constituiría una exhortación a la práctica de la virtud – a lo que debía servir prioritariamente la predicación cristiana –, vuelve a ser recogida por Agustín en idénticos términos en otro pasaje del *De dono*, lo que corroboraría que Agustín está parafraseando aquí el texto que le comunicó dicho argumento provenzal:

*ego autem nolo exaggerare meis uerbis, sed illis cogitandum potius relinquo, ut uideant quale sit quod sibi persuaserunt « praedicatione praedestinationis audientibus plus desperationis quam exhortationis affferri ».*<sup>46</sup>

2. Otra posible cita literal agustiniana de documentación perdida relativa a la controversia semipelagiana se halla en un pasaje del *De dono perseuerantiae* en el que se nos dice que los provenzales aceptaban que las virtudes cristianas (como la sa-

<sup>44</sup> Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 17, 43, col. 1020.

<sup>45</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 17, 44, col. 1020-1021.

<sup>46</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 17, 46, col. 1022.

biduría o la continencia) son un don de Dios, pero concedido al hombre que ora por ellas con una fe que nace de él. El pasaje viene introducido con el verbo *inquam* en tercera persona del plural: *sed haec* (sc.: *sapientia et continentia*, de las que Agustín está hablando), *inquiunt, ut a Deo dentur nobis, fides impetrat, quae incipit a nobis*.<sup>47</sup> La idea vuelve a ser expuesta, en idénticos términos, en otro pasaje del *De dono perseverantiae*, en el que Agustín parafrasearía este pasaje de la carta perdida de Hilario:

*inter initium autem fidei et perfectionem perseverantiae, media sunt illa, quibus recte vivimus, quae ipsi etiam donari nobis a Deo fide impetrante consentiunt*.<sup>48</sup>

3. En otros dos pasajes del *De dono perseverantiae* se introducen sendas proposiciones, de sentido muy similar, que podrían considerarse tesis provenzales reproducidas por Agustín en los mismos términos en los que le habían sido comunicadas en la documentación hoy perdida de la que disponía el de Hipona al escribir este tratado:

*at enim « uoluntate sua quisque deserit Deum, ut merito deseratur a Deo »*.<sup>49</sup>

Esta tesis es reproducida, en otros términos, en este otro pasaje del mismo tratado:

*at enim, « uitio suo quisque deserit fidem, cum cedit tentationi atque consentit, qua cum illo agitur ut deserat fidem »*.<sup>50</sup>

Debemos señalar, sin embargo, que Agustín no introduce estas proposiciones con los verbos *aiunt*, *dicunt*, *inquiunt* o similares, como es habitual cuando cita literalmente a sus fuentes de información sobre las críticas de sus adversarios.

4. Finalmente, para reconstruir el contenido de la documentación perdida de la que disponía Agustín al responder a sus adversarios provenzales debemos tomar en consideración las

<sup>47</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 17, 43, col. 1020.

<sup>48</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 21, 56, col. 1028.

<sup>49</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 6, 12, col. 1000.

<sup>50</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 17, 46, col. 1021.

alusiones agustinianas a determinados juicios y tomas de posición de sus rivales no reseñados en la documentación conservada. En un pasaje del *De dono*, Agustín afirma que los teólogos provenzales se oponían a las ideas que el de Hipona había expresado en su epístola antipelagiana dirigida a Paulino de Nola (*Epistula* 186):

*deinde ipsam epistolam, quam iam contra Pelagianos ad sanctum Paulinum Nolanum episcopum feci, cui epistolae contradicere modo coeperunt, nonne ante annos plurimos edidi?*<sup>51</sup>

En su epístola 225, Próspero señala que los provenzales se habían conmovido por las tesis predestinacionistas contenidas en los escritos antipelagianos de Agustín,<sup>52</sup> pero no hay, ni en su carta ni en la conservada de Hilario, mención explícita alguna a una crítica particular de la epístola 186 que explique la afirmación de Agustín. Sin duda, esta noticia le había sido comunicada en la carta perdida de Hilario.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Id., *De dono pers.*, 21, 55, col. 1027.

<sup>52</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 2, p. 455.

<sup>53</sup> Señalemos, por lo demás, que no resulta extraño que la epístola 186 – firmada por Agustín y Alipio, aunque al primero corresponde la verdadera autoría intelectual de la carta – suscitara la crítica de los teólogos marselleses, dado que esta carta contiene una exposición bastante completa de la teología predestinacionista agustiniana por ellos impugnada. Agustín señala a Paulino que, de la masa de perdición que todo el género humano constituye desde el pecado adánico, sólo la gracia divina separa a una parte de los hombres para ofrecerles la salvación (Augustinus et Alypius, *Epist.* 186, 2, 4, p. 48 [ed. A. GOLDBACHER, *CSEL* 57, Wien, 1911]). Buena parte de los argumentos utilizados por el obispo de Hipona en defensa de su teoría predestinacionista figuran ya en esta misiva: el caso de los niños muertos prematuramente, unos bautizados y salvados por pura elección gratuita y misericordiosa de Dios y otros no – siendo un misterio la razón por la que elige a unos y no a otros – (Id., *Epist.* 186, 4, 12, p. 54-55); la exégesis predestinacionista de pasajes paulinos como *Rom.* 9, 14-21 – la elección divina de Jacob y el rechazo de Esaú – (Id., *Epist.* 186, 5, 13-15, p. 56-58); *Rom.* 9, 16 – *non est uolentis neque currentis sed miserentis est Dei* – (Id., *Epist.* 186, 6, 17, p. 59); *Rom.* 9, 18 – endurecimiento del corazón del Faraón – (Id., *Epist.* 186, 6, 17, p. 59); la interpretación del concepto de *uocatio secundum propositum* (Id., *Epist.* 186, 7, 25, p. 65); o la explicación de la razón por la que Dios ha creado a hombres a los cuales no iba a elegir para concederles la gracia y salvarlos – mostrar a los elegidos de qué poco sirve la libertad humana caída sin la gracia de Dios, y qué don les ha sido concedido

A nuestro juicio, el sentido de los pasajes preservados en el *De dono* que pueden ser considerados citas o referencias a documentación perdida relativa a las críticas provenzales al predestinacionismo confirmaría nuestra hipótesis de que esta documentación no conservada debe ser identificada con la primera carta de Hilario al obispo de Hipona. Como hemos apuntado anteriormente, esta carta comunicaría a Agustín las primeras críticas provenzales al predestinacionismo, centradas en poner de relieve su incompatibilidad con la predicación del esfuerzo ascético y el deber de todo cristiano de asumir los preceptos morales evangélicos. El largo pasaje citado por Agustín en el *De dono* en el cual se exponen los términos en los que, a juicio de los teólogos provenzales, debería darse la predicación al pueblo cristiano del predestinacionismo – pasaje ideado con el objetivo de mostrar que una tal predicación no estimularía al cristiano a corregir su vida pecaminosa y a asumir vitalmente el Evangelio, sino que más bien generaría en él desesperación –; este pasaje, decimos, encaja a la perfección con el sentido de las primeras críticas provenzales al predestinacionismo y, por ello, puede atribuirse con casi total seguridad a la carta perdida de Hilario, mediante la cual tales críticas fueron comunicadas a Agustín.

#### d. La cronología de la carta perdida de Hilario

En cuanto a la cronología de esta carta perdida de Hilario, la resolución de esta cuestión está íntimamente relacionada con la de la fecha en que se alzaron en Marsella las primeras voces críticas con la teología predestinacionista forjada por Agustín. Como hemos apuntado anteriormente, las primeras críticas de los monjes marseleses habían sido provocadas por la lectura

al eximirles de la justa condena que reciben los no-predestinados y que ellos también merecían (Iid., *Epist.* 186, 7, 26, p. 66). Señalemos, además, que el tema de la fe como don de Dios – aspecto éste sobre el que los provenzales discrepaban – merece una atención especial en la carta: Agustín afirma que en absoluto puede afirmarse que sea una fe que nace de la voluntad humana lo que distingue a los elegidos para recibir la gracia de los no-elegidos (Iid., *Epist.* 186, 2, 4, p. 48); y que la fe, al igual que las obras – y contra lo que más tarde afirmarían los provenzales – es un don divino (Iid., *Epist.* 186, 3, 7, p. 50-51; Iid., *Epist.* 186, 3, 10, p. 52-53).

de algunas obras agustinianas escritas en el contexto de la controversia pelagiana. Un *terminus post quem* seguro para la cronología de la carta perdida de Hilario debe fijarse en los últimos meses del año 417, fecha de la epístola 186 de Agustín y Alipio a Paulino de Nola,<sup>54</sup> objeto de crítica por parte de los provenzales según señaló Hilario a Agustín en esta epístola no conservada. Pero la cronología de ésta no puede retrasarse hasta una fecha tan temprana: en el *De dono*, Agustín se sorprende de que un escrito suyo tan temprano haya despertado sólo entonces – tanto tiempo después de ser escrito – la crítica provenzal (*cui epistolae contradicere modo coeperunt*). De esta frase de Agustín no debemos inferir forzosamente que no surgieran en Marsella críticas a la epístola 186 ya poco después de ser escrita, pero sí que éstas le fueron comunicadas al obispo de Hipona en fecha muy posterior al año 417, y mucho más cercana a la de la elaboración del *De dono*, dando por hecho Agustín – quizás equivocadamente – que la crítica a la epístola 186 había empezado sólo poco tiempo antes de que le fuera comunicada por Hilario. Ello explicaría la sorpresa de Agustín al conocer que un escrito suyo tan antiguo había despertado, tantos años después de ser escrito (*epistolam, quam iam contra Pelagianos ad sanctum Paulinum Nolanum episcopum fecit [...] nonne ante annos plurimos edidi?*) tanta oposición.

La carta perdida de Hilario, por consiguiente, no debió ser escrita mucho tiempo antes que el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* y que las cartas 225-226. Su cronología puede ser fijada con mayor precisión si, como a nuestro juicio resulta posible, ponemos en relación esta primera carta de Hilario a Agustín con la llegada del *De correptione et gratia* a Marsella. Hemos apuntado repetidas veces que esta primera misiva hilariana debió ser una reseña de las primeras críticas provenzales al predestinacionismo, centradas en poner de relieve su incompatibilidad con la predicación cristiana. Según señala Próspero, a esta primera línea crítica daba plena respuesta el *De correptione*, con lo cual resultaría lógico que Agustín, al conocer a través de la

<sup>54</sup> O. WERMELINGER, *Röm und Pelagius. Die theologische Position der römischen Bischöfe im pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432*, Stuttgart, 1975, p. 159-163.

carta de Hilario que en Marsella habían surgido las mismas críticas hacia su enseñanza que se habían suscitado entre los monjes de Hadrumeto, y a las que había contestado en el *De correptione*, intentara apaciguar la oposición de los monjes marselleses haciéndoles llegar este tratado. Aunque Próspero atribuye la llegada del *De correptione* a Provenza a un designio de la providencia divina, es posible que ello responda a que desconocía la primera mediación de Hilario ante Agustín, a la que este envió respondía.<sup>55</sup> Un pasaje del *De dono* podría confirmar que Agustín trató de apaciguar la oposición provenzal con el envío del *De correptione*:

*et ego quidem in illo libro, cuius est titulus, De correptione et gratia, qui sufficere non potuit omnibus dilectoribus nostris.*<sup>56</sup>

Si nuestra hipótesis es correcta y existe una relación causa-efecto entre el envío a Agustín de la carta perdida de Hilario y la llegada a Marsella del *De correptione*, la cronología de la epístola perdida podría fijarse con mayor precisión. Agustín habría recibido la carta poco tiempo después de haber escrito el *De correptione* — hacia el verano del 426 —,<sup>57</sup> y en todo caso an-

<sup>55</sup> En el momento en que Próspero e Hilario escriben a Agustín las cartas 225-226, la relación entre ambos agustinianos sudgálicos debía ser relativamente reciente y posiblemente no demasiado estrecha: Hilario desconocía por completo que Próspero ya había mantenido relación epistolar con el maestro común — aquella que hemos reconstruido en la primera parte de este trabajo —, y que, por consiguiente, no era una persona extraña a Agustín. Ello lo prueba el hecho de que Hilario se crea obligado a presentar a Próspero ante el obispo de Hipona en la carta 226: *egi cum uiro tum moribus tum eloquio et studio claro, ut, quanta posset, collecta suis litteris intimaret. quas coniunctas his destinare curavi. est enim talis, qui etiam praeter hanc necessitatem dignus tuae sanctitatis notitia indicetur* (Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 480).

<sup>56</sup> Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 21, 55, col. 1027. Somos conscientes de que el pasaje no es concluyente, porque Agustín puede querer decir, sin más, que la lectura del *De correptione* no satisfizo a los provenzales, sin que ello implique que él personalmente había hecho llegar esta obra a Marsella con tal propósito.

<sup>57</sup> La cronología del *De correptione et gratia* no puede establecerse con absoluta certeza. Este tratado es algo posterior al *De gratia et libero arbitrio* — del que es en cierto modo consecuencia, puesto que fue la lectura de esta última obra la que generó en Hadrumeto las dudas acerca del valor de la corrección dentro del marco teológico agustiniano —, cuya redacción se ha fijado tras la Pascua del 426 (*vide* J. CHÉNÉ, *Œuvres de Saint Augustin*, p. 45). Si tomamos



tes de finales de 427 – fecha probable de la muerte del obispo arelatense Helladio, *terminus ante quem* para la cronología de la segunda carta de Hilario. Ante la constatación de que la crítica provenzal a sus teorías era idéntica a la promovida en Hadrumeto, no creería necesario darle respuesta con un nuevo tratado, sino que consideraría suficiente el envío a Marsella del *De correptione* – posiblemente, hacia finales de verano o principios de otoño del 426. Este tratado, como señala Próspero a Agustín, lejos de apaciguar las críticas provenzales las avivó: los marselleses se habrían convencido entonces de que Agustín era incapaz de ofrecer una respuesta válida a sus protestas acerca de la incompatibilidad de la teología predestinacionista agustiniana con el ideal ascético y la exhortación y predicación de la moral evangélica. Tras ello, habrían optado por la defensa y difusión de un sistema teológico alternativo al agustiniano, no sólo en los centros monásticos sino también entre el resto del pueblo cristiano a través de la predicación – lo cual, a ojos de los agustinianos sudgálicos, hacía aún más grave la situación –,<sup>58</sup> y por la publicación de escritos críticos con la teología de la gracia agustiniana (como la *Conlatio* 13 de Casia-

en consideración un cierto espacio temporal durante el cual tuvieron lugar los hechos que enlazan al *De gratia* con el *De correptione* – llegada al monasterio de Hadrumeto del *De gratia*, lectura y análisis por los monjes, nueva visita a Agustín de uno de ellos como portador de una carta del abad Valentín, visita durante la cual el de Hipona será informado de las cuestiones que están en el origen del *De correptione* –, este último tratado podría fecharse hacia el verano del 426.

<sup>58</sup> En su epístola 225, Próspero señala que algunos críticos con el agustinismo habían sido ordenados recientemente obispos – entre ellos, sin duda, el ya citado Helladio de Arles – y que, desde su cátedra episcopal, enseñaban al pueblo – en sus prédicas – sus teorías sobre la gracia, lo cual constituía un peligro para la salud espiritual de estas comunidades (*bis qui eos audiunt*), Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 7, p. 465: *sed ad auctoritatem talia sentientium non sumus pares, quia multum nos et uitae meritis antecellunt et aliqui eorum adepto nuper summi sacerdotii honore supereminent; nec facile quisquam praeter paucos perfectae gratiae intrepidus amatores tanto superiorum disputationibus ausus est contra ire. ex quo non solum bis, qui eos audiunt, uerum etiam ipsis, qui audiuntur, cum dignitatibus creuit periculum*. Cuando – hacia el año 431 – Próspero e Hilario acudieron a Roma para solicitar la intervención del obispo romano en la controversia semipelagiana, en su informe a Celestino I insistieron particularmente en el peligro que, a su juicio, suponía para la integridad de la fe de algunas iglesias galas la predicación de sus presbíteros (Caelestinus I, *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, 2, col.

no). Un sistema teológico – el alternativo al agustiniano – que había sido forjado tras años de estudio de aquella tradición patristica de la que el agustinismo – como ya habían advertido – se separaba, y que creían compatible con el ideal ascético.<sup>59</sup> La segunda carta de Hilario y la de Próspero

528 [PL 50]: *fili nostri praesentes Prosper et Hilarius, quorum circa Deum nostrum sollicitudo laudanda est, tantum nescio quibus presbyteris illic licere qui dissensionem Ecclesiarum studeant, sunt apud nos prosecuti, ut indisciplinatas quaestiones uocantes in medium, pertinaciter eos dicant praedicare aduersantia ueritati*). Celestino exhorta a los obispos galos que toleran esta predicación (la cual, si la información que había recibido de Próspero e Hilario se ajustaba a la verdad, era un atentado contra la doctrina tradicional de la Iglesia, la que en su momento había defendido Agustín, Id., *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, 2, col. 528: *desinat, si ita res sunt, incessere nouitas uetustatem*), a que sometan a su autoridad a estos presbíteros y les hagan callar (Id., *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, 2, col. 528: *sciant se, si tamen censentur presbyteri, dignitate uobis esse subiectos*), si no quieren que su silencio les haga sospechosos de connivencia con la predicación de novedades doctrinales (Id., *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, 2, col. 528: *timeo ne conniuere sit, hoc tacere*). A nuestro juicio, en la carta de Celestino hay indicios suficientes para pensar que uno de los presbíteros denunciados ante Celestino fue Juan Casiano. Casiano había sido ordenado presbítero en Roma bajo Inocencio I, aunque, como es bien sabido, su formación teológica es el fruto de su contacto con las comunidades monásticas de Palestina y Egipto y, en parte también, del tiempo que pasó en Constantinopla con Juan Crisóstomo, a quien consideraba su maestro (una buena síntesis de la biografía de Casiano puede obtenerse de D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 119-124). En la epístola que estamos analizando, Celestino alude a presbíteros a los que se permite predicar sin haber recibido su formación doctrinal de labios de sus superiores jerárquicos, los obispos de sus iglesias (Caelestinus I, *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, 2, col. 528: *quid illic spei est, ubi magistris tacentibus, ii loquuntur qui, si ita est, eorum discipuli non fuerunt?*). Si tenemos presente que uno de los pocos obispos citados explícitamente en el encabezamiento de la carta de Celestino puede ser identificado con el obispo de Marsella en esa época, Venerio (Id., *Epist. ad episc. Gall.*, *direct.*, col. 528: *dilectissimis fratribus Venerio, Marino, Leontio, Auxonio, Arcadio, Fillucio et caeteris Galliarum episcopis Coelestinus*; uide É. GRIFFE, *La Gaule chrétienne*, p. 174), disponemos de buenos argumentos para afirmar que Venerio permitió a Casiano defender sus ideas sobre la gracia ante los fieles congregados en las iglesias de Marsella y que por ello fue denunciado ante Celestino, quien se dirige a aquél para exhortarle a que silencie la predicación – denunciada por Próspero e Hilario como contraria a la doctrina tradicional de la Iglesia – de un presbítero que ni siquiera ha aprendido de él, de su obispo, lo que está enseñando.

<sup>59</sup> La teología de la gracia y de la libertad humana defendida por los principales teólogos provenzales – Juan Casiano o Fausto de Riez – está fuertemente arraigada en una tradición patristica – fundamentalmente griega –

comunicarían a Agustín – en el año 427 – este giro en la actitud de los provenzales, mostrando al de Hipona la ya insoslayable necesidad de proceder a una respuesta particular y precisa de la crítica provenzal. Para confeccionar esta respuesta – el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* – Agustín se basa en las teorías provenzales reseñadas tanto en las cartas 225-226 como en las recogidas en la anterior *relatio* de Hilario, a las que en su momento no creyó necesario ofrecer una respuesta concreta. La evolución de los acontecimientos había hecho ahora insoslayable dar este paso.

### 3. *La carta perdida de Agustín a Próspero e Hilario*

A partir de un pasaje del primer capítulo del *De praedestinatione*, ya Le Nain de Tillemont dedujo que, junto con este tratado, Agustín envió a Marsella una carta particular a Próspero e Hilario.<sup>60</sup> En este pasaje, Agustín señala a Próspero e Hilario que en el tratado vuelve a dirigirse a ellos, no ya en una suerte de conversación privada – como habría hecho en la carta perdida –, sino con el objetivo de que ellos actúen de mediadores

que parte del presupuesto de la libertad ontológica del ser humano – creado a imagen de Dios y, por ello, libre –, quien, ayudado por una gracia de Dios entendida fundamentalmente como proceso pedagógico – iluminación del camino de la virtud – puede rechazar el pecado, vivir en la rectitud moral y hacerse merecedor de la salvación y glorificación. Sobre esta tradición de pensamiento, *vide* D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 193-229. Se ha señalado que muchas de las tesis que los provenzales opusieron a Agustín, como la afirmación según la cual corresponde al hombre dar el primer paso hacia la salvación al adherirse con la fe al Evangelio, fueron defendidas en su momento por autores como Clemente de Alejandría, Orígenes, Juan Crisóstomo, Basilio de Cesarea, Gregorio de Nazianzo o Gregorio de Nyssa, entre los padres griegos; o Hilario de Poitiers, Optato de Mileve o Jerónimo, entre los latinos (*vide* J. CHÉNÉ, « Les origines de la controverse semipélagienne », *Année théologique augustinienne*, 13 [1953], p. 63-64; D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 292-296). De igual modo, la tesis provenzal de la predestinación *post praeiussa merita* (opuesta a la predestinación *ante praeiussa merita* defendida por Agustín) había sido afirmada por padres como Justino, Ireneo de Lyon, Clemente de Alejandría, Orígenes o Juan Crisóstomo, entre los griegos; e Hilario de Poitiers, Ambrosio, el anónimo autor conocido como Ambrosiaster, o Jerónimo, entre los latinos (*vide* J. CHÉNÉ, « Les origines », p. 90-93; D. OGLIARI, *Gratia et certamen*, p. 306-308).

<sup>60</sup> L.-S. LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT, *Mémoires*, art. 344.

ante los teólogos provenzales en la defensa de su teología de la gracia :

*quapropter ecce rescribo uobis, et licet iam non uobiscum, tamen etiam per uos adhuc ago, quod me satis egisse credebam.*<sup>61</sup>

Del contenido de esta carta perdida de Agustín carecemos de noticias precisas, aunque no resulta demasiado arriesgado conjeturar acerca del mismo. La epístola se iniciaría con la expresión agustiniana de su aprecio por el amor y esfuerzo en defensa de la fe demostrados por Próspero e Hilario, en términos similares a los que abren el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono*.<sup>62</sup> Los aspectos doctrinales abordados en la carta coincidirían, en líneas generales, con los tratados en la obra junto a la que fue enviada, aunque, probablemente, en la epístola Agustín se centró en una exposición más detallada de aquellos puntos de su teología de la gracia acerca de los cuales Próspero, en su misiva, había reconocido dudas y problemas de comprensión.<sup>63</sup> Los puntos sobre los que Próspero dudaba son los siguientes: hasta qué punto las discusiones acerca de la idea agustiniana de predestinación afectaban al núcleo fundamental de la fe ca-

<sup>61</sup> Augustinus, *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 1, col. 961.

<sup>62</sup> Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 1, 1, col. 960-961: *uestrum tamen studium fraternamque dilectionem, filii charissimi Prosper et Hilari, qua eos qui tales sunt, ita non multis errare, ut post tot libros de hac re uel epistolas meas, adhuc me desideretis hinc scribere, tantum amo, quantum non possum dicere, et tantum me amare, quantum debeo, non audeo dicere.*

<sup>63</sup> En el capítulo 7 de su carta, Próspero reconoce que algunos de los puntos de la teología de la gracia agustiniana discutidos en Marsella son oscuros y de difícil comprensión: *tribue nobis in hac causa, papa beatissime, pater optime, quantum iuuante domino potes, diligentiam pietatis tuae, ut, quae in istis quaestionibus obscuriora et ad percipiendum difficiliora sunt, quam lucidissimis expositionibus digne-ri aperire* (Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 7, p. 465-466). Posteriormente, el aquitano admitirá su incapacidad de ofrecer una debida respuesta (*illud etiam qualiter diluatur, quaesumus, patienter insipientiam nostram ferendo*) a quienes le señalaban que la teoría agustiniana de la predestinación *ante praeuisa merita* contradecía la doctrina tradicional patristica (Id., *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466-467). Finalmente, tras reseñar Próspero los puntos sobre los que se reconocía inseguro, el aquitano muestra su convencimiento de que, una vez Agustín haya dado respuesta a estas cuestiones (*quibus omnibus enodatis*), la fragilidad de sus pensamientos se verá fortalecida con la ayuda del discurso agustiniano: *tenuitatem nostram disputationum tuarum praesidio roborandam* (Id., *Epist.* 225, 9, p. 467).

tólica – puesto que, según señala Próspero, había quien afirmaba que las discrepancias sobre este punto no cuestionaban la unidad de los cristianos –;<sup>64</sup> en segundo lugar, cómo hacer compatible la defensa de una idea de gracia que antecede a todo buen impulso de la voluntad humana con la afirmación de la pervivencia en el hombre del libre albedrío;<sup>65</sup> en tercer lugar, si se podía aceptar la tesis, sostenida por Juan Casiano, según la cual, dado que cada persona es diferente y distintos son los modos por los que Dios llama a los hombres a la salvación, la relación entre presciencia divina y predestinación variaría según cada caso, de modo que podría afirmarse que Dios salva por un acto de pura misericordia a hombres que, según conocía en su presciencia, no iban a hacer nada bueno – y en estos casos la predestinación, el *propositum Dei*, no dependía de la presciencia –, mientras que en otras ocasiones Dios concedía su gracia a personas que, según sabía por su presciencia, sí que iban a hacer algún acto de bondad por propia iniciativa, siendo así que en estos casos el *propositum Dei* para con estas personas dependía de la presciencia de aquel acto;<sup>66</sup> en cuarto lugar, de qué modo se podía hacer compatible

<sup>64</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466: *ac primum, quia plerique non putant Christianam fidem hac dissensione uiolari, quantum periculi sit in eorum persuasione, patefacias.*

<sup>65</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466: *deinde, quo modo per istam praeoperantem et coeperantem gratiam liberum non impediatur arbitrium.*

<sup>66</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466: *tum, utrum praescientia dei ita secundum propositum maneat, ut ea ipsa, quae sunt proposita, sint accipienda praescita, an per genera causarum et species personarum ista uariantur, ut, quia diuersae sunt uocationes in his, qui nihil operaturi saluantur, quasi solum dei propositum uideatur existere, in his autem, qui aliquid boni acturi sunt, per praescientiam possit stare propositum, an uero uniformiter, licet diuidi praescientia a proposito temporali distinctione non possit, praescientia tamen quodam ordine sit subnixta proposito et, sicut nihil sit quorumcumque negotiorum, quod non scientia diuina praeuenerit, ita nihil sit boni, quod in nostram participationem non deo auctore defluerit.* La interpretación de este intrincado pasaje de Próspero ha planteado numerosas dificultades a los investigadores. Ejemplo de ello son las notas a pie de página que salpican la traducción que de él hizo J. Chéné, *uide* J. CHÉNÉ, *Œuvres de Saint Augustin*, p. 410-411. Nuestra lectura del mismo es la siguiente: Próspero se pregunta si toda obra buena del hombre precognoscida por Dios debe entenderse asimismo como predestinada, es decir, si la presciencia divina de la bondad humana es siempre presciencia de lo que Él mismo va a obrar con su gracia en la voluntad del hombre (*an uero uniformiter, licet diuidi praescientia a proposito temporali distinctione non possit, praescientia tamen quodam ordine sit subnixta proposito et, sicut*

la predicación de la predestinación agustiniana con la exhortación a la asunción vital de la moral cristiana;<sup>67</sup> y, finalmente, cómo dar respuesta a la dificultad planteada por el hecho de que una amplia mayoría de doctores de la Iglesia hubieran defendido una idea de predestinación basada en la presciencia divina del futuro obrar de cada hombre.<sup>68</sup>

*nihil sit quorumcumque negotiorum, quod non scientia divina praeuenirit, ita nihil sit boni, quod in nostram participationem non deo auctore defluerit*). En este pasaje, el aquitano reconoce su incapacidad de rechazar totalmente una segunda hipótesis que le ha sido planteada: si bien en ocasiones Dios predestina a la salvación a hombres de quienes sabía — en su presciencia — que no iban a hacer nada bueno por propia voluntad — de tal modo que en estos casos la presciencia divina de su bondad no es sino presciencia divina de lo que Dios mismo va a obrar en ellos (*in his, qui nihil operaturi saluantur, quasi solum dei propositum uideatur existere*) —; en otros casos, Dios predestinaría a la salvación a hombres que ha previsto que iban a hacer, por propia voluntad, algún acto de bondad, y los predestina precisamente como recompensa de esta libre inclinación al bien que ha precognoscido, de tal modo que en estos casos puede afirmarse que la predestinación depende de la presciencia de esta obra de bondad (*in his autem, qui aliquid boni acturi sunt, per praescientiam possit stare propositum*). Sin duda, esta segunda hipótesis fue planteada a Próspero por Juan Casiano. Según expuso en su *Conlatio* 13, Casiano consideraba que, dado que cada persona es diferente, diferentes son los modos por los que Dios llama a la salvación a los hombres. En ocasiones, la gracia divina arranca del mal a hombres que se adhieren pertinazmente a él, mientras que en otros casos no hace sino recompensar y fortalecer un primer impulso hacia el bien que ha nacido espontáneamente de la voluntad humana (*uide*, por ejemplo, Cassianus, *Conl.* 13, 7, p. 369: *cuius benignitas cum bonae uoluntatis in nobis quantulumcumque scintillam emicuisse perspexerit uel quam ipse tamquam de dura silice nostri cordis excuderit, confouet eam et exsuscitat suae inspiratione confortat*; sobre este punto de la teología casiana, *uide* R. H. WEAVER, *Divine Grace*, p. 111-114). Si trasladamos esta idea de Casiano al contexto de la relación entre predestinación y presciencia divina se nos presentan, como consecuencia lógica, las dos posibilidades contempladas en la hipótesis de la que Próspero se hace eco en su carta: en el primero de los casos planteados por Casiano, la presciencia divina del bien no sería sino presciencia de su propia buena acción al arrancar del mal a quienes libremente nada bueno iban a hacer; en el segundo, la predestinación a la salvación dependería — y sería consecuencia — de la presciencia de aquella primera inclinación positiva de la voluntad humana hacia el bien.

<sup>67</sup> Prosper, *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466: *postremo, quem ad modum per hanc praedicationem propositi dei, quo fideles fiunt, qui praeordinati sunt ad uitam aeternam, nemo eorum, qui cohortandi sunt, impediatur nec occasionem negligentiae habeant, si se praeordinatos esse desperent*.

La cronología de esta carta perdida de Agustín a Próspero e Hilario debe ser la misma que la del tratado – el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* – al cual acompañó en su viaje a Marsella y cuyo contenido, en cierto modo, completaba.<sup>69</sup> Carta y tratado constituyen la parte fundamental del dossier con el que Agustín dio respuesta a las críticas a su enseñanza nacidas en Provenza. Es casi seguro que a estos dos documentos Agustín adjuntó otros: el *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, que Hilario de Marsella le había pedido en su carta;<sup>70</sup> y los dos libros de las *Retractationes* que Agustín ya había acabado al recibir las cartas 225-226, y que Hilario – quien sabía que el obispo de Hipona estaba trabajando en aquel momento en la revisión de su obra – también le había solicitado, con el objetivo de resolver las dudas que las evidentes contradicciones entre la doctrina agustiniana de la gracia defendida en sus primeros escritos y la contenida en los más tardíos – explotadas por los teólogos provenzales – generaban en él.<sup>71</sup> Es probable que, junto con estas obras, Agustín enviara a Marsella otros tratados y documentos relativos a la controversia pelagiana.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Id., *Epist.* 225, 8, p. 466-467: *illud etiam qualiter diluatur, quaesumus, patienter insipientiam nostram ferendo demonstres, quod retractatis priorum de hac re opinionibus, paene omnium par inuenitur et una sententia, qua propositum et praedestinationem dei secundum praescientiam receperunt, ut ob hoc deus alios uasa honoris alios contumeliae fecerit, quia finem uniuscuiusque praeuiderit et, sub ipso gratiae adiutorio in qua futurus esset uoluntate et actione, praescierit.* Sobre este punto, *uide supra*, n. 59.

<sup>69</sup> La cronología del *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* no puede fijarse con precisión. El tratado, obviamente, es posterior a la llegada de las epístolas 225-226 a Hipona durante el año 427.

<sup>70</sup> Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 479: *librum etiam de gratia et libero arbitrio non habemus; superest, ut eum, quia utilem quaestioni confidimus, mereamur accipere.*

<sup>71</sup> Id., *Epist.* 226, 10, p. 479: *libros, cum editi fuerint, quos de uniuerso opere moliris, quaeso habere mereamur, maxime ut per eorum auctoritatem, si qua tibi in tuis displicent, a dignitate tui nominis iam non trepidi sequestremus.* Un pasaje del *De dono*, que cierra una cita del libro I de las *Retractationes*, confirma que este tratado fue enviado a Próspero e Hilario. *Vide* Augustinus, *De dono pers.*, 11, 27, col. 1009: *haec dixi in primo libro Retractationum, cum retractarem libros De libero arbitrio. Nec sola sane ista ibi a me dicta sunt de his libris, uerum et alia multa, quae huic ad uos operi inserere longum putauī, et non necessarium: quod et uos existimo esse iudicaturos, cum omnia legeritis.*

<sup>72</sup> En el *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* Agustín da por hecho que Próspero e Hilario – o sus adversarios marsellese – tienen a su disposición diversos

tratados suyos: el *De Trinitate* (uide Id., *De praed. sanct.*, 8, 13, col. 970: *et de Trinitate, quae Deus est, laborem nostrum in quindecim libris ad uos iam existimo peruenisse*); las *Confessiones* (acerca de las cuales dice en Id., *De dono pers.*, 20, 53, col. 1026: *de proficiente porro perseuerantia quemadmodum Deum rogauerim, et scitis, et potestis recensere cum uultis*); el *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* (Id., *De dono pers.*, 21, 55, col. 1027: *uideant, inquam, utrum in primi libri posterioribus partibus, eorum duorum quos mei episcopatus initio, antequam Pelagiana haeresis appareret, ad Simplicianum Mediolanensem episcopum scripsi, remanserit aliquid quo uocetur in dubium, gratiam Dei non secundum merita nostra dari*); y la epístola 194, dirigida al entonces presbítero romano Sixto, futuro obispo de Roma (Id., *De dono pers.*, 21, 55, col. 1027: *eam quoque inspiciant, quam dedi ad Sixtum Romanae Ecclesiae presbyterum, quando aduersus Pelagianos acerrima conflictatione certauimus*). Quizás la enorme popularidad de las obras del obispo de Hipona hizo nacer en él la certeza de que todos estos tratados eran accesibles a los marselleses (ello es casi seguro para las *Confessiones*, de las que Agustín dice en Id., *De dono pers.*, 20, 53, col. 1026: *quid autem meorum opusculorum frequentius et delectabilius innotescere potuit, quam libri Confessionum mearum?*), pero no podemos descartar que algunos de los tratados y cartas aquí enumerados vinieran a completar el dossier enviado por Agustín a Marsella junto con la citada carta no conservada, el *De praedestinatione*/De dono, el *De gratia et libero arbitrio* y las *Retractationes*. También es posible que Agustín enviara a Marsella un dossier documental similar al que, en el contexto de la controversia generada por la epístola 194 en la comunidad monástica de Hadrumeto, hizo llegar a este monasterio a través de los monjes Cresconio y los dos Félix. Este dossier estaba compuesto por las cartas enviadas por los concilios de Cartago y Mileve a Inocencio I (cartas 175 y 176 del epistolario agustiniano); por la epístola firmada por cinco obispos africanos (Aurelio de Cartago, Alipio de Tagaste, Evodio de Uzalis, Posidio de Calama y el propio Agustín) y enviada al mismo Inocencio (carta 177 del mismo epistolario); por la respuesta del obispo romano a estas tres cartas (epístolas 181, 182 y 183 del epistolario agustiniano; sobre toda esta correspondencia, uide O. WERMELINGER, *Röm und Pelagius*, p. 94-133); por la carta de un concilio africano (celebrado en noviembre del 417) al obispo romano Zósimo (acerca del cual, uide O. WERMELINGER, *Röm und Pelagius*, p. 146-163); por la epístola *Tractoria* del mismo Zósimo (escrita hacia junio del 418 y de la que apenas restan hoy breves fragmentos y noticias acerca de su contenido, reunidos y estudiados por O. WERMELINGER, *Röm und Pelagius*, p. 209-218); y por los cánones del concilio de Cartago del 1 de mayo de 418 (uide Augustinus, *Epist.* 215, 2, p. 389-390 [ed. A. GOLDBACHER, *CSEL* 57, Wien, 1911]). Agustín procuró dar la mayor difusión posible a este conjunto documental (en el año 417 ya se ocupó de enviar a Paulino de Nola las tres primeras piezas del mismo, uide Augustinus et Alypius, *Epist.* 186, 1, 3, p. 47), que contenía los documentos de condena del pelagianismo por parte de la autoridad de la Sede Apostólica y de los concilios africanos. El obispo de Hipona afirmó siempre que estos documentos sancionaban los principios fundamentales de su sistema teológico de gracia y predestinación (uide, por ejemplo, el uso que



#### 4. Conclusiones

A partir del análisis de las cartas 225 y 226 y del *De praedestinatione/De dono* hemos podido determinar la existencia de una serie de intercambios epistolares entre Próspero de Aquitania, Hilario de Marsella y Agustín de Hipona cuyos testimonios documentales no se han preservado íntegramente. Próspero había escrito a Agustín, y recibido de él respuesta, bastante tiempo antes de enviarle su epístola 225, con el único objetivo de saludarle y expresarle la admiración que sentía por su figura y magisterio. Esta primera relación epistolar – cuyo volumen no puede fijarse con precisión – tuvo lugar en un momento en el que en Marsella, donde Próspero se había ya establecido, aún no habían comenzado a difundirse las críticas a la teología de la gracia agustiniana.

Hilario, por su parte, escribió una primera carta a Agustín probablemente hacia el final del verano del año 426. Esta epístola comunicó al obispo de Hipona las líneas fundamentales de la primera crítica provenzal al predestinacionismo agustiniano, centrada en poner de relieve su incompatibilidad con el ideal ascético cristiano. Los teólogos provenzales habían procedido ya a un análisis crítico de obras como la epístola 186, y en sus debates orales con Hilario habían ejemplificado, con el esbozo de una «propuesta de predicación del predestinacionismo agustiniano», el peligro de que éste sembrara en los corazones de los fieles la desesperación y el quietismo.<sup>73</sup> Estas pri-

Agustín hace de las cartas de Inocencio a los sínodos de Cartago y Mileve del 417 en el *Opus imperfectum contra Iulianum*, obra en la que sustenta en las palabras del obispo romano su tesis de la total desaparición de la capacidad de obrar el bien en la naturaleza humana postlapsaria, Augustinus, *Contra Iul. imp. op.* 6, 11, p. 314-315 [ed. M. ZELZER, CSEL 85/2, Wien, 2004]), con lo que es lógico conjeturar que, tras haber sido acusado por los provenzales de defender ideas que rompían con la tradición patristica y haber sido requerido por sus corresponsales a añadir a su discurso de respuesta la fuerza de la autoridad (*vide*, por ejemplo, Hilarius, *Epist.* 226, 9, p. 479: *cui ego iam parum prodesse existimo te reddere rationem, nisi et addatur auctoritas*), Agustín pudo pensar en completar su dossier marsellés con un conjunto de documentos que, a su juicio, sancionaban su sistema teológico desde la autoridad de la *Sedes Petri* y la institución conciliar.

<sup>73</sup> También es posible que ya en este momento hubieran comenzado a circular en los ambientes monásticos y eclesiásticos provenzales opúsculos

meras enmiendas a la teología de la gracia agustiniana fueron reseñadas en la carta perdida de Hilario a Agustín. Dado que, en buena medida, coincidían con las formuladas por los monjes de Hadrumeto, Agustín no creyó necesario la elaboración de una respuesta particular a las mismas en forma de tratado, sino que consideró que el envío del *De correptione et gratia* a Marsella podía bastar para calmar la inquietud de los ascetas provenzales. La lectura de esta obra produjo en ellos el efecto contrario: se convencieron de que el viejo maestro era incapaz de iluminar los aspectos oscuros de su enseñanza y se decidieron por la divulgación de una teología de la gracia fuertemente arraigada en la tradición patristica y en el ideal de esfuerzo personal por la salvación.

Las cartas 225-226 comunican a Agustín – en el año 427 – el agravamiento de la situación en Provenza. El obispo de Hipona se convence entonces de la necesidad de contestar punto por punto las críticas provenzales con un tratado, el *De prae-destinatione/De dono*, para cuya elaboración se sirve de la información sobre las ideas de sus adversarios contenida tanto en las cartas 225-226 como en la anterior epístola de Hilario, que cita en diversas ocasiones a lo largo del tratado. Junto con esta obra, Agustín envió a Provenza una carta personal a Hilario y Próspero en la que daba respuesta a las dudas que este último le había comunicado en la carta 225, así como una serie de tratados y documentos eclesiásticos que debían servir a los dos corresponsales en su campaña de defensa de la teología de la gracia agustiniana en Provenza.

críticos con el agustinismo, como aquellos a los que, más tarde, Próspero iba a dar respuesta en sus *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium* y *ad capitula obiectionum Vincentianarum*. En su carta perdida, Hilario pudo citar directamente de uno de aquellos primeros opúsculos, hoy perdidos, la « propuesta de predicación predestinacionista ».

*Summary*

From the analysis of the letters of Prosper and Hilary to Augustine and the latter's *De praedestinatione sanctorum*/*De dono perseuerantiae* it can be inferred that some letters exchanged between these correspondents are not preserved. Prosper wrote to the bishop of Hippo expressing his admiration for Augustine's teaching before the beginning of the so-called «Semipelagian controversy». Towards the end of summer 426 Hilary sent his first *relatio* to Augustine to acquaint him with objections to his views on grace and free will raised by some Provençal theologians. As shown by passages from this letter quoted by Augustine in the *De praedestinatione*/*De dono*, these objections related to the incompatibility of Augustine's predestinationism with exhortation to observe God's commandments. Augustine had formerly dealt with such questions in his *De correptione et gratia*, so that he sent this treatise to Marseilles in order to respond to his critics. Finally, the *De praedestinatione*/*De dono* alludes to a personal letter written by Augustine to Prosper and Hilary and attached to the aforementioned treatise.

# Un auteur inconnu dans le *Florilège Coislin* : Léonce de Damas\*

par  
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Le *Florilège Coislin*<sup>1</sup>, datant du ix<sup>e</sup> ou du x<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>2</sup>, est une compilation de textes patristiques et byzantins divisée alphabétiquement en lettres ou *stoicheia* ; chaque lettre, à son tour,

\* Je tiens à remercier le Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek – Vlaanderen (FWO), qui finance mes études de doctorat, dont l’une des parties principales est de préparer l’édition critique du livre Alpha du *Florilège Coislin*, sous la direction du Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun ; cet article a été écrit dans le cadre d’un projet plus vaste sur l’« encyclopédisme byzantin ».

<sup>1</sup> La bibliographie sur ce florilège est assez étendue. Le premier article systématique (et toujours fondamental) est celui de M. RICHARD, « Florilèges spirituels grecs », dans : *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, V, Paris, 1962-1964, col. 484-486, repris dans : M. RICHARD, *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout - Leuven, 1976, n° 1. Voir aussi l’article récent de I. DE VOS - E. GIELEN - C. MACÉ - P. VAN DEUN, consacré entièrement au *Florilège Coislin* : « L’art de compiler à Byzance : La lettre Γ du *Florilège Coislin* », *Byzantion*, 78 (2008), p. 159-223. Ces auteurs m’ont permis de consulter leur article inédit, où l’on trouvera une description des manuscrits que nous ne répéterons pas ici, et le *stemma codicum* qu’ils nous ont permis de reproduire ci-dessous, et qui correspond tout à fait à ce qu’on peut déduire du texte de Léonce.

<sup>2</sup> Il contient l’épître n° 57 de Théodore Studite, qui a été rédigée entre 781 et 814 (cf. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae epistolae* [*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*, 31], Berolini et Novi Eboraci, 1992, p. \*202] ; si on considère que l’épître a dû trouver son chemin jusqu’au florilège, il semble raisonnable de fixer le *terminus post quem* en 800. On a, par ailleurs, quatre manuscrits du x<sup>e</sup> siècle, dont l’un, *D* (*Mediolanensis*, *Ambrosianus Q 74 sup.*), descend de l’archétype moyennant au moins trois intermédiaires (cf. le *stemma* dans I. DE VOS - E. GIELEN - C. MACÉ - P. VAN DEUN, *op. cit.*, reproduit ci-dessous).

se subdivise ensuite en sections (ou chapitres) dont les titres comportent un mot-clé commençant par la lettre concernée. Ainsi, dans le *stoicheion* Alpha, on lit : *περὶ δημιουργίας ἁγ-γέλων; διὰ τί διπλοῦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος; περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀπαθειῶν*, etc. À l'intérieur de chaque section, on rencontre une ou plusieurs citations portant sur le sujet du titre. Ce florilège nous a conservé des textes inconnus par ailleurs et même le nom d'un auteur obscur, Léonce de Damas.

Qui était-il? Son nom (Λεόντιος) était fréquent à l'époque<sup>3</sup> : dans la *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* on le trouve 57 fois. Cependant, le seul Léonce connu comme provenant de Damas est l'auteur de la *Vita Stephani Sabaitae* (BHG 1670), qui n'est manifestement pas notre Léonce.

Ceci montre que, en réalité, sur le Léonce de Damas cité dans notre florilège on ignore tout. Néanmoins, on trouve çà et là des notices à son sujet<sup>4</sup>. L'une des plus attrayantes apparaît dans « Florilèges spirituels grecs », où M. Richard suggérait (col. 478) que Léonce de Damas serait le 'Léonce' auquel est attribué (en même temps qu'à Jean Damascène) la recension dite « vaticane » du deuxième livre des *Sacra Parallela*, dans le cod. Vat. gr. 1553 (x<sup>e</sup> siècle). Mais rien ne garantit cette supposition.

Quatre textes sont attribués à Léonce dans le *Florilège Coislin* ; nous les publions ici pour la première fois. Ils se trouvent dans quatre chapitres différents des lettres Alpha et Bêta<sup>5</sup> :

<sup>3</sup> « Der Name Leontios war in der Spätantike und der frühbyzantinischen Zeit sehr häufig, weitaus häufiger als der Name Leon, von dem er abgeleitet ist » : A. BERGER, *Leontios Presbyteros von Rom. Das Leben des heiligen Gregorios von Agrigent* (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 60), Berlin, 1993, p. 48. Cependant, le prénom Λέων semble avoir été encore plus habituel que Λεόντιος : il apparaît 307 fois dans la *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (t. 3, p. 1-95), contre les 57 Λεόντιος qu'on mentionnera tout de suite.

<sup>4</sup> Voir par exemple B. DE MONTFAUCON, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana, sive Manuscriptorum omnium graecorum, quae in ea continentur, accurata descriptio*, Parisiis, 1715, p. 412 ; ou J. A. FABRICIUS, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Hamburgi, 1802<sup>2</sup> (réimpr. Hildesheim, 1966), t. VIII, p. 324. (Cette dernière notice a été reprise littéralement dans la PG 93, col. 1747-1748.)

<sup>5</sup> De plus, j'ai parcouru l'ensemble du florilège sans trouver d'autres textes attribués à Léonce. Le fait qu'ils étaient tous regroupés sur peu de folios n'est pas tout à fait exceptionnel : quatre extraits de Jean Damascène

1. A 30, 2 (= lettre Alpha, section 30, deuxième fragment): Πῶς νοητέον τὸ πᾶν ἄρσεν διανοῖγον μήτρων. (Fol. 51<sup>v</sup>-53 du ms. A)

Dans cette section, seuls deux auteurs sont cités: d'abord Amphiloque (*Oratio in occursum domini*, CPG 3232, l. 49-81), ensuite Léonce.

2. A 37, 3: Περὶ τοῦ Ἄδου<sup>6</sup> (Fol. 60-61<sup>v</sup> du ms. A).

Dans cette section, le premier extrait appartient à Hippolyte (pseudo-Josèphe) (*De universo*, CPG 1898, l. 1, p. 137-139, l. 1-35); le deuxième, à Jean Chrysostome (*De coemeterio et de cruce*, CPG 4337, PG 49, 395, 32-39); le troisième et dernier, à Léonce.

3. B 9, 1: Τί ἐστι βασιλεία οὐρανῶν

Seul fragment: Léonce. (Fol. 72<sup>v</sup> du ms. A)

4. B 10, 1: Τί ἐστι βασιλεία θεοῦ

Seul fragment: Léonce. (Fol. 72<sup>v</sup> du ms. A)

1. Le premier extrait montre comment on doit interpréter la formule πᾶν πρωτότοκον<sup>7</sup> διανοῖγον μήτρων ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται. Léonce suggère qu'elle fait référence à Marie, et pas à n'importe quelle mère. En effet, d'habitude c'est le mari qui ouvre la matrice/vulve (ὁ ἀνὴρ διανοίγει τὴν μήτρων), mais dans le cas de Jésus c'est le premier-né lui-même qui l'a fait, alors que la Mère de Dieu est restée « fermée » et n'a pas perdu sa virginité: λέγει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡ γραφὴ καὶ γεννήσασαν καὶ κεκλεισμένην. On ne saurait pas expliquer comment: μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ διανοίξας μήτρων καὶ μὴ λύσας τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῆς τὰ κλειῖθρα οἶδε τὸ μυστή-

(Ἰωάννου τοῦ Μανσούρ) apparaissent dans le florilège, et ils sont tous concentrés sur quelques folios de la lettre Omicron (fol. 215<sup>v</sup>-219 du ms. A). Il s'agit de fragments appartenant à l'*Expositio fidei*, sect. 20, 2-6, 9-55, 61-68, et sect. 44, 2-18.

<sup>6</sup> Conformément aux règles générales du *Corpus Christianorum*, *Series Graeca*, nous écrivons ce mot, ainsi que d'autres analogues, comme nos manuscrits, sans restaurer l'iota souscrit dans la racine.

<sup>7</sup> Notons que Léonce substitue ce mot à ἄρσεν de Luc 2, 23 qu'il cite. Mais il dit citer l'*Exode*, et c'est de là que πρωτότοκον a été pris. La différence n'est pas fondamentale, mais l'accent sur le premier-né exclut en fait la possibilité que le mari, et non le πρωτότοκον, ouvre la matrice. Ceci explique quelques divergences entre Léonce et d'autres auteurs qu'on citera plus bas.

ριον<sup>8</sup>. D'ailleurs, si on continuait à douter, Léonce demanderait à son tour : comment Jésus est-il entré dans l'endroit où ses disciples se trouvaient, les portes étant fermées ? Ou comment est-il sorti de sa tombe, qui était scellée ? (L'analogie « Marie fermée » – « portes fermées » est fondamentale tout au long du fragment.)

2. Le deuxième extrait, très court, parle de l'Hadès, qui est « une région obscure et souterraine, lieu de punition pour les âmes mortes dans le péché ». On peut relever un parallélisme intéressant avec un texte d'Origène (*Selecta in Psalmos*, PG 12, 1189, 49-50) : « Ὡς περὶ ὁ παράδεισος τῶν δικαίων ἐστὶν οἰκητήριον, οὕτως ἄδης τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν κολαστήριον ».

Malheureusement, ce deuxième fragment est tellement court qu'on ne peut guère tirer de conclusions concernant sa langue et son style. Néanmoins, on peut remarquer qu'il a un ton

<sup>8</sup> Comme on l'a vu, dans le cas de Jésus, et dans ce cas seulement, c'est le premier-né lui-même, et non pas le mari, qui ouvre la μήτρα. Léonce l'a déclaré nettement en substituant πρωτότοκον à ἄρσεν, mais même en gardant ἄρσεν on peut justifier que la formule ne s'applique qu'à Jésus. Voir par exemple Origène, *Homiliae in Lucam* (CPG 1451 ; M. RAUER, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 9, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* 49 [35], Berlin, 1959 [1930], 2<sup>e</sup> éd.), Hom. 14, p. 89, 24-90, 7 : Τὰ οὖν ἀρσενικά ἄγια ὄντα <ἄτε> μήτραν ἀνοίγοντα ἔδει ἀναφέρεσθαι κυρίῳ παρὰ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, μόνος δὲ Χριστὸς διήνοιξεν μήτραν ἐκ παρθένου τεχθεῖς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς μήτρας ἐκείνης τῆς ἱε<ράς> ἡψατο· πάντων δὲ τὰ πρωτότοκα, εἰ καὶ πρωτότοκά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ διανοίγουσιν αὐτὰ πρῶτα τὴν μήτραν, ἀλλ' ὁ σύμβιος. Le problème dans ce cas est : pourquoi, si on ne parle que de Jésus, dit-on « πᾶν » (soit πρωτότοκον, soit ἄρσεν) ? Cf. aussi ce que dira plus tard, très clairement, Théophylacte (*Enarratio in evangelium Lucae*, PG 123, 728B, 6-10) : πᾶν τὸ διανοῖγον μήτραν, ἄγιον τῷ Κυρίῳ, εἰς Χριστὸν μόνον κυρίως ἐξέβη τοῦτο· αὐτὸς γὰρ διήνοιξε τὴν μήτραν τῆς Παρθένου, ἐπεὶ ταῖς γε ἄλλαις μητράσιν, ὁ ἀνὴρ διανοίγει τὴν μήτραν. Évidemment, quelques auteurs interprètent μήτρα dans le sens de 'matrice' seulement, et d'autres dans le sens de 'vulve'.

<sup>9</sup> Voir aussi le fragment d'Hippolyte (*De universo*, l. 1ss.) déjà mentionné comme apparaissant dans cette section περὶ τοῦ Ἄδου : chez Hippolyte aussi il s'agit d'un χωρίον ὑπόγειον (κατώγειον χωρίον Léonce), où règne le σκότος (σκοτεινός Léonce), et qui est lieu de punition : ἄγγελοι [...] πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστου πράξεις διανέμοντες τὰς τῶν τόπων προσκαίρους κολάσεις (ψυχῶν ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ἀποθανουσῶν κολαστήριον Léonce). Toutefois, dans l'Hadès d'Hippolyte n'habitent pas seulement les pécheurs, mais aussi les âmes justes, comme il l'annonce explicitement : ἐν ᾧ [sc. l'Hadès] συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων.

plus « évagrien » que notre premier extrait<sup>10</sup> : bref, condensé, synthétique (pour une discussion sur quelques traits du style d'Évagre, cf. von Balthasar, cité *infra* n. 12, surtout p. 88).

3-4. Les troisième et quatrième fragments sont en réalité une citation des deuxième et troisième chapitres du *Traité Pratique* d'Évagre (CPG 2430)<sup>11</sup>, portant sur « l'église des cieux » et « l'église de Dieu ». Les seuls mots ajoutés par Léonce, qui d'ailleurs ne mentionne pas l'auteur condamné, sont ὡς οἱ πατέρες φασί, dans le premier cas, et ὡς διδάσκουσιν οἱ ἅγιοι, dans le deuxième : ces renvois suggèrent, évidemment, que l'auteur est quelqu'un qui ne peut pas être nommé.

### *Évagre*

Les fragments étant trop exigus pour tirer des conclusions sûres au sujet de la langue ou des doctrines de Léonce, la mention d'Évagre est presque le seul repère certain. Eu égard à son importance pour dater Léonce, ainsi que pour le situer dans le monde des affinités intellectuelles, on s'en occupera d'une façon assez détaillée.

Comme on l'a vu, les deux derniers extraits consistent entièrement en des citations d'Évagre. Une hypothèse intéressante, c'est que « Léonce de Damas » ait été un pseudonyme pour camoufler le nom d'Évagre. Cet expédient, comme on le sait, était fréquent après la condamnation de cet auteur (553<sup>12</sup>) ; ainsi, même dans notre florilège on trouve l'attribution classique

<sup>10</sup> Sur la relation entre Évagre et Léonce, et l'importance d'Évagre pour notre analyse, voir *infra*, IV.

<sup>11</sup> A. et C. GUILLAUMONT, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou Le moine*, II (*Sources chrétiennes*, 171), Paris, 1971, p. 498-500.

<sup>12</sup> L'édit de l'empereur Justinien, en janvier 543, condamnait seulement Origène ; le V<sup>e</sup> Concile œcuménique de 553, par contre, se prononçait aussi contre Évagre et Didyme l'Aveugle. Cf. A. GUILLAUMONT, *Les « Képhalaia gnostica » d'Évagre le Pontique (Patristica Sorbonensia, 5)*, Paris, 1962, p. 136. Pour une vision d'ensemble, cf. F. DIEKAMP, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert und das fünfte allgemeine Concil*, Münster i. W., 1899. Pour les ouvrages exégétiques d'Évagre, l'œuvre de H. U. VON BALTHASAR, « Die Hiera des Evagrius » (*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 63, 1939, p. 86-106 et 181-206), est quelque peu vieillie ; on peut consulter les éditions de P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies aux Proverbes (Sources Chrétiennes, 340)*, Paris, 1987 ; voir p. 8 et 9 pour une brève critique de l'ouvrage de Balthasar,



à Nil d'Ancyre<sup>13</sup>. En conséquence, non seulement les extraits 3 et 4 appartiendraient à Évagre, mais probablement aussi les 1 et 2.

Or on n'a pas de raison pour penser que le compilateur du *Florilège Coislin* cacherait exprès le nom d'Évagre, puisqu'ailleurs il le mentionne nommément. En effet, on lit Εὐαγγρίου en tête de deux extraits, dans la lettre A (9<sup>v</sup>, 8-9 et 48, 24 – 48<sup>v</sup>, 1 du ms. A)<sup>14</sup>. Toutefois, même si le compilateur du florilège n'a pas personnellement masqué la véritable identité de l'auteur de ces écrits, il a pu les trouver déjà dissimulés sous cette attribution fausse.

Léonce, conscient sans doute de citer dans les fragments 3 et 4 un Père dont il ne pouvait pas exprimer le nom, voulait cependant annoncer explicitement que le texte qu'il copiait appartenait à quelqu'un d'autre. Mais il ne crée pas une attribution fausse, se contentant d'être très imprécis. Quel sens aurait ce procédé si « Léonce de Damas » n'était qu'un pseudonyme pour présenter secrètement les ouvrages d'Évagre ?

Plus plausible semble l'hypothèse que Léonce ait écrit – ou compilé – un ouvrage auquel l'auteur du *Florilège Coislin* aurait à son tour puisé. Léonce, sans doute plus proche dans le temps des controverses origénistes du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne pouvait pas, à la différence du compilateur du *Florilège Coislin*, mentionner Évagre.

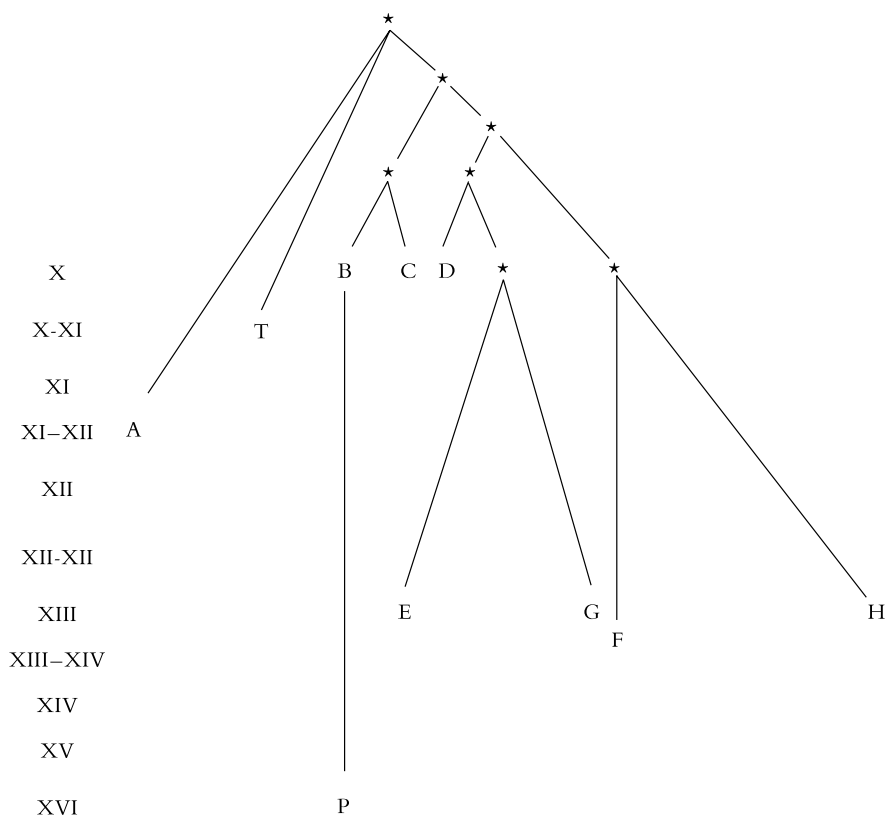
et Id., *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies à l'Ecclésiaste* (Sources Chrétiennes, 397), Paris, 1993.

<sup>13</sup> Il s'agit de deux fragments du *De octo spiritibus malitiae* (CPG 2451), ch. B 4, 3 (fol. 68<sup>r-v</sup> du ms. A) et ch. A 4, 4 (fol. 189<sup>r-v</sup>) du *Florilège Coislin* (PG 79, 1148, 49 - 1149, 21 et 1156, 25-33). L'attribution à Nil de cet ouvrage – resté sous le nom d'Évagre dans la tradition orientale – est très fréquente dans les manuscrits grecs. Cf. A. et C. GUILLAUMONT : *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou Le moine*, I, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. P. GÉHIN, *Évagre le Pontique. Scholies aux Proverbes*, sch. 189, l. 2-3. Pour le deuxième, cf. Joannes Damascenus, *Sacra parallela* (PG 95, 1204, 11-15). Pour des florilèges damascéniens qui citent eux aussi cette scholie 189 (y compris le *Florilège Coislin*, quoiqu'il ne soit pas, à proprement parler, damascénien), voir édition de Géhin, p. 75-76.

*La tradition manuscrite*

On reconnaîtra ici le *stemma codicum* du *Florilège Coislin*, tel qu'on le trouve dans I. De Vos – E. Gielen – C. Macé – P. Van Deun, «L'art de compiler à Byzance: La lettre Γ du *Florilège Coislin*», *Byzantion*, 78 (2008), p. 159-223. Dans le *stemma* ci-dessous, le ms. *P* a été ajouté, et deux manuscrits qui ne contiennent aucun fragment de Léonce ont été exclus. Pour les sigles, voir *infra* le *conspectus siglorum*.



Bien que notre base textuelle soit trop exiguë pour tirer des conclusions autonomes, on remarquera que tout s'accorde avec les recherches du groupe louvaniste sur les lettres Gamma du florilège<sup>15</sup>. Le lecteur retiendra surtout que la tradition manuscrite du florilège est trifide: le ms. *A* d'une part, le ms. *T* d'une autre, enfin le reste des manuscrits, dont tous sauf *B* et *C* appartiennent à une recension plus brève (bien que pour les fragments de Léonce elle soit aussi longue qu'*ABCT*).

Le texte de Léonce, dans le peu d'endroits où il est utile, vient confirmer le *stemma* présenté. En I, 21, *A* et *T* conservent la bonne leçon  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ , alors que le reste des manuscrits a  $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ , leçon manifestement fautive: ce qui confirme que *BCDEFHP* (*G* ne préservant pas ce fragment) ont un hyparchétype commun.

En I, 14-15, *F* et *H* ont une transposition commune avec *D* et *E*, ce qui confirme la parenté de *FHDE* (rappelons que *G* ne conserve pas le texte du premier fragment de Léonce). Une omission de *D* et *E* en I, 17-18, ainsi qu'une substitution en I, 25, attestent à la fois leur parenté particulière, et le fait qu'ils ne descendent pas de l'ancêtre commun à *FH*. (*F* et *H* ont une petite omission en I, 29, une transposition en I, 30, et une faute commune propre en IV, 4, ce qui prouve leur parenté plus étroite.)

La dépendance de *P* vis-à-vis de *B* (qui a déjà été remarquée par l'équipe de recherche louvaniste, bien que, comme ici, leurs conclusions ne puissent pas encore être tenues pour définitives) est visible dans les leçons communes de I, 4, et surtout I, 12 ( $\acute{\omega}\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  face à  $\acute{\iota}\acute{\omega}\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  du reste de la tradition): *P*, du xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle, semble être un apographe de *B*, du x<sup>e</sup> siècle. Toutefois, jusqu'à que cette hypothèse, fort probable d'ailleurs, soit confirmée, on inclut *P* dans l'apparat.

<sup>15</sup> La lettre Bêta, qu'ils étudient pour le moment, confirme le même *stemma*.

## CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

- A* *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (s. XI-XII), fol. 52<sup>v</sup>-53; 61<sup>r-v</sup>; 72<sup>v</sup>-73 (fragments 3-4)
- B* *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (s. X), p. 51-52; 69; 88
- C* *Parisinus gr.* 924 (s. X), fol. 63<sup>r-v</sup>; 72<sup>v</sup>-73; 85<sup>v</sup>
- D* *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus Q* 74 *sup.* (s. X), fol. 26<sup>v</sup>; 30<sup>v</sup>; 34<sup>v</sup>
- E* *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (a. 1285-1286), fol. 42<sup>v</sup>-43; 49<sup>v</sup>; 56
- F* *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (s. XIII-XIV), fol. 79; 82<sup>r-v</sup>; 85<sup>v</sup>
- G* *Athous, Iviron* 38 (a. 1281-1282), fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (seuls fragments 3-4)
- H* *Vaticanus gr.* 491 (s. XIII), fol. 132<sup>r-v</sup>; 137; 141<sup>v</sup>-142
- P* *Parisinus gr.* 1096 (s. XVI), fol. 75<sup>r-v</sup>; 87<sup>r-v</sup>; 103<sup>v</sup>
- T* *Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulcri* 15 (s. X-XI), fol. 161<sup>v</sup>-162; 166; 192

## I

Λεοντίου Δαμασκηνοῦ πρεσβυτέρου

Βλέπε μοι τὸν ἱεροφάντην Μωϋσέα δηλοῦντα  
τὸ ἄφραστον μυστήριον τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ·  
φησὶ γὰρ ὅτι πᾶν πρωτότοκον διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον  
5 τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται. συλλόγισαι οὖν καὶ βλέπε ὅτι  
οὐκ ἐνδέχεται διανοιγῆναι μήτραν πρὸ γάμου· γαμεῖται  
γὰρ γυνή, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διανοίγει τὴν μήτραν, καὶ τότε  
γεννᾶται τὸ βρέφος. ἡ δὲ θεοτόκος οὐχ οὕτως· μόνον  
γὰρ ὅτι ἐγέννησεν οἶδαμεν, τὸ δὲ πῶς οὐκ οἶδαμεν·  
10 ἀνὴρ γὰρ οὐχ ὠμίλησεν αὐτῇ, καὶ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ἐξ  
αὐτῆς. λέγει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡ γραφὴ καὶ γεννήσασαν καὶ  
κεκλεισμένην· διήνοιξε γὰρ μήτραν ὁ Χριστὸς μόνος,  
γεννηθεὶς καὶ μὴ λύσας τὴν παρθενίαν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ  
Ἰεζεκιήλ γέγραπται ὅτι ἔδειξέ μοι κύριος πύλην κε-  
15 κλεισμένην, καὶ κύριος εἰσῆλθε δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξῆλθε, καὶ  
αὕτη ἦν κεκλεισμένη. Μωϋσῆς δὲ λέγει· πᾶν πρωτότο-  
κον διανοῖγον μήτραν ἅγιον τῷ κυρίῳ κληθήσεται· ἅγιος  
γὰρ ἁγίων Ἰησοῦς. πάλιν δὲ εἴρηται ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶν τὸ

**I,4-5** Immo Lc. 2, 23; cf. Ex. 13, 2. 12. 15; Num. 3, 12 et 8, 16 **9** ἐγέννη-  
σεν Cf. Lc. 2, 7; Mt. 1, 25; Gal. 4, 4 **10** ἀνὴρ ... αὐτῇ Cf. Lc. 1, 34 **11**  
γεννήσασαν Vide supra l. 9 **12** κεκλεισμένην Vide infra l. 14-15 | διήνοι-  
ξε ... μήτραν Vide supra l. 4-5 **14-16** ἔδειξέ ... κεκλεισμένη Cf. Ezech.  
44, 1-3 **16-17** Vid. supra l. 4-5 **17-18** ἅγιος ... Ἰησοῦς Cf. Dan. 9, 24;  
Clem. Alex., Strom, I, 21, 126, 2, 1-2; Hipp., Comm. in Dan. IV, 32, 3, 1 -  
4, 2 **18-19** ἐν ... μυστήριον Cf. Col. 1, 19; 2, 9 et Col. 1, 26; Eph. 3, 9

## I ABCDEFHPT

I Λεοντίου ... πρεσβυτέρου] om. BC<sup>ut</sup> vid. P

**I,2** μωσέα DE **2** δηλοῦν ACFH<sup>a.c.</sup> (δηλοῦντα<sup>b.c.</sup>) **3** τοῦ] αὐτοῦ  
praem. BP **4** γὰρ] om. E **5** βλέπε] ἴδε E **6** ἀνοιγῆναι FH **7** γυνή]  
ἡ praem. F | διανοίγοι T, ἀνοίγει FH | τὴν] om. F **10** ὠμίλησεν] ὠμο-  
λόγησεν BP **11** καὶ<sup>2</sup>] om. D **11-12** καὶ κεκλεισμένην] κεκεκλεισμένην  
(sic) A **12** μόνος ὁ χριστὸς DEFH **15** κύριος ... καὶ<sup>2</sup>] om. DE **16**  
μωσῆς DEF **18** πάλιν] πᾶν BCDEFHP | εἴρηκεν T | πᾶν ἐν αὐτῷ P

μυστήριον. παιδίον οὖν ἐγεννήθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ἐξῆλθεν  
 20 ἐκ μήτρας ὡς οὐκ οἶδαμεν· μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ διανοίξας  
 μήτραν καὶ μὴ λύσας τῆς ἀγνείας αὐτῆς τὰ κλειῖθρα οἶδε  
 τὸ μυστήριον· εἰ δέ μοι εἴποι τις· πῶς ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο  
 γενέσθαι; ἐρῶ αὐτῷ καὶ γώ· πῶς εἰσῆλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς εἰς  
 25 τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων; εἰ δὲ  
 πάλιν ἀμφιβάλλει ἄλλος, ἀντερῶ καὶ αὐτῷ· πῶς ἐξῆλ-  
 θεν ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ὁ Χριστὸς ἐσφραγισμένου τοῦ τάφου;  
 ἀκατάληπτος οὖν ἡ γέννησις αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνοις,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις.

## II

Λεοντίου Διαμασκηνοῦ

Ἔδης ἐστὶ σκοτεινόν τι καὶ κατώγειον χωρίον, ψυχῶν  
 ἐν ἀμαρτίαις ἀποθανουσῶν κολαστήριον.

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20-21 διανοίξας μήτραν Vide supra l. 4-5 23-24 πῶς ... κεκλεισμένων  
 Cf. Io. 20, 19, 26 25-26 πῶς ... τάφου Cf. Mt. 27, 66-28, 10.

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ABCDEFHPT | II ABCDEFHPT

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II Λεοντίου Διαμασκηνοῦ] om. C<sup>ut</sup> vid.

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21 ἀγνείας] ἀγίας DE, παρθενίας P | αὐτῆς] παρθένου E 23 εἰς] πρὸς  
 D 25 ἀμφιβάλλοι P | ἄλλο P | καὶ] om. FH 26 ὁ Χριστὸς] post  
 ἐξῆλθεν transp. FH | τοῦ τάφου<sup>2</sup>] ὄντως F 27 ἡμῖν] add. γε P | μόνον  
 E 28 καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις] iteravit P II,2 κατώγειον E

## III

Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Δαμασκηνοῦ  
*Βασιλεία οὐρανῶν ἐστὶν ἀπάθεια ψυχῆς μετὰ γνώσεως  
 τῶν ὄντων ἀληθοῦς, ὡς οἱ πατέρες φασί.*

## IV

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
*Βασιλεία θεοῦ ἐστὶ γνώσις τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος,  
 ὡς διδάσκουσιν οἱ ἅγιοι, συμπαραεκτεινομένη τῇ  
 συστάσει τοῦ νοῦς καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσα τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν*  
 5 *αὐτοῦ.*

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III,2-3 Evagr. Pont., Practicus, 2 (p. 498)    IV,2-5 Evagr. Pont., Practicus,  
 3 (p. 500)

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III ABCDEFGHPT | IV ABCDEFGHPT

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III,1 Λεοντίου ... Δαμασκηνοῦ] λεοντίου τοῦ δαμασκηνοῦ F, λεοντίου  
 δαμασκηνοῦ DEGHP    IV,4 στάσει FH | ὑπερβάλλουσιν FP

*Résumé*

Cet article présente brièvement Léonce de Damas, auteur byzantin dont certains écrits ne survivent que dans le *Florilège Coislin*. Il s'agit de quatre petits fragments, qui sont sommairement analysés ; le seul repère chronologique certain (à part ce qu'on sait du fait qu'ils appartiennent au *Florilège Coislin*) est relevé : Léonce cite Évagre sans le mentionner nommément. Suit une édition critique des fragments.



Opposition to Clerical Continence  
and the Gregorian Celibacy Legislation  
in the Diocese of Théroutanne :  
*Tractatus Pro Clericorum Conubio*  
(c. 1077-1078)

by  
Brigitte MEIJNS\*  
(Leuven)

At the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075, Pope Gregory VII (1073-† 1085) launched a frontal attack upon simony and nicolaitism.<sup>1</sup> Nicolaitism refers to the non-observance of continence by members of the clergy. Especially priestly mar-

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<sup>1</sup> *Medieval Purity and Piety: Essays on Medieval Clerical Celibacy and Religious Reform*, ed. by M. FRASSETTO, New York, 1998; J. A. BRUNDAGE, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago, 1987, especially p. 214-228; A. L. BARSTOW, *Married Priests and the Reforming Papacy: the Eleventh Century Debates*, New York - Toronto, 1982 (Texts and Studies in Religion, 12); J. GAUDEMET, "Le célibat ecclésiastique. Le droit et la pratique du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> s.", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 10, *Kanonistische Abteilung*, 99 (1982), p. 1-31; M. BOELEN, *Die Klerikerebe in der Gesetzgebung der Kirche unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Strafe: Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von den Anfängen der Kirche bis zum Jahre 1139*, Paderborn, 1968; H. LECLERCQ, "La législation conciliaire relative au célibat ecclésiastique", in *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, vol. 2, 2, ed. by C. J. HEFELE and H. LECLERCQ, Paris, 1908, p. 1321-1348. I am indebted to Jean Goossens, Erik Van Mingroot, Frederik Keygnaert (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), Steven Vanderputten (Universiteit Gent), John S. Ott (Portland State University), Laurent Morelle (École pratique des hautes études) and Jean-Charles Bédague (École nationale des chartes) for their valuable comments on earlier versions of this article.

riages and concubinage were targeted, but also deacons and subdeacons who were married or who lived with a woman, met with serious condemnation. Simony was tagged a heresy (*simoniaca heresis*), while nicolaitism was labelled a *crimen fornicationis*.<sup>2</sup> Both customs were firmly rooted in the eleventh-century Church, despite earlier condemnations by Leo IX (1049-† 1054) and Nicholas II (1059-† 1061) and both were considered to be blemishes on the Church, shackling her to the world and impeding the return to a state of original, apostolic purity.<sup>3</sup> According to the Lenten synods of 1074-1075, unchaste priests, deacons and subdeacons were forbidden to celebrate mass or serve at the altar in lesser orders. They had to separate from wives or concubines and only after doing penance were they allowed to resume their offices. Disobedient clergy were to be deprived of their benefices. The faithful were to refuse ministrations from clerics who were guilty of simony and nicolaitism, “even by force if it should be called for”.<sup>4</sup> Gregory VII, just like his predecessors Leo IX and Nicholas II, hoped that a boycott of their masses would make the obstinate clerics repent. Legates were dispatched to proclaim the decrees in the local churches all over Europe. Uncooperative bishops were threatened with deposition if they did

<sup>2</sup> J. LECLERCQ, “Simoniaca heresis”, in *Studi Gregoriani*, Rome, 1947, vol. 1, p. 523-530; A. FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, Louvain, 1924-1937 (Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 16), vol. 1, p. 23-33; G. FORNASARI, *Celibato sacerdotale e autoscienza ecclesiale per la storia della ‘Nicolaitica haeresis’ nella dottrina medievale*, Udine, 1981; H. E. J. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII. 1073-1085*, Oxford, 1998, p. 550-553.

<sup>3</sup> G. TELLENBACH, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1993; G. CONSTABLE, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1996; I. S. ROBINSON, “Reform and the Church, 1073-1122”, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, IV, c. 1024 - c. 1198. Part I*, ed. by D. LUSCOMBE and J. RILEY-SMITH, Cambridge, 2004, p. 268-334 (with extensive bibliography).

<sup>4</sup> From the letter from Gregory VII to the dukes Rudolf of Swabia and Berthold of Carinthia (Rome, 11 January 1075): *The Register of Pope Gregory VII. 1073-1085. An English Translation*, translated by H. E. J. Cowdrey, Oxford, 2002, p. 135-136 no. 2.45; H. E. J. COWDREY, “Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity of the Clergy”, in *Medieval Purity*, p. 269-302; U. R. BLUMENTHAL, “Pope Gregory VII and the Prohibition of Nicolaitism”, in *ibidem*, p. 239-267; ID., *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform*, Darmstadt, 2001, p. 167-172.

not use their disciplinary powers against unchaste clerics. Papal letters appealed to lay rulers to enforce obedience to the reform legislation and to eradicate 'fornication'.

The far-reaching and drastic instructions from Rome triggered a violent reaction and caused confusion and resistance among both the clergy and the faithful in the local churches. The proclamation of the reform decrees was met with protest and incidents in some churches in Italy, Germany and France. Bishops who tried to implement the Gregorian legislation were forced to resign or were driven from their diocese by their clergy.<sup>5</sup> Advocates and opponents of clerical marriage took up their pens and defended their points of view by referring to Holy Scripture, patristic tradition and canon law. For the first time since the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries polemical writings on clerical marriage and continence were again produced.<sup>6</sup>

One of the polemical writings in favour of clerical marriage is the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*. This anonymous treatise has already twice been published and has been studied several times, but there is no consensus in the scholarly literature concerning the origin and the author of this polemical text. In this paper, I would like to offer a contribution to this discussion by refining both chronologically and geographically one of the existing hypotheses concerning the context in which it originated. I will argue that the treatise was written in the diocese of Théroutanne (archdiocese of Rheims, Northern France), shortly after the Synod of Autun (10-17 September 1077) or the Synod of Poitiers (15 January 1078), and certainly before the summer (June-July) of 1078. We should probably look for the author in the immediate entourage of the bishop of Théroutanne.

<sup>5</sup> BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 68-70; COWDREY, *Gregory VII*, p. 242-249 (German Kingdom and Empire), p. 410-413 (France); BLUMENTHAL, "Gregory VII, Celibacy", p. 250-253.

<sup>6</sup> C. MIRBT, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII*, Leipzig, 1894; I. S. ROBINSON, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: the Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century*, Manchester - New York, 1978, p. 165-168; E. FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit*, Hanover, 1997, (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* [= MGH], *Studien und Texte*, 16), p. 1-6 with extensive literature on the celibacy legislation.

### 1. *Manuscript tradition and editions*

The *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* has only been preserved in a single manuscript: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. lat. qu. 313 fol. 34<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>.<sup>7</sup> It is immediately followed by another polemical text, which enjoyed a far wider circulation, viz. the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici*, the composition of which Frauenknecht situated in the Southern German diocese of Constance during the second half of 1075.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript, written by several hands, furthermore contains extracts from decretals and letters from several popes, a long excerpt from the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, excerpts from a collection of *canones* and an extract from an unidentified *poenitentiale*.<sup>9</sup> The selected excerpts from the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals* betray an interest in the problematics of clerical marriage.<sup>10</sup> The manuscript has been dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Opinions vary about the origin of the manuscript: Augustin Fliche situated it in Normandy, on the basis of its content, while Henning Hoesch situated its origin around the Mediterranean, possibly Southern Italy, keeping in mind the

<sup>7</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 173-174.

<sup>8</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 7-70; FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, p. 1-12, interpreted this text as a letter of protest from bishop Udalric of Imola (1053-1063) to pope Nicholas II, written shortly after the Lateran Synod of 1059. In 1074, the letter would once more have come into circulation, but was now ascribed to the tenth-century bishop Udalric of Augsburg, and was seen as a reaction against the enforcement of the policy of celibacy which Gregory VII proclaimed at his Lenten Synod. This view is no longer held today.

<sup>9</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Verteidigung*, p. 173-174; cf. H. HOESCH, "Ein Auszug aus Pseudoisidor im Ms. Berlin Theol. Lat. 313", *Traditio*, 25 (1989), p. 499-507; H. FÜHRMANN, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die Neuere Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1973 (Schriften der MGH, 24, 2), p. 413 n. 10.

<sup>10</sup> HOESCH, "Ein Auszug", p. 507.

<sup>11</sup> G. WAITZ, "Handschriften in Englischen und Schottischen Bibliotheken", *Neues Archiv*, 4 (1878), p. 596; K. HAMPE, "Reise nach England vom Juli 1895 bis Februar 1896", *Neues Archiv*, 22 (1897), p. 686; G. ACHTEN, *Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Katalog der Handschriftenabteilung, Erste Reihe: Handschriften, vol. 1. Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Quarto, Teil 2: Ms. theol. lat. qu. 267-378*, Wiesbaden, 1984, p. 97-100.

consecutive owners of the manuscript. The Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin acquired this manuscript in 1899 from the veritable treasure of manuscripts collected in Cheltenham by Sir Thomas Phillips (then codex 7817 (7208)), who, in turn, had bought it in 1830 from Frederick North, Earl of Guildford († 1827). We do not know how the latter came to possess it.<sup>12</sup>

The text was first published in 1897 by Ernst Dümmler in his edition of the *Libelli de Lite* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and he also provided the title *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*.<sup>13</sup> Erwin Frauenknecht provided us with a new edition in his study *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit* in 1997, together with reissues of five other treatises in favour of clerical marriage, among them are the Pseudo-Udalric, the *Apologia contra eos qui calumpniantur missas coniugatorum sacerdotum* of Sigebert of Gembloux, and the letters of the Cambrai and Noyon clergy, which we will discuss later.<sup>14</sup>

## 2. *The content of the Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*

This polemical text resists easy analysis and the train of thought of the author is not always easy to follow.<sup>15</sup> According to Böhmer, the author opposed some Gregorian viewpoints “in sehre unbehilflicher Weise und schwerflüssigem Latein”.<sup>16</sup> It is, however, remarkable that the author displays a thorough knowledge of canon law. He underpins his argument with well-chosen conciliar canons and papal decretals, much more so than the anonymous author of the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici* did.<sup>17</sup> He also draws on a larger repertory of

<sup>12</sup> A. N. L. MUNBY, *Phillipps Studies III. The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 56.

<sup>13</sup> *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*, ed. by E. DÜMMLER, Hanover, 1897 (MGH, *Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti*, III), p. 589-596. FRAUENKNECHT, *Verteidigung*, p. 253-266.

<sup>14</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Verteidigung*, p. 253-266.

<sup>15</sup> No title is mentioned in the manuscript. H. BÖHMER, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert*, Aalen, 1899, p. 176.

<sup>16</sup> BÖHMER, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 174.

<sup>17</sup> FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, p. 15-19; BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 118-119; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 113-115.

patristic texts. In my view, the author consecutively but without a clear transition, broaches five topics. Each of these five subjects probably corresponds with a decree or a claim from the reformers, which the author hopes to refute in his work. His tone, both serious and fierce, suggests that the polemicist feels personally involved, even targeted by the Gregorian legislation.

The work abruptly commences with a defense of the validity of a legitimately celebrated marriage of clerics: "Those who, loyal to the Catholic Church and averse to the sin of hypocrisy, would industriously subject the authentic writings of the holy Fathers to scrutiny, will find that a legitimately celebrated marriage of a cleric is pure and sincere and not, as the inventors of the new dogma would have it, adulterous (*adulterina*) and promiscuous (*fornicaria*)".<sup>18</sup> This is followed by a reference to Canon 3 of the Council of Nicea (325) in which bishops, priests, deacons and other clerics were forbidden to live with a concubine (*mulier subintroducta*) under the same roof, but which allowed them to live with their mother, a sister or an aunt, or another woman above suspicion.<sup>19</sup> However, the "inventors of the new dogma" now equated the *mulier subintroducta* with the *uxor*, the lawful spouse of the cleric, who is indeed an honourable person, so the author claims. On the basis of some specific *canones* from the Councils of Carthage III (397), Carthage V (401), Chalcedon (415) and Toledo II (531), and of some striking passages from letters and works of the popes Siricius (384-† 399), Leo I the Great (440-† 461) and Gregory I the Great (590-† 604), the author tries to prove that a legitimate marriage is definitely permitted for members of the clergy. Even though certain of the cited texts explicitly prescribe abstinence within the clerical mar-

<sup>18</sup> "[Q]uisquis catholicę ecclesie fidem tenens, ab ypocrisis iniquitate alienus, autenticas sanctorum patrum scripturas diligenter investigaverit, inveniet legitime celebrata conubia clericorum casta esse et sincera, ut novi dogmatis ferunt auctores, adulterina vel fornicaria." FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 254, l. 1-5. In my view, the first theme goes from p. 254, l. 1 up until and including p. 256, l. 22.

<sup>19</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 254 n. 1 (edition of the decrees of Nicea).

riage – the Fifth Council of Carthage (401) imposed abstinence on married bishops, priests and levites, and the popes Leo I and Gregory I encouraged in their letters chastity within clerical marriage – the author still quotes these texts, probably because they imply that these Early Christian councils and *doctores* nevertheless permitted the marital state for the clergy. After these quotes, the author once more refers to those “who would rather support contention than agree with the truth” (*qui contentionibus deservire quam veritati malunt adquiescere*<sup>20</sup>), and offers as a final argument for his claim that clerics are allowed to contract an honourable marriage, the story of the confessor Paphnutius, the bishop of Upper Thebes, at the Council of Nicea.<sup>21</sup> This story from the *Historia tripartita* of Cassiodorus († 580) first emerges in the exchange of letters *De prohibenda sacerdotum incontinentia* between Bernold of Constance and Alboinus in the years 1074-1076, and it is also present in the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici*, as well as in the letter from the Cambrai clergy. The story was condemned by Gregory VII at a synod in 1079, together with the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici*, but it was nevertheless afterwards repeated in the *Panormia* (c. 1096) of Ivo of Chartres and the *Decretum* of Gratian (c. 1140).<sup>22</sup>

Next, the author lashed out at the “subverters of the *canones* and the perturbers of the peace within the Church” (*subversores canonum et perturbatores ecclesiasticę pacis*) who claimed that in the conciliar canon of Nicea, ‘clergy’ does not refer to all clerical persons, but only to the canons.<sup>23</sup> This “foolish under-

<sup>20</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 256, l. 4-5.

<sup>21</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 12-32, who convincingly shows that the use of the story of Paphnutius need not necessarily indicate a dependence upon the *Epistola Udalrici*, but can be explained by the wide circulation of Cassiodore’s *Historia tripartita*.

<sup>22</sup> Bernold of Constance is the only one to mention this condemnation in his chronicle. BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 105 and 115; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 32. The condemnation in Rome in 1079 might serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the origin of the *Tractatus*, since it is highly unlikely that the author of the *Tractatus* would have used this story, had he known of the condemnation.

<sup>23</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, from p. 256, l. 23 up until and including p. 260, l. 13.

standing” (*stulta intelligentia*) is strongly refuted on the basis of three other *canones* from that same council, which clearly demonstrate that the term ‘clergy’ definitely refers to all members of the clergy, and not exclusively to canons. Then, the author pursues the idea of the “above-mentioned belligerents” (*supradictos contentiosos*). If only canons are considered to be clerics, this implies that all non-canons – read: the other members of the clergy – might with a clear conscience separate themselves from these pure ones and take to the pursuit of gain and shameful profit. Referring to some quotes from decrees and letters from the popes Gelasius I (492-† 496), Innocent I (401-† 417) and Leo I, and to a canon about excommunication from the Council of Nicea, the polemicist then once more points out that the term ‘clergy’ is not to be equated with ‘canons’. The ferocity with which the author here speaks in defence of the canons among the clergy suggests that he himself was a canon.<sup>24</sup>

Immediately afterwards, the author returns to the distinction between the *mulier subintroducta* and the *uxor*, with which his work had begun: “Everyone belonging to the clergy, so each cleric, is forbidden to have a concubine, and according to the stipulations of the *canones*, he who does not remain chaste, is legally allowed to contract a marriage”.<sup>25</sup> A little further in the text, we hear it loud and clear: *Omnis vero clericus aut continens erit aut coniugatus aut fornicarius*.<sup>26</sup> The views of the polemicist are crystal clear: a cleric can either opt for legal marriage, or take a vow of abstinence (which, of course, he would then have to observe), but a member of the clergy is never allowed to keep a concubine, and to do so would be fornication. He had already expressed this view – albeit less

<sup>24</sup> BÖHMER, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 176; J. M. DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten en de Gregoriaanse Hervorming in het Bisdom Terwaan*. Unpublished M.A. thesis K.U.Leuven, 1943, p. 38; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 111 n. 111.

<sup>25</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 6-8: “Interdicatur igitur omni, qui clero est, id est omni clerico, mulier subintroducta et secundum statuta canonum ei, qui se continentie non voverit, concedatur legitime nupta.”

<sup>26</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 18-19.



explicitly – at the beginning of his work, where he based it on conciliar texts and papal decretals. Now, however, the author taps into a different type of source to support his opinion. By referring to passages from the works of the Church Fathers Isidore (*De ecclesiasticis officiis*) and Augustine (*De bono coniugali*) and by quoting from the Old Testament (Isaiah 5, 20), and especially from the Letters of St Paul (1 Tim. 3, 2 and 3, 6; 1 Cor. 6, 15-16 and 6, 19; Eph. 5, 5; Rom. 1, 32), the polemicist passionately advocates marriage, which – according to him – offers the best guarantee against impurity and for the salvation of the soul. The author strongly resents the emphasis put on clerical marriages, while, according to him, fornicating clerics are not turned away, or are even preferred to married priests.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, one does not associate with married clerics because general opinion holds that they commit very grave sins (*peccatis criminalibus*), while the sins of the fornicating clerics – serious offences in the eyes of the polemicist – are dismissed as venial, hence easy to forgive.<sup>28</sup> At the end of this part, he quotes Canon 9 from the Council of Ancyra (314), which allows deacons to marry and yet to continue to fulfill their function if they had explicitly expressed their intention to do so before their ordination.<sup>29</sup> Since it was decided during the Council of Chalcedon (451) that the *canones* of all preceding councils were to be respected, the stipulations of Ancyra and the other Early Christian gatherings were to be obeyed.

It is, however, intriguing that the author begins this part of his argument with a reference to the election of the bishop. According to canon law, he had to be elected from among the clergy attached to the episcopal see, to wit the cathedral can-

<sup>27</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 19-21: “Qui ergo coniugatos abiciunt, fornicarios non reprehendendo, immo preponendo, filios gehenne efficiunt ignis.”

<sup>28</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 259, l. 16-18: “Qui ergo venialibus conjugatorum peccatis tamquam criminalibus communicare nolunt, et criminalibus fornicatorum delictis tamquam venialibus et domesticis assensum prebent ...”

<sup>29</sup> FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, p. 16; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 260, l. 1-6.

ons.<sup>30</sup> But if the canons, whose duty it is to elect the bishop from their midst, are not allowed to marry, then the Apostle Paul is wasting his breath telling us that the man of one wife is to be elected bishop. Or otherwise inexperienced neophytes (*neofytos*),<sup>31</sup> coming from elsewhere, are to be promoted to that elevated position, against the words of Paul and ignoring those who have served in the church from childhood. The author here alludes to the third chapter of the First Letter from Paul to Timothy, which discusses the qualities of a bishop (3, 1-7).<sup>32</sup> The importance attached by the author to the way in which the bishop is elected betrays some dissatisfaction with the current situation of the Church, but it might also suggest that the author was himself a canon in a cathedral church.<sup>33</sup>

A fourth theme which is entered into in great detail and with great fervour is the disgraceful way in which priests who

<sup>30</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 8-15: "Alioquin cum ex sanctorum patrum constitutione principaliter legalis episcopi fiat electio de ecclesia in qua ordinandus est, si numquam canonicis uxores habere permissum est, aut inaniter clamat Paulus: *Unius uxoris virum* debere elegi episcopum, aut pretermisiss illis, qui ab infantia sua per singulos gradus in ecclesiis militaverint, in transgressione locum extraneos quoslibet et contra preceptum predicti apostoli rudes neophitos ad tante dignitatis apicem oportet promoveri."

<sup>31</sup> *Neofytos* here does not refer to the recently converted, but indicates a person who is immediately made bishop, even though he has not passed through the lower grades of ecclesiastical hierarchy. Cf. H. LECLERCQ, "Néophyte", in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne de de liturgie*, 12 (1935), cols. 1107-1110; E. AMANN, "Néophyte", in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 11 (1931), col. 67.

<sup>32</sup> New Revised Standard Version, 1 Timothy 3, 1-7: "The saying is sure: whoever aspires to the office of bishop desires a noble task. Now a bishop must be above reproach, married only once, temperate, sensible, respectable, hospitable, an apt teacher, not a drunkard, not violent but gentle, not quarrelsome, and not a lover of money. He must manage his own household well, keeping his children submissive and respectful in every way – for if someone does not know how to manage his own household, how can he take care of God's church? He must not be a recent convert, or he may be puffed up with conceit and fall into the condemnation of the devil. Moreover, he must be well thought of by outsiders, so that he may not fall into disgrace and the snare of the devil."

<sup>33</sup> DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 38.

consort with women are treated by his contemporaries.<sup>34</sup> Before sketching an image of the current practices, the outraged polemicist cites some passages which plainly state how one should behave with regard to married priests or those who commit adultery. The author commences with the powerful Canon 4 of the Council of Granga (340-341): “those who judge a priest who has a wife, should be anathematized (*anathema*)”. This is followed by a long passage from a letter by pope Nicholas I (858-† 867) to the *optimates* of *Achaiae*. Priests with a wife should not be treated with contempt by laypersons, nor should members of the laity avoid contact with them. The only person both allowed to judge them and capable to do so, is the bishop. Moreover, whether or not a priest committed adultery has no impact whatsoever on the purity of the sacraments administered by him. The matter of the purity and canonical validity of the sacraments administered by unchaste priests, a hot topic in the polemical literature of that time,<sup>35</sup> is then elaborated upon on the basis of two stories, one from the *Vitae patrum* by Jerome, and another which the author ascribes to Augustine, but which actually comes from the treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* by Paschasius Radbertus. Finally, there are two powerful quotes taken from the comments by Augustine on the Gospel of John, about the value of baptism.<sup>36</sup>

After these quotes, the author turns his attention to his own time.<sup>37</sup> First of all, he makes it very clear that it is not at all his

<sup>34</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 260, l. 14 up to and including p. 263, l. 23.

<sup>35</sup> FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 1, p. 218-229 (Peter Damian) and p. 294-308 (Humbert a Silva Candida); BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 149-150; J. LAUDAGE, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, 1984, p. 169-205.

<sup>36</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 262, l. 21-24: “Quicumque adulter, quicumque sacrilegus, quicumque homicidia baptizet, Christus est qui baptizat” and “Non timeo adulterum, non timeo homicidam, non timeo ebriosum, adtendo columbam dicentem: hic est qui baptizat.”

<sup>37</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 262, l. 24 - p. 263, l. 9: “Nos vero quamvis ista dixerimus, non auctores sumus, ut ipsi enerviter vivant, quorum manibus et linguis tam preciosa tractantur sacramenta – concordare enim debet mundicia ministrorum purissime religioni sanctorum ministerio-

desire that those who administer the sacraments should lead feeble lives (*enerviter*). On the contrary, he is a staunch advocate of the moral purity of the ministers coinciding with the very purest religion. The “fabricators of lies and cultivators of perverse dogmata” (*fabricatores mendatii et cultores perversorum dogmatum*, cf. Job 13, 4), however, prefer to let their children die unbaptized, rather than have them baptized by an unchaste priest. They prefer teaching fabrications (*fabula*) and dances, to attending and listening to the masses of a married priest. Apparently, sacraments administered by married priests are deemed to be worthless. But any reprimand and condemnation should not be the result of an error by the common people, of a rebellion of the rabble or the rage of the laity, but of the regular discipline (*disciplina regularis*), of an ecclesiastical censure (*ecclesiastica censura*) and a canonical sentence (*canonum sententia*). Indeed, had not pope Celestine I said: *Docendus est enim populus, non sequendus*.<sup>38</sup>

It’s a world gone mad, sighs the polemicist, who resents the fact that laypersons think that they are qualified to judge their parish priests.<sup>39</sup> In each parish, there are as many ‘archdeacons’

rum –, sed ut ostenderemus *fabricatores esse mendatii et cultores perversorum dogmatum*, qui parvulos suos preoptant in peccato primi hominis in eternum perire, quam baptizari a sacerdote incontinente, quique docent fabulis et saltationibus debere potius studere, quam missarum celebrationes a presbytero coniugato percipere vel audire. Si enim reprehendi sunt, immo quia reprehendendi, reprehendantur disciplina regulari, non errore populari coerceantur, ecclesiastica censura, non vulgari protervia feriantur, canonum sententia, non laicorum insania.”

<sup>38</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 9.

<sup>39</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 10 - l. 23: “Nunc vero postero ordine in qualibet parochia super unum infelicem presbyterum quot sunt rustici, tot sunt archidiaconi, quem enim nec tangere nec ledere, immo cui parere et honorem deferre debuerant. Contumeliosi, superbi, elati insidiari, detrahare, dehonestare atque abicere non cessant. Unde fit de villa ad villam contra statuta canonum et decreta patrum illa frequens sacerdotum transmutatio, sicut enim, ut ait apostolus, mulier *vivente marito adultera* iudicantur, *si fuerit cum alio viro*, ita ecclesia presbytero sibi iure concesso, si enim iniuste reprobabit, adultera est, si conmittatur eo vivente alieno presbytero. Quapropter *omnes sunt adulteri* et nequam *cetus prevaricatorum*. Et hec est a Patrinis orta dissensio et facta canonum transgressio, qui dum se legum custodes altius videri volunt, legis veritatem convertunt in errorem. Nam quamvis verissime predicent sacerdotum mundiciam, falsissime tamen dog-

as peasants (*rustici*<sup>40</sup>), and instead of beating and insulting their parish priest, they ought to obey him and show him due respect. Offensive, proud and elevated as they feel, they never stop harassing, wounding, dishonouring and humiliating the man. A similar description of a clergy under siege is also to be found in Sigebert of Gembloux's *Apologia contra eos qui calumpniantur missas coniugatorum sacerdotum*, written in response to the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075, and in his *Chronicon*.<sup>41</sup> According to the author of the *Tractatus*, all this pestering made the village priests leave their parishes. They wander from one parish to another, even though canon law stipulated that they had to stay with the church that had been entrusted to their care. The author here introduces the theme of adultery, powerfully underlined by a quote from Jeremiah 9, 2: "For they are all adulterers, a band of traitors". Just as a woman is adulterous with regard to her husband when she is with another man (Rom. 7, 3), so also a church entrusted to a priest is adulterated when given to a foreign cleric. The hypocrisy in the quote reminds the author of the Patarenes, according to him a good example of treacherous men.<sup>42</sup> The polemicist strongly resents the *dissensio*, the internal contradiction between the words of the reformers and their actions. Indeed, they pretend to be more elevated than they are in reality, to be protectors of the law when they distort the truth into an error (*in errorem*). With their false preachings, they in-

matizant eorum preces et missarum sollempnia debere reprobari propter aliquis suspicionis infamiam."

<sup>40</sup> Cf. R. I. MOORE, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 30 (1980), p. 49-69.

<sup>41</sup> FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, vol. 3, p. 39-48; M. CHAZAN, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle. De Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 1999, p. 80-84; BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 142-149; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 98-105 and p. 220, l. 20 up to and including p. 222, l. 11, p. 231, l. 23 up to and including p. 232, l. 15, p. 234, l. 4-6 (edition *Apologia*); Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronicon*, ed. by G. H. PERTZ, Hanover, 1844 (reprint: Stuttgart, 1980) (MGH, *Scriptores* [= SS], 6), p. 362-363 *ad annum* 1074.

<sup>42</sup> In Jeremiah 9, 3 to 9 the deceitfulness and the hypocrisy of their fellow men are further criticized in no uncertain terms.

cite the faithful to reject the masses of priests, even if there is merely a suspicion of an impure life. Apparently, the polemicist not only knows about the existence of this radical religious movement in Milan during the period 1057-1075,<sup>43</sup> but he also draws an implicit parallel between the hypocrisy of the Patarenes and the falsehood of those who incite the *rustici* in his own region to turn their backs on the village priests.

Next, the author broaches the fifth and final topic, which is obviously very near to his heart, viz. that of the suitability of sons of priests to be ordained.<sup>44</sup> According to Frauenknecht, the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* was the first polemical writing to address this problem.<sup>45</sup> Already in the first sentence of this part, the author refers to the promulgators of the new legislation in question. With a stubborn tenaciousness and foolishly, says the author, they preach that the sons of clerics should not be allowed to join the clergy, or to take any eccle-

<sup>43</sup> The leaders of the Pataria, deacon Arialdo (murdered in 1066), the priest Landulf and his brother, the knight Erlembald, urged the faithful to expel simoniacal and married priests from their churches, and they did not shrink from violence. The movement wanted to renew the Ambrosian church through preaching and the ideal of apostolic poverty but, too dependent on support from the poorer populace, it disrupted the city and gave rise to civil strife. The aggressive nature and the lay character of the movement, prominent characteristics under the leadership of Erlembald, were considered a violation of the right order of Christianity by conservative chroniclers. However, the Patarenes received fervent support from Pope Gregory VII, who had already backed them while still an archdeacon. The movement collapsed with the murder of Erlembald in 1075 and the flight of many Patarenes to other Lombard cities. H. E. J. COWDREY, "The Papacy, the Patarenes and the Church of Milan", in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 18, London, 1968, p. 25-48; I. S. ROBINSON, "Reform and the Church", p. 307-308; cf. C. VIOLANTE, *La Pataria Milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica, I: Le premesse (1045-1057)*, Rome, 1955; P. GOLINELLI, *La Pataria: Lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano dell'XI secolo*, Milan, 1984.

<sup>44</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 24 up until and including p. 265, l. 15 (... "traditionum"); cf. B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, "Zölibat und Lage der 'Priestersöhne' vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 227 (1978), p. 2-44, especially p. 14-19; B. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, "Ex fornicatione nati. Studies on the Position of Priests' Sons from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 2 (1979), p. 1-50, especially p. 17-22.

<sup>45</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 115-122.

siastical honour whatsoever.<sup>46</sup> Two short quotes from Augustine and Isidore of Seville, which state that children who honour God cannot be punished for the sins committed by the parents, are followed by a reproach of the innovators: "They are however, blind and deaf and slow-witted, and they do not understand that they go against the authority of the Roman Church, which prides itself on having among its members not only apostolic men who are the sons of clerics, but even glorious patrons with regard to the annihilation of heresies".<sup>47</sup> Next, the polemicist offers six examples of popes from the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, whose fathers were a priest, a bishop or a subdeacon, and who had turned out to be fierce opponents of heresies. The author gleaned their biographical data from the *Liber pontificalis*.<sup>48</sup> And to prove that it was not just in a distant past that the sons of priests held high ecclesiastical functions, the polemicist adds the following claim to his argument: "We might name bishops, still alive today, in Italy, Gaul and Normandy, who descended from clerics, even from priests, and who were enthroned and ordained with the pope's permission, but we are of the opinion that this suffices, in order to avoid tediousness, against the adulterators of the *canones* and the inventors of new traditions (*adversus adulteratores canonum et adversus cogitatores novarum traditionum*)".<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 24-26: "Adest vero vel pertinacia pervicaciam, nec minori insipientia predicant filios clericorum ad sacros ordines promoveri vel quolibet ecclesiastico honore sublimari."

<sup>47</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 264, l. 2-7: "Ceci vero ad videndum, surdique ad audiendum, et tardi ad intelligendum auctoritati etiam Romane ecclesie se contraire non sentiunt, que de filiis clericorum non solum apostolicos viros, sed etiam in destruendis heresibus gloriosos patronos habere gloriatur: quod quidem ut negare non possunt, inserantur nostro tractatui aliqui clericorum filii tantę dignitatis apice sublimati."

<sup>48</sup> Ivo of Chartres also uses these examples in his *Panormia*. Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia*, liber III cap. LII, ed. by J.-P. MIGNE, Paris, 1855 (*Patrologia Latina* [= PL], 161), col. 1142; Cf. SCHIMMELPFENNIG, "Ex fornicatione nati", p. 21-22.

<sup>49</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 265, l. 11-15: "Possemus et viuentes adhuc episcopos de clericis, immo de presbyteris, in Italia, in Gallia, in Normannia, ab ipso papa intronizari concessos aut et ordinatos ostendere, sed sufficere ista credimus propter evitandam prolixitatem adversus adulteratores canonum et adversus cogitatores novarum traditionum."

After this, the work concludes with a general appeal to lend no credence to the innovators or those who agree with their ideas, on pain of excommunication. This is supported by quotes from the Letter from Paul to the Galatians (Gal. 1, 8), from a letter by Pope Leo the Great to the bishops, and from a letter by Pope Gregory the Great to archbishop Eusebius and his suffragans.<sup>50</sup> The fact that the polemicist specifically mentions letters addressed to bishops, possibly suggests that he did not just direct his appeal to the contemporary clergy in general, but to the bishops in particular. This also appears from the following exhortation of the *seniores* to shepherd their flock not with compulsion, but from the heart, not in pursuit of profit, but with dedication, not to lord over them, but to offer them an example (cf. 1 Petr. 5, 1-3). According to the polemicist, things are very different in his time. Many harm the flock of God by shepherding it with compulsion, out of the love of profit and out of the pursuit of power. Quoting Matthew 23, 4, the author writes “They tie up heavy burdens, hard to bear, and lay them on the shoulders of others; but they themselves are unwilling to lift a finger to move them”. The heavy burdens undoubtedly refer to the stricter ways of life imposed on the clergy by reform-minded bishops or by papal legates.<sup>51</sup> Then the polemicist repeats the words of Christ to the Pharisees (Matt. 23, 25 and 27): “For you clean the outside of the cup and of the plate, but inside they are full of greed and self-indulgence”, and “For you are like whitewashed tombs, which on the outside look beautiful, but inside they are full of the bones of the dead and of all kinds of filth”. With these last two quotes, he resumes the theme of the hypocrisy of the innovators, a characteristic to which the author had already referred when he talked about the Patarenes and with which he had opened his treatise (*ab*

<sup>50</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 265.

<sup>51</sup> The letter of the Cambrai clergy, which we will discuss in greater detail later, also refers to bishops (*pastores*) who impose heavy burdens on their clerics. Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 246, l. 2-3; cf. *Sources d'histoire médiévale. IX<sup>e</sup> - milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. by G. BRUNEL and É. LALOU, Paris, 1992, p. 158 and the English translation by John Ott at the EPISCOPUS web site: <http://www.episcopus.org/>.



*yprocrisis iniquitate*). Right at the end comes a pithy sentence to encourage the beleaguered clerics. The words sound like a true *nolite timere*<sup>52</sup>: “You, however, sons of the Catholic Church, who refuse to be tainted by the evil of the heretical error, do not fear those who strive to overthrow the ecclesiastical truth. If the stipulations of the *canones* and the ecclesiastical vigour flourish safely, you should inspire fear in them!”

### 3. *The question of the origin in the literature*

Since Augustin Fliche’s *La réforme grégorienne*, opinions have differed with regard to the origin and the identity of the author of the *Tractatus*. Fliche saw the treatise as the first in a series of revisions of the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici*, which he called the *Rescrit d’Ulric*. According to him, the author of the *Tractatus* was a Northern Italian cleric who had emigrated to Normandy and who had taken the *Rescrit* with him on his journey, in order to revise it thoroughly in his new home. Fliche deduced an Italian origin from the violent attack by the author on the Patarenes, and from the author’s in-depth knowledge of his model which – also according to Fliche – had originated in Northern Italy shortly after the Lateran Council of 1059. Notwithstanding this, however, he concluded that the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* was actually written in Normandy because of the “concordance parfaite” between the *canones* of the Council of Lisieux of 1064 and the contents of this work.<sup>53</sup> The treatise echoed the complaints which had risen after the Council of Lisieux, and therefore it preceded the papacy of Gregory VII. Fliche’s ideas were followed by, among others, Anne Llewellyn Barstow in her

<sup>52</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 266, l. 14-17: “Vos ergo filii catholicę ecclesię, qui eretice fraudis pravitate pollui respuitis, nolite timere eos, qui ecclesiasticam veritatem subvertere nituntur, quibus, si statuta canonum, si vigor aeclesiasticus vigeret incolumnis, timori esse deberetis.”

<sup>53</sup> At this council, country priests were forbidden to share a house with an *uxor*, a *concubina* or an *introducta mulier*. Those who had married since the Council of Rouen (1062) had to send away their wives. Marriages contracted before 1063, on the other hand, were still allowed, except for canons. FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, p. 14-15.

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However, Erwin Frauenknecht's in-depth study of the *Epistola Pseudo-Udalrici* in 1997 led him to conclude that there was no clinching evidence to see the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* as a more extensive version of Pseudo-Udalric, even more so because the content of the *Tractatus* is far more varied than the *Epistola*.<sup>55</sup> In my view, Frauenknecht's detailed argumentation is convincing, and it suffices to recapitulate the main lines of it here. First of all, the point of departure of the work, viz. the prohibition of the *mulier subintroducta* in Canon 3 of the Nicean Council, appears rather frequently in conciliar law from the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century onwards, so this need not exclusively point to the Council of Lisieux. The same is true for the demand that canons respect celibacy. Finally, the author's reference to the irregularities caused by the Milanese Pataria need not be explained by an Italian origin of the author. Other sources suggest that some knowledge of the Pataria was present in Western France in the second half of the eleventh century. The theory about the possible Italian descent of the author is also undermined by Frauenknecht's new localization of the context in which the Pseudo-Udalric originated, namely Southern Germany. Unfortunately, Frauenknecht's analysis of the canonical material in the *Tractatus* did not result in any concrete indications of its geographical origin. An important indication is, however, to be found in the theme of the ordination of priest's sons, which is not mentioned in the Pseudo-Udalric. The first Council in France to address this problem was that of Poitiers (15 January 1078), with its promulgation of a prohibition ordaining the sons of priests and other children born out of illicit sexual acts (Canon 8).<sup>56</sup> The only religious career these could pursue

<sup>54</sup> BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 116-119; cf. also M.-C. DEROUET-BESSON, " 'Inter duos scopulos'. Hypothèses sur la place de la sexualité dans les modèles de la représentation du monde au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations*, 36 (1981), p. 922-945, here p. 936-937.

<sup>55</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 108-125.

<sup>56</sup> *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by J. D. MANSI, vol.

was that of a monk or regular canon, but even in that capacity, they were never to become the head of their community. According to Frauenknecht, the *Tractatus* was probably written in response to this far-reaching measure; he bases his conclusion on the presence of a very extensive argumentation against this conciliar decree. The author's references to living bishops, whose episcopal consecration was recognized by the pope despite the fact that their fathers had been priests, are linked by Frauenknecht to a letter from Pope Alexander II (1061-1067) about bishop Arnald of Le Mans (1066-1081), dating from the years 1066-1067, in which the new bishop, the son of a priest, was granted dispensation.

On the basis of this argument, Frauenknecht suggests a composition after the Council of Poitiers (15 January 1078) and before the death of the bishop of Le Mans in 1081. With regard to the origin, Frauenknecht on the one hand considers the archdiocese of Tours, and more specifically Tours itself, where in the period in question there was a growing body of opinion in favour of clerical marriage, and where there was a rich collection of canonical texts on which the author could draw. On the other hand, the similarity between the *Tractatus* and the letter of the Cambrai clergy, which we will discuss later, suggested to him a diocese or archdiocese adjacent to Cambrai. In that case, only the dioceses of Amiens, Noyon or Laon, or the archdioceses of Sens and Rouen are possible candidates, according to Frauenknecht.

Since the first edition of the *Tractatus* in 1897, several scholars have situated its origin in the North of France. Ernst Dümmler thought that the work had been written between 1075 and 1080 by an anonymous author *in Gallia septentrionali*, and he was the first to notice an *argumentorum quaedam similitudo* between the treatise and the letter of the Cambrai clergy

20, Graz, 1960, col. 498: "Ut filii presbyterorum et caeteri ex fornicatione nati ad sacros gradus non provehantur, nisi aut monachi fiant, aut in congregatione canonica regulariter viventes". Cf. *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, ed. by C.-J. HEFELE and H. LECLERCQ, Paris, 1912, vol. 5, part 1, p. 230-231.

defending clerical marriage.<sup>57</sup> Heinrich Böhmer, editor of the Cambrai letter and of a letter by the Noyon clergy in the *MGH*, was of the same opinion.<sup>58</sup> He supposed that the treatise, like both letters, had been intended as a pamphlet against the decision taken at the Council of Poitiers on 15 January 1078, and against the rash behaviour of the papal legate Hugh of Die, who presided over this Council. But he went one step further when he identified the *Tractatus* with the letter written by the neighbours (*finitimi*) which urged its readers to react against the new legislation, a summons which the Cambrai canons obeyed, as they themselves claimed. He thought a Norman origin was highly unlikely, since the plentiful Norman sources never once mention protests against married priests, while they are explicitly mentioned in the polemical text. Also Fliche, and Barstow in his wake, though supporters of a Norman origin, noticed the relationship.<sup>59</sup> Frauenknecht too is convinced, and like Böhmer he also sees the *Tractatus* as the appeal to which the Cambrai and Noyon clergy responded, a view with which we wholeheartedly agree.<sup>60</sup>

Because of the manifest relationship between the *Tractatus* and the letters of the Cambrai and Noyon clergy, a short explanation concerning the context and the authors of these sources will be useful, even more so because the dating of these documents has implications for the dating of the *Tractatus*.<sup>61</sup> The letter from the Cambrai clerics (*Cameracenses fratres*)

<sup>57</sup> *Tractatus*, ed. by DÜMLER, p. 587; cf. M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters. Dritter Teil: Vom Ausbruch des Kirchenstreites bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1931 (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 9, 2, 3), p. 54, and SCHIMMELPFENNIG, "Ex fornicatione nati", p. 22, who follows Dümmler.

<sup>58</sup> BÖHMER, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 174-176; *Cameracensium et Noviomensium clericorum epistola*, ed. by H. BÖHMER, Hanover, 1897 (*MGH, Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti*), III, p. 573-578.

<sup>59</sup> FLICHE, *La réforme grégorienne*, p. 20; BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 124-125; cf. also ROBINSON, *Authority and Resistance*, p. 166-167.

<sup>60</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 122-125.

<sup>61</sup> Both letters have been preserved in the same twelfth-century manuscript: Vatican City, *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Reg. lat. 863. The texts have recently been studied and once more edited by FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 241-251. A French translation of the Cambrai letter by Lau-

is addressed to their mother church, the cathedral of Rheims – Cambrai fell under the archdiocese of Rheims – and to all the clerics of the archdiocese of Rheims. The text begins with a reference to the “decree which had long since passed out of use” which had recently (*noviter*) burst forth like a tempest and which had confused them, as well as others.<sup>62</sup> Urged by *finitimorum litteris probabilibus*, a “credible letter from a neighbouring region” or “the wise letter of our neighbors<sup>63</sup>”, to offer resistance, the *Cameracenses* did not tarry before composing a report about the oppression (*oppressio*) they were experiencing. This is followed by a fierce denunciation of the brutality of the ‘Romans’ who do not hesitate to excommunicate metropolitans, to depose bishops and to appoint new ones on their own initiative, to organize councils and to subject everyone to condemnations from abroad (*peregrina iudicia*). Hugh of Langres and Hugh of Die, who are mentioned by name, are blamed. By order of Gregory VII, these two men had organized the Council of Autun (September 1077) and Hugh of Die had also presided over the Council of Poitiers (15 January 1078). This is followed by a criticism of the prohibitions of combining ecclesiastical functions and of ordaining sons of clerics, two decisions taken at the Council of Poitiers, so the preserved *canones* tell us. The generalization of the demand for celibacy to include all clerics is also challenged and refuted by the story of Paphnutius. According to the *Cameracenses*, the only goal of all these reforms is the destruction of the sacraments, and in certain Italian regions (*in quibusdam Italiae partibus*) divine services even no longer take place, which is probably an allusion to the Pataria in Milan. The work ends by lashing out at Bishop Gerard II of Cambrai, who seemed to

rent Morelle can be found in: *Sources*, ed. by Brunel and Lalou, p. 156-159; cf. COWDREY, “Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity”, p. 289.

<sup>62</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 243, l. 5-9: “Inusitati diu decreti noviter intonante procella non minus aliis conturbati et finitimorum litteris probabilibus ad resistendum incitati, nos Cameracenses, quibus pro experimento credendum est, non fuimus pigri eadem vobis rescribere et in his de oppressione nostra quaeque, ut digna videbantur, memoria interserere.”

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Letter of the clergy of Cambrai to their brethren of Reims, translated by John OTT at the EPISCOPUS web site: <http://www.episcopus.org/>.

them to have joined the side of the reformers,<sup>64</sup> and with a reference to the ridicule from laypersons they would be exposed to in the future, and then with a final appeal not to give in to the innovation and to register a written protest.

The authors more than likely were members of the cathedral chapter of Cambrai or of the Cambrai collegiate churches of Sainte-Croix and of Saint-Géry, which maintained close relations with the cathedral chapter.<sup>65</sup> According to E. Van Mingroot, a number of cathedral dignitaries and three of the

<sup>64</sup> Gerard of Lessines was elected bishop of Cambrai in June 1076 and received his investiture in July of that year from Henry IV, who was, however, excommunicated at that time. This caused the bishop-elect to fall foul of the reform-minded party, and archbishop Manasses of Rheims consequently refused to ordain him bishop. In April 1077, Gerard went to Rome where he gave to Gregory VII an account of his investiture and other matters (including the tragic death of Ramihrdus, cf. *infra*). He succeeded in convincing the pope of his innocence. Finally, Gerard was ordained bishop at the Council of Autun (September 1077). Although Gerard II became a enthusiastic monastic reformer, he can hardly be considered a convinced and faithful follower of Rome. J.-F. NIERMEYER, "Koenraad van Utrecht en Gerard II van Kamerijk", in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, II, Antwerp - Utrecht, 1950, p. 55; E. VAN MINGROOT, "Gérard II de Lessines", in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, 20, Paris, 1984, col. 751-755; ID., "'Regni vero Heinrici regis anno ...' Politieke dateringen in de oorkonden van de bisschoppen (1031-1112)", in *In de voetsporen van Jacob van Maerlant. Liber amicorum Raf De Keyser. Verzameling opstellen over middeleeuwse geschiedenis en geschiedenisdidactiek*, ed. by R. BAUER, M. DE SMET, B. MEIJNS and P. TRIO, Louvain, 2002, p. 150-178, who demonstrates that Gerard II, in the *datatio* of his charters, continued to refer to the imperial regnal years throughout most of his episcopacy; ID., "Ramihrdus de Schere, alias Ramihrd d'Esquerchin († 1077)" in *Pascua Mediaevalia. Studies voor prof. dr. J. M. De Smet*, Louvain, 1983 (*Mediaevalia Lovaniensia*, Series I, Studia, 10), p. 75-92 with a precise chronology of the events leading up to Gerard's ordination.

<sup>65</sup> The collegiate church of Sainte-Croix was dependent on the cathedral chapter of Cambrai and its head, a treasurer, recognised the provost of the cathedral chapter as his superior. Cathedral canons often combined their function with a prebend in the collegiate church of Saint-Géry in Cambrai. *Sources*, ed. by BRUNEL and LALOU, p. 157; E. VAN MINGROOT, "Gefaseerde actio en conscriptio in de diplomatische praktijk: drie voorbeelden uit Douai, Cambrai en Soignies (1076-1093)", in *Recht in Geschiedenis. Een bundel bijdragen over rechtsgeschiedenis van de Middeleeuwen tot de hedendaagse tijd: aangeboden aan prof. dr. Fernand Vanbemeltryck*, Louvain, 2006, p. 427-454, especially p. 433-434.

seven archdeacons of the double diocese Cambrai-Arras fit the authors' profiles<sup>66</sup>, namely archdeacon Sigeric of Antwerp, Alard II of Marchiennes<sup>67</sup>, the archdeacon of Arras and/or Ostrevant and Oilbald of Lobbes, the archdeacon of Hainaut.<sup>68</sup> The anti-Gregorian feelings of the archdeacons Alard and Oilbald are also known from other sources.<sup>69</sup> But also the then cathedral scholaster and chancellor Werinbold I, cathedral canon and future archdeacon Radulph and Segard, priest and cathedral canon, as well as dean of the chapter of Saint-Géry in Cambrai, had a son and/or were themselves the sons of a priest or canon. The Cambrai letter's fierce protest against the prohibition to combine offices and against the demand for celibacy perfectly fits the way of life of some of the Cambrai cathedral canons and episcopal dignitaries at that time.

The clerics of Noyon, which also belonged to the archdiocese of Rheims, paid heed to the appeal of their Cambrai colleagues.<sup>70</sup> They, however, focused in their concise answer on

<sup>66</sup> Van Mingroot deduced their position with regard to the Gregorian question from a minute study of their collaboration with regard to the composition of five episcopal charters from the period 1078-1079. Strikingly, three of the archdeacons are almost systematically absent from the lists of witnesses of these charters. When two of the three reappear in the *subscriptions*, it is in a different function, which might indicate that they had been dismissed from their position as archdeacon by the bishop. VAN MINGROOT, "Gefaseerde actio", p. 433.

<sup>67</sup> E. VAN MINGROOT, "De Kamerijkse stichtingsbrief voor de abdij Affligem (*Novum monasterium*, 1086)", *Sacris erudiri. Jaarboek voor godsdienstwetenschappen*, 25 (1980), p. 7-39; ID., "Een decennium uit de geschiedenis van de stad Kamerijk (1092-1102/1103). De voornaamste acteurs", in *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Âge. Mélanges Georges Despy*, ed. by J.-M. DUVOSQUEL and A. DIERKENS, Liège, 1991, p. 713-745; *Les chartes de Gérard I<sup>er</sup>, Liébert et de Gérard II, évêques de Cambrai et d'Arras, comtes du Cambrésis (1012-1092/93)*. Introduction, édition, annotation, ed. by E. VAN MINGROOT, Louvain, 2005 (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia, 35), p. 258.

<sup>68</sup> E. VAN MINGROOT, "De stichtingsoorkonde van de O.-L.-Vrouwepriorij te Aymeries (1088). Diplomatisch onderzoek", *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire. Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, 155 (1989), p. 151-186; *Les chartes*, ed. by VAN MINGROOT, p. 176.

<sup>69</sup> VAN MINGROOT, "Gefaseerde actio", p. 432-433 with references to the sources.

<sup>70</sup> BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 125; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 413; ID., "Pope Gregory VII, and the Chastity", p. 289.

a sophisticated defense of the right of a priest's son to ordination. They deemed the ban on combining offices to be too strict and the authors claimed to know pious priests and deacons, as well as venerable bishops and abbots and even very Christian kings and popes, who had been born from the children of concubines. Even though they still had much more to say to their Cambrai brethren, they preferred to await the return of the excommunicated archbishop Manasses I of Rheims, whose condemnation had, in their view, been overhasty and the result of jealousy. Manasses (c. 1069-1080) was deposed from his office at the Council of Autun (10-17 September 1077) by Hugh of Die.<sup>71</sup> Very soon afterwards, however, Manasses travelled to Rome, where he arrived a few days before Christmas 1077. He stayed in Rome until the Lenten Synod of 1078 (27 February – 3 March), when he was reinstated by the pope after taking an oath. Certainly in June-July 1078, Manasses was back in Rheims.<sup>72</sup> This means that the letter of the Noyon clergy must have been drafted before June-July 1078.<sup>73</sup>

There is, however, no consensus with regard to the precise date of the Cambrai letter, which necessarily predates the letter of the Noyon clergy. There is no doubt that the letter is a response to decisions taken shortly before at a French council, but whether it was the Council of Autun (10-17 September 1077) or that of Poitiers (15 January 1078) remains uncertain. The situation was made even more complex by the fact that *canones* have been preserved only for the Council of Poitiers.<sup>74</sup> Böhmer favours a composition shortly after the Council of Poitiers and proposes February 1078, also for the letter of the

<sup>71</sup> J. WILLIAMS, "Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII", *American Historical Review*, 54 (1949), p. 804-824; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 362-364 and 379-382; P. DEMOUY, *Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Langres, 2005, p. 375-391 and 611-614.

<sup>72</sup> It is not impossible that Manasses was temporarily back in Rheims between the middle of April and c. the middle of May. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 381.

<sup>73</sup> COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 362-363 and p. 412 who situates the composition before his return in "late spring 1078".

<sup>74</sup> *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 230-231.



Noyon *clerici*.<sup>75</sup> Barstow, Robinson and Frauenknecht agree with this.<sup>76</sup> Cowdrey, on the other hand, suggests in his biography of Gregory VII that both the Cambrai letter and the letter to which the Cambrai clergy reacted – not identified as the *Tractatus* by him – more than likely were a response to the Council of Autun in September 1077.<sup>77</sup> He bases his conclusion on six plausible arguments.<sup>78</sup>

Returning to the close relationship between the *Tractatus* and the letters of the Cambrai and Noyon clergy, we might for the moment conclude that the *Tractatus* was composed either soon after the Council of Autun (10-17 September 1077) or immediately after the Council of Poitiers (15 January 1078). The summer (June-July) of 1078, the time of Manasses' return to Rheims, can serve as a *terminus ante quem*. In our view, the key to finding its geographical origin is to be found in the Cambrai letter, which can with some degree of certainty be seen as an answer to the appeal in the *Tractatus*. As has been mentioned before, the Cambrai canons seemed to think that this text had originated in a neighbouring region (*finitorum litteris probabilibus*). Frauenknecht considered the dioceses of Amiens, Noyon or Laon, but finally preferred a neighbouring archdiocese. We would rather tend to situate the *Tractatus*' composition within the archdiocese of Rheims itself. Indeed, it seems far more probable that the cathedral canons of the

<sup>75</sup> *Cameracensium et Noviomensium clericorum epistolae*, ed. by BÖHMER, p. 574; cf. also MIRBT, *Die Publizistik*, p. 302-304, who is of the opinion that the *finitorum litteris probabilibus* came from the diocese of Rheims.

<sup>76</sup> BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 124; ROBINSON, *Authority and Resistance*, p. 166; FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 121.

<sup>77</sup> COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 412: "A reference to Autun, rather than to Boehmer's suggestion of Poitiers in Jan. 1078, is virtually certain."

<sup>78</sup> The references to the *canones* might, according to Cowdrey, just as well apply to the lost *canones* of Autun. The reference to a recent (*noviter*) decree and to the fact that the author was not familiar with Hugh of Die (*Diensem, ut dicunt, episcopum, cuius praeter nomen nulla est nobis cognitio*) rather point towards the former council. Moreover, only in Autun did Hugh of Langres and Hugh of Die jointly preside over the council and the reference to the deposition and appointment of bishops applies better to Autun. Finally, a composition after the Council of Autun also allows more time for writing the series of protest letters. Consequently, Cowdrey dated the Cambrai letter to the end of 1077. COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 362-363.

sees of Cambrai and Noyon heeded a call from a neighbouring diocese also obedient to Rheims than an appeal from another archdiocese with which contacts were usually less frequent. In all previous investigations, it has been completely overlooked that, at the time, the diocese of Cambrai was a double diocese. This remained the case until 1093, when the southeastern part of the double diocese, with Arras as its cathedral town, was established as the autonomous diocese of Arras.<sup>79</sup> If we focus on this double diocese Cambrai-Arras, then the neighbouring dioceses not only include the dioceses of Amiens, Noyon-Tournai and Laon, but also the vast diocese of Thérouanne, situated along the coast. The diocese of Thérouanne, the northern half of which politically belonged to the county of Flanders and the western and southern parts to the counties of Guînes, Boulogne, Saint-Pol and Hesdin, in our view provides a suitable context of origin for the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* in more ways than one.

It is suprising that the turbulent history of the diocese of Thérouanne – even though several older and more recent works offer us information about it<sup>80</sup> – has hardly ever been associated with the *Tractatus*.<sup>81</sup> Until now, only two authors,

<sup>79</sup> Cf. L. KÉRY, *Die Errichtung des Bistums Arras. 1093/1094*, Sigmaringen, 1994 (Beihefte der Francia, 33).

<sup>80</sup> A. GIRY, “Grégoire VII et les évêques de Thérouanne”, *Revue historique*, 1 (1876), p. 387-409; H. VAN WERVEKE, *Het Bisdom Terwaan van den oorsprong tot het begin van de veertiende eeuw*, Ghent, 1924 (Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l’Université de Gand, 52), p. 45-48; C. VERLINDEN, *Robert I<sup>er</sup> le Frison, comte de Flandre. Étude d’histoire politique*, Antwerp - Paris - The Hague, 1925 (Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 72), p. 119-124; É. DE MOREAU, *Histoire de l’Église en Belgique*, Brussels, 1945-1952, vol. 2, p. 65-68; N. HUYGHEBAERT, “Un légat de Grégoire VII en France: Warmond de Vienne”, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 30 (1944-1945), p. 187-200; C. DE REINE, “Gérard, évêque de Thérouanne (1083-1096), face aux moines exempts. Le cas des prieurés de Nieppe, Andres et Framécourt”, *Mémoires de la Société d’histoire de Comines-Warneton et de la région*, 10 (1980), p. 249-262; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 345-348 and 410-413; O. MÜNSCH, “Ein Streitschriftfragment zur Simonie”, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 62, 2 (2006), p. 619-629.

<sup>81</sup> W. WATTENBACH and R. HOLTZMANN, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter. Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier. Zweiter Teil. Das Zeitalter des Investi-*

H. E. J. Cowdrey and J. M. De Smet, have suggested a possible origin of the polemical text in this region, and the former merely mentioned the possibility in passing,<sup>82</sup> while the latter was firmly convinced that the *Tractatus* was written by archdeacon Hubert of Théroutanne between the Lenten Synod of 1074 and the Synod of Montreuil (Summer 1076), but made this identification only in an unpublished MA thesis from 1943.<sup>83</sup> According to De Smet, the *Tractatus* could not possibly have originated in Italy, Gaul or Normandy – all of which regions are explicitly mentioned in the source – since this would have lessened the impact of the argument, and he also rejected the “identité parfaite” between the *canones* of Lisieux and the content of the *Tractatus*.<sup>84</sup> Following Böhmer, who had proposed a Northern French origin, De Smet decided on the diocese of Théroutanne, after a description of the ‘moral crisis’ preceding the episcopacy of the reform-minded bishop John of Théroutanne. His study of the history of this diocese in the last quarter of the eleventh century, mainly on the basis of the *Register* of Gregory VII and, to a lesser extent, of the foundation chronicle of Watten, led him to archdeacon and later bishop Hubert, whose way of acting and character De Smet felt to be in keeping with those of the author of the *Tractatus*.<sup>85</sup>

*turstreits* (1050-1125), Darmstadt, 1978, p. 772 indicated Picardy as a possible context of origin.

<sup>82</sup> COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 412: “The circle at Cambrai did not initiate the chain of letters which is thus illustrated but amplified a letter from an unnamed neighbouring region, perhaps Flanders, which sought resistance to a recent and novel decree as promulgated by papal legates, probably at Autun.” However, Cowdrey did not identify this ‘letter’ with the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*.

<sup>83</sup> DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 37-58.

<sup>84</sup> DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 39-41, where he noticed that when mentioning those countries, the author did so in a certain order, from far-off to nearby, and he also noticed that more themes are dealt with in the polemical writing than in the *canones* of Lisieux. The *Tractatus* furthermore used the term *mulier subintroducenda* which it borrows from the Nicene Council, and not *mulier introducenda* which is found in the *canones* of Lisieux. Moreover, Lisieux said that priests who had married before 1063 could keep their wives, a measure which is not mentioned at all in the *Tractatus*.

<sup>85</sup> De Smet only offers a very succinct analysis of the contents of this po-

Although I had a different starting point than De Smet, I nevertheless reached a similar conclusion. The reference to the *finitorum litteris probabilibus* in the Cambrai letter, but mainly the textual and other parallels between the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* and the *Exordium Guatinensis ecclesiae*<sup>86</sup> – the foundation chronicle of Watten priory – led me to believe that the polemical work originated in Théroutanne around the end of the 1070s. The existing research into the history of the diocese of Théroutanne in the last quarter of the eleventh century has not yet sufficiently focused on the role of the priory of regular canons in Watten, halfway between Saint-Omer and the coast. More or less contemporaneous sources, however, suggest that Watten made an important contribution to the dissemination of the Gregorian Reform in this conservative diocese. By doing so, the canons of Watten clashed with the wary clergy, a conflict which was described in detail in the foundation chronicle of the priory, written by a local canon in the closing years of the eleventh century. Even though the *Exordium* and the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* reflect two radically opposed points of view within the controversy, there are some remarkable similarities. These similarities, together with the broader history of the introduction of clerical celibacy in Théroutanne, led us to suspect that the *Tractatus* may well have originated in Théroutanne at the end of 1077 or the beginning of 1078. Anyone studying the history of Théroutanne at that time must take a closer look at the figure of Archdeacon Hubert. In what follows, I will first deal with the observance of the Gregorian legislation in Théroutanne during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Next, I will succinctly discuss the conflict between the *Guatinenses* and the Théroutanne clergy, and then move on to the similarities between the *Exordium* and the *Tractatus*. Finally, the question of authorship will be raised.

lemical writing (p. 48-51). He was also clearly unaware of the close relationship between the *Tractatus* and the Cambrai and Noyon letters, since he only mentioned that the Cambrai letter made use of the *Tractatus* (p. 42).

<sup>86</sup> *Chronica monasterii Watinensis*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, Hanover, 1883 (MGH, SS, 14), p. 161-175.

4. *The observance of the Gregorian legislation in the diocese of Thérouanne during the last quarter of the eleventh century*

The correspondence of Gregory VII supplies us with interesting clues concerning the enforcement of clerical chastity. The pope was briefed in detail about the situation in Flanders by Ingelrannus, a secular canon of the chapter of Our Lady in Saint-Omer.<sup>87</sup> It appears from several letters that Ingelrannus commuted between Flanders and the papal court. As a *fidelis* of Gregory VII, Ingelrannus was a devoted Gregorian, and one might assume that he contributed to propagate the reform decrees in Flemish ecclesiastical circles, apart from the more institutionalized channels of councils or synods or the presence of official papal legates. Two letters written by Gregory VII on 10 November 1076 in Rome tell us that at the end of 1076, more than two years after the Lenten Synod of 1074, the situation still left much to be desired. A letter was addressed to Adela, countess dowager, and another to her son, Robert I of Flanders. This double approach betrays concern for the seriousness of the situation and probably some hope that the pious countess dowager would press her son to implement the papal exhortations with urgency.

The pope had learnt – no doubt from Ingelrannus – that in Flanders, priests and other clerics still celebrated masses while living unchaste lives.<sup>88</sup> There was also uncertainty among the faithful about what was and what was not allowed. In the let-

<sup>87</sup> GIRY, “Grégoire VII et les évêques de Thérouane”, p. 387-409; HUYGHEBAERT, “Un légat de Grégoire VII”, p. 195; VERLINDEN, *Robert I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 116-122; DE MOREAU, *Histoire de l’Église*, vol. 2, p. 65; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 345-348.

<sup>88</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 219-220, no. 4.10 (to Adela): “It has come to our ears that certain of your people are uncertain whether or not priests and deacons or others who minister at the sacred altars and who persist in fornication should do duty at mass”; *Op. cit.*, p. 220-221, no. 4.11 (to count Robert in a more explicit language): “It has come to the apostolic see that in the land under your rule those who are called priests but are given over to fornication have no shame when singing mass to handle the body and blood of Christ, not heeding what madness or what crime it is at one and the same time to touch the body of a harlot and the body of Christ”. COWDREY, “Pope Gregory VII and the Chastity”, p. 279.

ter to Adela, the pope clarified that unchaste clerics were not to officiate at mass, but were to be driven from the church until they changed their ways. Adela was urged to shun all contact with such clerics and to look for chaste clerics to take their place. In this context, he warned Adela against the nefarious influence of Archdeacon Hubert of Théroutanne: "Such persons having been altogether been driven far from all positions in the church, you should neither pay attention to the words (*verba*) of archdeacon Hubert nor approve of any of his sayings (*sermones*), because, as I have heard, he has fallen into heresy by his wicked disputations (*pravis contentationibus*) and has been publicly found guilty at Montreuil by Hubert, the legate of this holy Roman see".<sup>89</sup> At this point, it is unclear which 'heretical' ideas Hubert had expressed in words and sermons, and for which he had been condemned by the Council of Montreuil (summer of 1076).<sup>90</sup> Simoniacal acts were usually referred to as *heresis*, but also unchaste clerics might occasionally be described as such.<sup>91</sup> In any case, there is no doubt that the Théroutanne archdeacon was diametrically opposed to the reforming ideas and made no secret of his opinions.

Count Robert was also admonished to take action against unchaste priests and he was furthermore sternly warned against bishops who committed the sin of simony. Since these "enemies of Christ" refused to obey the apostolic see, the count of Flanders was no longer obliged to show obedience towards them.<sup>92</sup> At the end, the count was advised to reread the papal letter from time to time "with our common faithful follower Ingelrannus, who has for long stayed with us in the sacred palace, or with other lovers of truth".<sup>93</sup> The reference to "other lovers of truth" (*cum aliis veritatis amatoribus*)<sup>94</sup> refers

<sup>89</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 220, no. 4.10.

<sup>90</sup> COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 372.

<sup>91</sup> BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 57; according to Peter Damian clerical marriage was heresy. BRUNDAGE, *Law, Sex and Christian Society*, p. 216; cf. FORNASARI, *Celibato sacerdotale*, especially p. 47-56.

<sup>92</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 220-221, no. 4.11.

<sup>93</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 221, no. 4.11.

<sup>94</sup> *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. by E. CASPAR, Berlin - Dublin - Zurich, 1967, p. 311, no. IV, 11.

to other adherents of the Gregorian Reform in the count's entourage. In his letter to the count, the pope did not mention any simoniacal bishops by name, but both the bishop of Noyon-Tournai and his colleague of Thérouanne had been accused of simony previously.<sup>95</sup> Under threat of a public investigation, Bishop Radbod of Noyon-Tournai admitted to simony at the Council of Autun, and after having promised to abdicate, he was referred to the Holy See by Hugh of Die at the Council of Poitiers.<sup>96</sup> Radbod, however, reconciled himself with Gregory VII before 1083 and resumed his duties. At the Council of Poitiers, Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne was suspended from office by Hugh of Die. Some months afterwards, on 21 August 1078, the old Drogo died.<sup>97</sup> His three successors, Hubert (1078-1081), Lambert (1081-1082) and Gerard (1084-1099), were all accused of simony and either deposed or driven from office.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> In a charter of Gregory VII to the chapter of Our Lady of Saint-Omer, dated 25 March 1076, Drogo is accused of simony because he had asked to be paid "for administering the Holy Oil". *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII*, ed. by L. SANTIFALLER, Vatican City, 1974 (Studi et Testi, 190), p. 110-113, no. 114.

<sup>96</sup> In a letter from Gregory VII to archbishop Manasses I dated 5 March 1075, Bishop Radbod of Noyon-Tournai was accused of having taken the Bruges church of Our Lady *absque ullo canonico iudicio* from the Utrecht canons, and, *quod gravius est et omnino illicitum*, to have sold it to a cleric. *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. by CASPAR, p. 211-212; *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 152, no. 2.58; *Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, col. 488; *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 224; E. DE MOREAU, "La légende de la mort tragique de Radbod II, évêque de Noyon-Tournai", *Annales de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique. Congrès de Namur*, (1938), p. 245-249; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 378; B. MEIJNS, "Een 'valse start' en een omstreden erfenis uit het verleden. De bewogen ontstaansgeschiedenis van het kapittel (1091 - einde 12de eeuw)", in *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk te Brugge. Kunst & Geschiedenis*, Bruges, 1997, p. 19-50, here p. 25-28.

<sup>97</sup> Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims had sent a letter to Gregory VII after the Council of Poitiers to ask him to restore Drogo to office, who was at death's door because of his advanced age. The letter was preserved in Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Hanover, 1848 (reprint: Stuttgart - New York, 1968) (*MGH*, SS, 8), p. 420. It is unclear whether Drogo was still suspended from office at the time of his death.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the literature mentioned in note 80.

Two years later, on 25 November 1078, Gregory VII wrote two letters in Rome for both of which Ingelrannus served as an informant.<sup>99</sup> They concerned a property dispute between the chapter of Our Lady of Saint-Omer, Ingelrannus' community, and the comital chapter of Saint-Pol in the south of the diocese of Thérouanne; at stake was the *villa* of Quesques. The canons of Saint-Omer accused Archdeacon Hubert, the counts of Saint-Pol and their canons of having stolen this domain. Even though the case had been brought up at several provincial synods and also at the Council of Poitiers in the presence of Hugh of Die, the matter had still not been resolved. The papal letters were intended to settle the matter once and for all, on pain of excommunication. In this context, it is interesting to notice that Gregory VII had his salutation and apostolic blessing depend on the willingness of the recipients of the letter to obey.<sup>100</sup>

However, the words of the pope made no lasting impression, witness a new letter dated 26 March 1080 this time addressed to Hubert, who had meanwhile been elected bishop of Thérouanne.<sup>101</sup> The papal salutation and blessing were ostentatiously withheld and this for three reasons. Indeed, the pope had read in his *Register* (probably in his letter to Adela of 10 November 1076), that Hubert had been publicly found guilty of heresy in Montreuil, and before he could purge himself of this conviction, he had compounded it by being elected bishop of Thérouanne by means of simony. Finally, there was the drawn-out conflict with the canons of Saint-Omer regarding the *villa* of Quesques, which was still unresolved. Because

<sup>99</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 287-288, no. 6.8 and p. 288, no. 6.9. At that time, Ingelrannus was staying in Rome with some of his fellow canons from Saint-Omer, probably on the occasion of the Autumn Synod of (November) 1078.

<sup>100</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 287, no. 6.7: "Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Hubert and to the clerks and counts of the castle of Saint-Pol, Guy and Hugh, greeting and apostolic blessing, if they shall be obedient." and *ibidem*, p. 288, no. 6.9: "Gregory ... to the archdeacons of the church of Thérouanne, Arnulf and Hubert, and to the canons, if they shall live canonically, greeting and apostolic blessing."

<sup>101</sup> *Das Register Gregors VII*, ed. by CASPAR, p. 489-491, no. VII, 16; *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 346-347, no. 7.16.



of this, Hubert had been excommunicated and now the pope had heard that he nevertheless continued to celebrate mass as if nothing had happened. Moreover, the new bishop displayed no willingness whatsoever to answer for his conduct toward Hugh of Die. In fact, Gregory VII concluded, he should have been deposed long ago for disobedience, but with this letter he intended to give Hubert another chance, and he urged him to make amends if Hugh of Die should appeal to him to do so. Moreover, Gregory VII forbade the canons of Saint-Omer, who shunned all contact with their simoniacal bishop because he ignored the apostolic decrees, to obey Hubert as long as the matter had not been fully dealt with.<sup>102</sup> The same applied to all who knew about the disobedience and the simoniacal character of the bishop of Théroutanne.

Finally, there is a fourth letter, without date, written by Gregory VII to bishop Hubert, which should probably be dated after the letter of 26 March 1080. Salutation and blessing will no longer be withheld from Hubert, at least, "if he does not knowingly resist the decrees of the apostolic see".<sup>103</sup> What follows closely relates to the letters of 10 November 1076: "A cry and complaint of the sons of your church has

<sup>102</sup> "Canonicis S<sup>ti</sup>-Audomari qui tibi communicare ausi non fuerunt, pro eo quod te inobedientem apostolicis preceptis viderunt, et per pecuniam ordinatum episcopum dictum, usque ad tuam finitam causam tibi obedire prohibuimus; et non solum eis, sed etiam omnibus idipsum de te scientibus, quia symoniaci et apostolicis preceptis inobedienti nullus debet obedire." These sentences are not mentioned in the editions of this letter by Caspar and Cowdrey, but they are present in Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération, no. 188, fol. 87r. and were published in H. V. MICHELANT [and T. DUCHET], *Manuscripts de la bibliothèque de Saint-Omer*, [Saint-Omer, 1873] (Société des antiquaires de la Morinie), p. 14 of the "Additions et corrections". My sincere thanks to Jean-Charles Bédague (École Nationale des Chartes, Paris) for alerting us to the presence of papal letters in this manuscript and for the precise references. The manuscript, which contains the letters of Pope Gregory the Great and the *Acta beatorum pontificum urbis Romæ*, also contains six letters of Gregory VII concerning Théroutanne. Mr. Bédague is currently preparing an edition of the six papal letters in his thesis at the École Nationale des Chartes.

<sup>103</sup> *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. and translated by H. E. J. COWDREY, Oxford, 1972, p. 102-103, no. 41.

reached our ears that, contrary to our own decrees and those of the holy fathers, you have been consenting to fornication by the clergy and that in addition you forbid baptism to the children, and burial to the dead, of those who will not tolerate such an iniquity.” Hubert was urged to obey the stipulations of the Holy See on this subject, and he was told to come to the Roman Lenten Synod of 1081 (21 January – 7 February) to account for his actions. It is highly unlikely that Hubert would indeed have gone to Rome. After an attempt on his life, he retreated to the abbey of Saint-Bertin in 1081.<sup>104</sup> He died in the priory of Saint-Momelin, situated in the marshes halfway between Saint-Omer and Watten, during the abbacy of Lambert of Saint-Bertin (1095-1123).<sup>105</sup>

Nicolaitism is mentioned in none of Gregory VII's many letters *ad flandrenses* in the years 1082-1083 regarding the conflict between some of the clergy of Théroutanne and the new bishop Lambert, who had been promoted by count Robert I by both violence and simony.<sup>106</sup> And yet, a decade later, clerical celibacy still presented a problem in the diocese of

<sup>104</sup> Simon of Saint Bertin, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, ed. by O. HOLDER-EGGER, Hanover, 1881 (reprint: Stuttgart - New York, 1963) (MGH, SS, 13), p. 641, § 25 l. 31-35 tells us that abbot John, who succeeded in 1081 to the deceased abbot Heribert of Saint-Bertin, was ordained by bishop Gerard II of Cambrai because, at that time, there was no bishop of Théroutanne – *nescio quo discidio* – and temporary authority over the diocese of Théroutanne had been entrusted to Gerard (about whom the Cambrai canons complained in their letter, because of his reform-mindedness).

<sup>105</sup> Simon of Saint Bertin, *Gesta abbatum*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 646, § 52 l. 21. Lambert's predecessor, John, died on 4 March 1095 and the next day Lambert was elected the new abbot by the community. He abdicated in 1123. Cf. H. DE LAPLANE, *Les abbés de Saint-Bertin, d'après les anciens monuments de ce monastère*, Saint-Omer, 1854-1855 (Société des antiquaires de la Morinie), vol. 1, p. 165-200. The precise date of the demise of Hubert is not known. According to the *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 10, Paris, 1751, col. 1540 he died on 15 September. So the first possible date of death is 15 September 1095. Since Hubert must have been of a very advanced age at that time (cf. *infra*) it would be logical to assume that his death occurred around that time. On Saint-Momelin: A. DERVILLE, “Le marais de Saint-Omer”, *Revue du Nord*, 62 (1980), p. 73-95 (with maps).

<sup>106</sup> *Epistolae Vagantes*, ed. and transl. by COWDREY, p. 108-115, nos. 45, 46 and 47; *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 413, no. 9.13, p. 431, no. 9.31,

Théroutanne and in other dioceses of the archdiocese of Rheims. This becomes clear from a letter of Archbishop Manasses II of Rheims to Count Robert II, son of and successor to Robert I.<sup>107</sup> The archbishop had broached the subject of married priests at a synod in Saint-Omer, on 14 July 1099, and without asking for the opinion of his suffragan bishops he had ordered the count of Flanders to arrest all the wives of priests who refused to leave their husbands, after having been excommunicated.<sup>108</sup> This measure, however, had elicited much protest among the suffragan bishops. They felt passed over and they pointed out to the archbishop that his authority in this matter only reached as far as his own diocese, not theirs. Consequently, Manasses II urged the Flemish count to leave the priests, other clerics and their wives in peace, unless he had the explicit support of the bishop in whose diocese the events had occurred. The bishops were exhorted to deal in their synods in the very strictest way (*acerrime*) with married priests and clerics; if these refused to obey, the Flemish count was to be involved to solve the problem. Even Pope Paschal II (1099-† 1118) could direct a letter to the clergy of Théroutanne, on 14 November of a year somewhere between 1100 and 1115<sup>109</sup> – thus during the episcopacy of the very

p. 433-441, nos. 9.33, 9.34, 9.35 and 9.36. For the literature concerning this conflict: cf. notes 80 and 186.

<sup>107</sup> *Epistolae Lamberti episcopi Atrebatensis et aliorum ad ipsum*, ed. by J.-P. MIGNE, Paris, 1854 (*PL*, 162), cols. 670-671; *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 464-465; BARSTOW, *Married Priests*, p. 100 and 231; DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 57, who dates this letter in 1101.

<sup>108</sup> *Epistolae Lamberti*, ed. by MIGNE, col. 670: "Caeterum cum de ecclesiasticis utilitatibus et negotiis apud sanctum Audomarum nobiscum una cum coepiscopis nostris sermonem habuissemus, de conjugatis presbyteris et caeteris ecclesiastici ordinibus mentionem fecisse nos meminimus, absque consensu consilioque eorundem coepiscoporum nostrorum conjuges eorum, nisi ab huiusmodi consortio declinarent, vobis caeterisque principibus vestris capiendas post factam excommunicationem exponentes."

<sup>109</sup> *Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. by P. JAFFÉ, W. WATTENBACH and S. LOEWENFELD, Graz, 1956, p. 756 no. 6437 (4760); DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 57, who dates the letter in the first year of the episcopacy of John of Warnefont (17 July 1099-16 July 1100).

reform-minded Bishop John of Thérouanne (1099-† 1130) – in which he expresses his astonishment to learn that, even after so many pontifical and conciliar decrees, there were still clerics in the diocese of Thérouanne who dared publicly consort with women.<sup>110</sup> Others did so in secret, out of fear. All those who would continue to do so had to be deposed from their office and benefices, after a warning from their bishop.

It should be mentioned, however, that the diocese of Thérouanne was not an exception as far as the deficient observance of the reform decrees about celibacy was concerned. Indeed, the aforementioned letters of the clergy of Cambrai and Noyon from the start of 1078 already demonstrated how also in these dioceses this new legislation was the object of contestation. That feelings could run high and that physical violence against reform preachers was not ruled out, is proven by the death of the popular preacher Ramihrdus of Esquerchin, a little village near Douai in the diocese of Cambrai-Arras.<sup>111</sup> Ramihrdus had fulminated against simoniacal and unchaste clerics and had gathered around him a considerable group of followers, mostly commoners. This had seriously alarmed bishop-elect Gerard II of Cambrai-Arras. During an investigation by the episcopal court in Cambrai, Ramihrdus

<sup>110</sup> *Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, col. 1024: “Gravem valde rem ex partibus vestris audivimus: quia post tanta sanctorum decreta pontificum, post interdicta conciliorum, clericalis ordinis viri, qui audent, publice; qui non audent, occulte mulieribus sociantur. ... Nos quoque ejusdem prædecessoris nostri sententiæ consonantes, per præsentia scripta præcipimus, ut quicumque inter vos clerici ab episcopo suo canonice admoniti, ab hujusmodi nequitia cessare noluerint, tam officiorum quam beneficiorum privatione plectantur.”

<sup>111</sup> *Chronicon S. Andreae castri Cameracesii*, ed. by L. C. BETHMANN, Hanover, 1846 (MGH, SS, 7), p. 540, liber III § 3; VAN MINGROOT, “Ramihrdus de Schere”, p. 75-92; MOORE, “Family, Community and Cult”, p. 59; DEREINE, “Les prédicateurs apostoliques dans les diocèses de Thérouanne, Tournai et Cambrai-Arras durant les années 1075-1125”, *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 54 (1983), p. 171-189, here p. 172-173; P. G. JESTICE, *Wayward Monks and the Religious Revolution of the Eleventh Century*, Leiden - New York - Cologne, 1997, p. 279-280; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 360 and 411; On the geo-political history of Douai at that time: VAN MINGROOT, “Regni vero”, p. 163 and 177; *Les chartes*, ed. by VAN MINGROOT, p. 194, with references to the specific literature.

had first answered all questions according to orthodoxy, but when asked to prove his orthodoxy, he then categorically refused to receive the Eucharist from the hands of the abbots and priests present there, even from the hands of the bishop, because according to him all of them had been tainted by simony. This had created much consternation among those present, who saw in him the leader of a heretical movement (*heresiarcha*). After the dissolution of the court, some of the episcopal servants had dragged Ramihrdus off and had locked him in a little cabin, which they then set fire to. The news of the tragic death of this popular preacher at the end of January 1077 in Cambrai must have reached Gregory VII very quickly. On 25 March 1077, a letter was drafted in Bianello in Northern Italy, in which Gregory VII ordered the bishop of Paris to instigate a full investigation into this murder, which had shocked him, and to find and punish the perpetrators and their accomplices.<sup>112</sup> The pope's concern is understandable. Only on 10 November 1076, he had urged Adela, countess dowager, and her son, Count Robert I, to deal with the married clerics in their territory, and had warned them against simoniacal bishops; just a few months later, he learned that the first martyr in the battle against nicolaitism and simony had fallen.

##### 5. *A papal ally in battle : the regular canons of Watten*

On 28 April 1077, a month after his letter about the death of Ramihrdus, the pope had a solemn privilege composed in the abbey of Nonantola near Modena, directed to the only community of regular canons in the diocese of Théroutane at that time. The bull was addressed to Prior Odfrid and to the brethren of the Watten community.<sup>113</sup> At Odfrid's request,

<sup>112</sup> *Das Register*, ed. by CASPAR, vol. 1, p. 326-329, no. IV, 20; *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 230-232, no. 4.20.

<sup>113</sup> On the foundation of the priory of Watten: DEREINE, "Les prédicateurs apostoliques", p. 173-175; C. DEREINE, "Étude critique des chartes accordées par Robert I (1072) et Robert II (1093) de Flandre à l'abbaye de Watten", *Revue bénédictine*, 93 (1983), p. 80-107, especially p. 80; B. MEIJNS,

the community was placed under apostolic protection. The pope declared its present and future property inviolable, proclaimed the free election of the abbot, granted the community immunity from the secular powers, and confirmed the *vita communis*. So far, the usual contents of a privilege of apostolic protection. Gregory VII, however, went further and also granted provost Odfrid and his community some specific privileges. In his promulgation of the prohibition of perturbing the community in the first *dispositio*, he stipulated that the community at Watten had been established as “a last refuge and a place of consolation and support for any believer whomsoever”.<sup>114</sup> In the last disposition, Gregory VII granted Prior Odfrid of Watten and his successors the *postestas ligandi atque solvendi* and the *licentia praedicandi*.<sup>115</sup> In exchange, he desired that his *memoria* be celebrated daily.

“De *pauperes Christi* van Watten. De moeizame beginjaren van de eerste gemeenschap van reguliere kanunniken in Vlaanderen (vóór 1072- ca. 1100)”, *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 3 (2000), p. 44-91; Id., “*Inaudita novitas canonici ordinis*. L'accueil des idées de réforme canoniale dans les milieux canoniaux du comté de Flandre pendant le dernier quart du onzième siècle”, *Revue Mabillon. International Review of the Ecclesiastical History and Literature, Nouvelle série*, 18 (2007), p. 39-71, here p. 49-57.

<sup>114</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, ed. by SANTIFALLER, p. 142-144 no. 136, here p. 143: “Primum quidem, ut locus ille in Dei seruicio ad refugium et solacium ac sustentacionem quorumcumque fidelium constitutus in sua stabilitate permaneat nec ulli unquam potestati seculari aut ecclesiastice eum destruere uel incrementum, edificacionem et munitionem illius contradicere aut prohibere liceat”. Cf. J. RAMACKERS, “Analekten zur Geschichte des Papsttums im 11. Jahrhundert”, *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 25 (1933-1934), p. 46-61, here p. 56-60.

<sup>115</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, ed. by SANTIFALLER, p. 144: “Qua de causa hoc libertatis donatium sub nomine dotis concedimus et perhenniter confirmamus ex parte Jesu Christi domini nostri sanctique Petri apostoli ac nostri uidelicet omnes prepositos illius loci habere potestatem ligandi atque soluendi ac ubique uerbum Dei predicandi ..”; BLUMENTHAL, *Gregor VII.*, p. 329; cf. B. MEIJNS, “*Without were fightings, within were fears*. Pope Gregory VII, the Canons Regular at Watten and the Reform of the Church in the Diocese of Théroutanne”, in *Law and Power in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the Fourth Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal History 2007*, ed. by P. ANDERSEN, H. VOGT and M. MÜNSTER-SWENDSEN, Copenhagen, 2008, p. 73-96.

A look at the charters issued by Gregory VII shows us that he also explicitly granted the status of *refugium* to the abbeys of Saint-Victor in Marseille (1081) and of San Salvatore in Fucecchio in the Italian diocese of Lucca (1085).<sup>116</sup> Both monasteries were important centres for the propagation of Gregorian ideas and the monks were deployed by the pope as agents of reform.<sup>117</sup> The Watten charter, however, is the only known document in which Gregory VII granted the *licentia praedicandi* and the *potestas ligandi atque solvendi*. The power of binding and loosing, the power given by Christ to his apostles according to the Gospel of Matthew (Matth. 16, 13-20 and 18, 18), refers to the sacrament of penance and it implies the power to retain sin ('binding' of a sinner in his alienation of God and God's people) and to forgive sin ('loosing' of a sinner providing he repents).<sup>118</sup> However, more specifically, the ministry of binding and loosing refers to the power to excommunicate, to exclude grave sinners from the community and the Eucharist, and to the power to absolve from excommunication and to restore sinners to the community of salvation, if they undergo conversion.<sup>119</sup> As direct heirs to the apostles, the

<sup>116</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, ed. by SANTIFALLER, p. 234-237, here p. 237 (Marseille) and p. 265-267 (Fucecchio); BLUMENTHAL, *Gregor VII.*, p. 329; cf. B. MEIJNS, "Hirsau dans la plaine côtière flamande? Les *Guatineses*, les évêques de Thérouanne et la réforme de l'église sous Grégoire VII", in *La ville et le diocèse de Thérouanne au Moyen Âge. Actes de la journée d'études tenue à Lille le 3 mai 2007*, ed. by J. RIDER and B.-M. TOCK, forthcoming.

<sup>117</sup> E. MAGNANI SOARES-CHRISTEN, "Saint-Victor de Marseille, Cluny et la politique de Grégoire VII au Nord-Ouest de la Méditerranée", in *Die Cluniacenser in ihrem politisch-sozialen Umfeld*, ed. by G. CONSTABLE, G. MELVILLE and J. OBERSTE, Munster, 1988 (*Vita Regularis: Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, 7), p. 321-347; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 307 and p. 659-673.

<sup>118</sup> J. DALLEN, "Penance, Sacrament of", in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 11 (2003) p. 66-72; G. LE BRAS, *Institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale*, Paris, 1964 (*Histoire de l'Église*, 12), p. 366-367.

<sup>119</sup> P. HUIZING, "Excommunication", in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, IV-2, Paris, 1961, cols. 1866-1870; K. HEIN, *Eucharist and Excommunication. A Study in Early Doctrine and Discipline*, Bern, 1975, 2nd edition (*European University Papers, Reihe XXIII*, vol. 19), p. 75-76; F. A. SULLIVAN, "Binding and Loosing", in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition, 2 (2003), p. 398-399; F. X. LAWLOR, "Excommunication, history", in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd Edition, 5 (2003), p. 504-506.

bishops of the Early Church obtained the authority to absolve penitents as well as the power to spread the Word of God. During the Early Middle Ages they entrusted their diocesan clergy with these duties. Both powers were part of the *cura animarum* and were closely connected, since preaching was meant to incite the hearer to repent of his or her sins.<sup>120</sup>

Gregory VII is considered to be the first pope to license public preachers<sup>121</sup> but this opinion is based on the twelfth-century *Exordium seu fundatio monasterii Haffligeniensis*. This work mentions how Wederic, a priest and a monk of the abbey of Saint Peter in Ghent, would have received the *licentia praedicandi* from Gregory VII.<sup>122</sup> In the case of Watten, we possess the pontifical privilege itself conferring the authority to preach. There are, however, no other contemporaneous examples known of persons to whom Gregory VII granted the *potestas ligandi atque solvendi*. There was, of course, Bernold of Constance († 1100), a monk of the German Benedictine abbey of St. Blasien and later Schaffhausen, and a fervent supporter of the Gregorian cause, who upon his priestly ordination in 1084 received from Cardinal Odo of Ostia, the future Pope Urban II, the power to reconcile penitents (*ad suscipiendos penitentes*).<sup>123</sup> Bernold's authority encompassed the reconciliation

<sup>120</sup> G. G. MEERSSEMAN, "Eremitismo e predicazione itinerante dei secoli XI e XII", in *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio. Mendola, 30 agosto - 6 settembre 1962*, Milan, 1965 (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Contributi - Serie terza, varia 4. Miscellanea del centro di Studi Medioevali, 4), p. 164-179 and following discussion p. 180-181; E. WERNER, *Pauperes Christi. Studien zu sozial-religiösen Bewegungen im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums*, Leipzig, 1957, p. 41-52; H. LEYSER, *Hermits and the New Monasticism. A study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150*, New York, 1984, p. 69-77.

<sup>121</sup> MEERSSEMAN, "Eremitismo", p. 164-179; LEYSER, *Hermits*, p. 75; JESTICE, *Wayward Monks*, p. 280-282.

<sup>122</sup> One of the results of his preaching tour in Flanders and Brabant was the conversion of six knights, culminating in the foundation of the benedictine abbey of Affligem (before 1083) just over the Flemish border in the duchy of Brabant. *Chronicon Affligemense*, ed. by G. H. PERTZ, Hanover, 1851 (MGH, SS, 9), p. 407-408; cf. DEREINE, "Les prédicateurs apostoliques", p. 171-189, here p. 175-178.

<sup>123</sup> *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz, 1054-1100*, ed. by I. S. ROBINSON, Hanover, 2003 (MGH, *Scriptores Rerum Germa-*



of the excommunicated and this is rather unusual because, according to canon law, only the bishop had the power to lift an excommunication in its worst form – social and religious exclusion – and to reconcile the penitent to God and the Church. It is not clear whether the conferral of the *potestas ligandi atque solvendi* to Prior Odfrid of Watten and his successors was limited to the absolution of sins or encompassed also the power to put under the ban and the power to lift an excommunication and reconcile the penitent to God and the Church. But whatever the exact scope of the power of binding and loosing bestowed to the priors of Watten, the bestowal itself remains highly unusual. So what made the community of Watten, under the leadership of Prior Odfrid, so special in the eyes of Gregory VII?

Some contemporaneous charters, but especially the *Exordium Guatinensis Ecclesiae*, written by a local canon in the last decade of the eleventh century, tell us about the establishment of the community and its history under Prior Odfrid (1072-1079).<sup>124</sup> This foundation chronicle supplies the background against which Gregory VII's bull should be interpreted. The priory was founded in 1072 by the wandering Flemish priest Odfrid, with the help of the pious layman and comital forester Adam and his wife. As the first community of regular canons in that part of Flanders, the priory could from its very day of foundation rely upon the material support and maternal concern of Adela, the countess dowager. The regular canons who brought the apostolic *anima una et cor unum* into practice under the expert leadership of Odfrid represented an unheard-of

*nicarum*, n.s., 14), p. 338-339 (anno 1084): "... ad suscipiendos penitentes ex apostolica auctoritate ..."; according to I. S. ROBINSON, "The Friendship Network of Gregory VII", *History*, 63 (1978), p. 1-22, here p. 21, Bernold could absolve from excommunication those who had been previously excommunicated by Gregory VII for their adherence to Henry IV; COWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII*, p. 266, on the other hand, refers to the reconciliation of excommunicated clergy.

<sup>124</sup> DEREINE, "Les prédicateurs apostoliques", p. 173-175; DEREINE, "Étude critique", p. 80; MEIJNS, "De *pauperes Christi* van Watten", p. 44-91; Id., "*Inaudita novitas canonici ordinis*", p. 49.

novelty in the region.<sup>125</sup> As exponents of the reform within the Church and within the canonical order, these canons enthusiastically rallied behind the decrees which Gregory VII had promulgated at the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075. In conformity with these stipulations, they refused all contact with married priests who continued to celebrate mass, or with ‘incestuous’ and simoniacal clerics.<sup>126</sup> According to the *Exordium*, their loyalty to Rome aroused suspicion in almost the entire *provincia*. Clerics in particular felt uncomfortable with the presence of this bulwark of convinced Gregorians and they focused their anger, which took the form of insults and reproaches, on Odfrid, who wandered around preaching. When the community itself was threatened with murder and arson by the *comprovinciales* and the *clerici vicini*, Adela conceived the idea of going to Rome with Odfrid to entreat the protection of the pope.

Adela and Odfrid did not have to travel all the way to Rome to meet Gregory VII. They found him in Northern Italy, in the abbey of Nonantola, where he was celebrating Easter 1077 on his return from the Canossa debacle in January of that same year. The arrival of the countess dowager with the prior of the new community of regular canons must have pleased Gregory. As I. S. Robinson has shown in his article “The Friendship Network of Gregory VII”, the pope strove to maintain personal relationships with eminent clerics and laypersons, in order to convince them of his course of action.<sup>127</sup> Six months earlier, he had already written to Adela about the situation in the county of Flanders. She was now in the position to report to him about new developments. We may safely assume that the pope, who had strongly defended

<sup>125</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 166, § 6: “Hic [= Adam] ergo, cum eius [Odfridi] desiderium cognovisset, tum innuente proba coniuge, tum inaudita novitate canonicis ordinis, quem instituendum inibi paulo ante exposuerat ...”, p. 167: “... Deo mediatore in unum cor et animam unam sibi conglutinans, regulariter vivere coepit” and p. 169, § 16: “... postquam anima una et cor unum in Deo nobis esse coeperat ...”

<sup>126</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171-172, § 18-20 where the ensuing conflict is described.

<sup>127</sup> ROBINSON, “The Friendship Network”, p. 1-22.

the new movement within the *ordo canonicus* during the Lateran Council of 1059,<sup>128</sup> and who was himself possibly a regular canon,<sup>129</sup> would have listened to Odfrid's story with great interest. He might even already have known about the existence of this community through Ingelrannus, the secular canon from Saint-Omer. Indeed, in several parts of the papal privilege we hear echos of the acute threats with which Watten was beset at that moment.<sup>130</sup> Also the choice of words, with the reference to a military bastion in the disposition in which Watten is declared a *refugium*, is remarkable.<sup>131</sup> Keeping in mind the tragic death of Ramihrdus in Cambrai, a mere 100 kms from Watten, the pope probably realized how dangerous threats against the spreaders of reforming ideas might really be in this part of christendom. This might explain why Watten was declared to be a place of safety, and why Odfrid and

<sup>128</sup> A. WERMINGHOFF, "Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816", *Neues Archiv*, 26 (1902), p. 669-675; J. C. DICKINSON, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, London, 1950, p. 29-33; J. LECLERCQ, "Un témoignage sur l'influence de Grégoire VII dans la réforme canoniale", in *Studi Gregoriani*, Rome, 1959-1960, vol. 6, p. 173-188; Ch. DEREINE, "La prétendue règle de Grégoire VII pour chanoines réguliers", *Revue bénédictine*, 71 (1961), p. 108-118.

<sup>129</sup> BLUMENTHAL, *Gregor VII.*, p. 31-43.

<sup>130</sup> Apart from the *sanctio*, which is rather evident, also in the *arenga* (*Quellen und Forschungen*, ed. by SANTIFALLER, p. 142-143 no. 136: "Dignum namque ualde est, ut uenerabilium locorum ab apostolica potissimum sede iura firmentur ac inde uniuersa, que ad utilitatem seruorum Dei ac ad conseruandam libertatem et quietem sancte professionis eorum tam in exterioribus quam in spiritualibus congrua uidentur ac necessaria, inuiolabili stabilitate fulciantur, unde tocus religionis cultus diuina auctoritate sumpsit exordium et gubernacionis principatum habebit imperpetuum.") and in the *narratio*, which refers to Odfrid's request for protection: ("... sub tutela apostolice defensionis susciperemus, quatinus sub amplexu sancte Romane uniuersalis matris ecclesie tam in bonis temporalibus quam in spirituali gratia uberius cresceret atque proficeret liberiorque ab omni humana infestatione consisteret.").

<sup>131</sup> *Quellen und Forschungen*, ed. by SANTIFALLER, p. 144: "... nec ulli unquam potestati seculari aut ecclesiastice eum destruere uel incrementum, edificacionem et munitionem illius contradicere aut prohibere liceat". I am very grateful to prof. Laurent Morelle (École pratique des hautes études) for drawing my attention to this specific choice of words during a lecture I held on the papal bull for Watten at the Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3.

his successors were granted rather unusual prerogatives with regard to preaching and the forgiveness of sins.

How unusual these prerogatives really were, is reflected in the fierce reaction to the papal bull on the part of the priory of Watten's opponents. According to the *Exordium*, the granting of the *potestas ligandi atque solvendi* was deemed to be a blatant infringement on episcopal authority, and it was even claimed that the document made the prior of Watten more powerful than the bishop of Thérouanne. Preaching and the ministry of binding and loosing were originally episcopal rights that were handed down to the priests. Lifting an excommunication, however, remained an episcopal prerogative.<sup>132</sup> If Gregory VII's conferral upon Odfrid of the power of binding and loosing included the power to excommunicate and absolve from excommunication, this would fully explain the rage of Watten's opponents and their complaint that through the papal document "episcopal law would be completely undermined".<sup>133</sup> The clerics beseeched the heads of the clergy (*capita cleri*), and even the old Bishop Drogo. The latter felt obliged to mention the matter at a gathering of the clergy. The charter of Gregory VII was read there and promptly locked away in the bishop's cupboard. Odfrid was accused of having composed this false text, he was jeered at and sent away during the commotion. According to the *Exordium*, the priory now had to endure even more insults, reproaches, threats and mockery. After repeated pleas from the canons of

<sup>132</sup> HUIZING, "Excommunication", cols. 1868-1869; A. VACANT, "Anathème", in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, Paris, 1935, vol. 1, cols. 1168-1171; F. E. HYLAND, *Excommunication. Its nature, Historical Development and Effects*, Washington D.C., 1928 (Catholic University of America Canon Law Studies, 49), p. 11-31; H. C. LEA, *Studies in Church History. The Rise of the Temporal Power. Benefit of Clergy. Excommunication*, Philadelphia, 1869, p. 223-487; E. VODOLA, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley, 1986; R. H. HELMHOLZ, "Canonical Sanctions: the Law of Excommunication", in *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, Athens (Georgia) 1996, p. 366-393; E. EICHMANN, *Acht und Bann im Reichsrecht des Mittelalters*, Paderborn, 1909; P. HINSCHIUS, *System des katholischen Kirchenrechts*, Graz, 1959, vol. 4, p. 691-864 and vol. V, p. 1-492.

<sup>133</sup> "... ius episcopali destrui ...". *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171, § 19.

Watten, Bishop Drogo was finally prepared to review the matter. Canon Ingelrannus was called in because of his great familiarity with papal privileges. He showed that there was no reason at all not to return the privilege to the *Guatinenses*, as a result of which they were given back their charter and the privileges mentioned in it. This restitution occurred when Drogo was still bishop; he was deposed from his office at the Council of Poitiers, in January 1078.

However, this was not the final end of the priory's woes. The commotion had only just ended when Prior Odfrid, who continued to show himself to be a pillar of Church reform, came into conflict with Hubert in the summer of 1078, when the latter had been elected bishop, probably shortly after Drogo's death on 21 August.<sup>134</sup> The cause of the conflict was the choice of a new abbot in the comital abbey of Bergues.<sup>135</sup> Odfrid had proposed the reform-minded Manasses, who also enjoyed the support of Robert I and Adela. Hubert, however, felt passed over, and refused to grant Manasses the investiture when he came to visit in the company of Odfrid and the reform-minded monks of Bergues. The abbot-elect and Odfrid

<sup>134</sup> We do not know when the episcopacy of Hubert exactly began. He was first attested as a bishop in the context of the signing of a charter composed at the Council of Soissons on 16 April 1079 (*Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, cols. 502-504). In a charter of Hubert from 1079 drawn up in Thérouanne and addressed to the re-established abbey of Auchy-les-Moines, the *datatio* refers to the second year of Hubert's episcopacy. This implies that Hubert must have been elected bishop during the course of 1078 (probably shortly after the death of Drogo, on 21 August 1078). Cf. A. DE CARDEVACQUE, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Auchy-les-Moines*, Arras, 1875, p. 173-175, no. 1; HUYGHEBAERT, "Un légat de Grégoire VII", p. 197. In the letters of Gregory VII dated 25 November 1078, Hubert is addressed with the term 'archdeacon', but it is possible that Gregory VII – who was well-acquainted with the situation in Thérouanne, thanks to Ingelrannus – refused to recognize the election, because it was tainted by simony (cf. his letter to Hubert in 1080, see n. 101). *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 287-288, no. 6.8 and 6.9. According to the *Gallia Christiana*, Paris, 1751, vol. 10, col. 1539, Hubert succeeded to Drogo in 1078.

<sup>135</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 173-175, § 23-29; HUYGHEBAERT, "Un légat de Grégoire VII", p. 187-200 with attention for the precise chronology of this conflict; MEIJNS, "De pauperes Christi", p. 69-72.

were promptly excommunicated.<sup>136</sup> Even after Manasses had received his ordination from the hands of Hugh of Die, and had, according to the *Exordium*, received a solemn privilege for his abbey from Gregory VII, Hubert continued to refuse to acknowledge the abbot. This stubborn behaviour, however, did not please Robert I. According to the *Exordium*, Hubert held Odfrid responsible for the bad relationship between himself and the count of Flanders, and he consequently went out of his way to harass the prior and his community. Finally, on the advice of Gregory VII, Odfrid decided to abdicate, the *Exordium* tells us, so as not to endanger the continued existence of his priory. Also according to the *Exordium*, Hubert hesitated before accepting the abdication, because he feared that once Odfrid no longer owed the same obedience that pertained to the position of prior, he would rant even more fiercely than before against the *fornicarii* whom the bishop protected.<sup>137</sup> Odfrid's abdication should probably be situated in August 1079.<sup>138</sup> Odfrid resumed his life as a wandering preacher and he died in 1086, near Ghent. He was buried there in the abbey of Saint Peter.

The violent controversy in which the convinced Gregorians of Watten had become involved concerned the observance of

<sup>136</sup> *Chronicon*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 173, § 24 l. 42 - p. 174, § 24 l. 1-2: "... ipsi electo simul et priore nostro, qui secum venerat, quia rei huius consiliarius videbatur, pro benedictione quam petierant maledictionem anathematis invexit: nec illud quidem semel aut bis, verum ubicumque sollemnnes agere solebat letanias, ut quasi multiplici scandalo memoriae principis quo fecerat commendaret, quod eis indixerat excommunicationis vinculum omnibus rememorando, ad infamiam eorum notificabat." From the rest of the story becomes clear that at that time, Hubert had excluded both Prior Odfrid and Abbot Manasses from receiving the Eucharist. After Manasses had been ordained by Hugh of Die, he returned with Odfrid to Hubert and he wrathfully imposed upon him a true *anathema*: *ibidem*, p. 174, § 25 l. 17-18: "... quos antea necdum auctoritate cauta firmatos communionem privaverat, etiam nunc anathematis ruga propter sui despectum acrius notabat."

<sup>137</sup> *Chronicon*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 175, § 27 l. 16-18: "Cavebat enim in hoc, ne quasi contra fornicarios eundem, quibus ipse patrocinebatur, infestiores et audaciores redderet, si absolutum subiectione a se removeret, quos multociens continentiae zelo severa correptione confuderat."

<sup>138</sup> MEIJNS, "De *pauperes Christi*", p. 69-72.

the decrees about clerical celibacy and simony proclaimed at the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075. But who were their opponents? Twice, the author claims that opposition came from *totia fere provincia* or from the *comprovinciales*, but that the fiercest resistance came from the *clerici*, even the *clerici vicini*. *Provincia* and *comprovinciales* are terms which usually refer to an archdiocese and to the bishops belonging to the same archdiocese. It is, however, difficult to believe that the fame of Watten had spread far beyond the diocese of Thérouanne, to which it belonged. The reference to the (local) clergy is probably more correct, particularly the village clergy near Watten, who were constantly being reminded of the new legislation by the sermons of the preaching prior of Watten. According to the *Exordium*, the clergy of the diocese of Thérouanne had strayed from the straight and narrow. Even though synods concerning the reform were organized in several French dioceses and many were punished by the papal legate Hugh of Die, the Thérouanne clergy continued in their deviant ways unchecked, because of the dotage (*simplicitas*) of their bishop Drogo.<sup>139</sup> The conservative clergy informed the aged bishop and the *capita cleri* of the remarkable bull for Watten, and urged them to act. *Capita cleri* probably refers to the entourage of the bishop of Thérouanne, i.e. the archdeacons and dignitaries of the cathedral chapter, possibly also the cathedral canons. While bishop Drogo himself was largely spared in the *Exordium* because of his advanced age and his very long episcopacy, his archdeacon and successor Hubert was represented as Watten's prime enemy,<sup>140</sup> and as the great protector of the unchaste clergy.

<sup>139</sup> *Chronicon*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 21: "Ea tempestate cum in Galliis per diversas sedes plurima concilia celebrarentur et ab Hugone Dienti sanctae Romanae ecclesiae legato multa corrigerentur, clerus Morinensis per simplicitatem episcopi senis tum in nobis tum in aliis pro qualitate temporis ita impune delirabant."

<sup>140</sup> Pace De Smet's opinion, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 46, that the Watten foundation chronicle tries to gloss over Hubert's shortcomings. The *Exordium* does mention Hubert's efforts at the beginning of his episcopacy to improve the financial situation of the episcopal church after it had been neglected by his predecessor, but apart from that all comments concerning

In the years following the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075, the observance of the decrees regulating clerical celibacy was problematic in the diocese of Thérouanne, with its old bishop who was no longer aware of everything, with Archdeacon Hubert who turned out to be a staunch defender of clerical marriage and who fearlessly ignored all warnings from Rome, and with a clergy which was strongly opposed to the heralds of reform. The presence of a small but very active core of Gregorians in the priory of the regular canons of Watten made the problem acute. The *Guatinenses*, and particularly their prior Odfrid, who wandered around preaching and forgiving sins, perhaps even imposing and lifting excommunications, caused a continuous confrontation with the Gregorian legislation on celibacy. Gregory VII could feel assured of the presence of loyal advocates of reform in far-off Thérouanne, and thanks to the commuting canon of Saint-Omer, Ingelranus, he could follow the situation step by step. Was this the specific historical context in which the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* originated?

6. *Similarities between the Exordium Guatinensis ecclesiae and the Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*

In my view, there are some points of agreement with regard to the content, as well as parallel literary themes, language and imagery between the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* and the paragraphs of the *Exordium* describing the conflict between the *Guatinenses* and the Thérouanne clergy. This does not necessarily imply that the author of the *Exordium*, who only wrote in the 1090s, had read or used the pamphlet. Indeed, at the time that the *Tractatus* was (in my view) written, in the final months of 1077 or during the first half of 1078, the author of the *Exordium* was not yet a canon of Watten, since he only entered the monastery around 1085.<sup>141</sup> It is, how-

Hubert are very negative indeed. Cf. *Chronicon*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 22 l. 39-41, p. 173, § 22 l. 1-4, and p. 174-175, § 25-27.

<sup>141</sup> On the authorship of the *Exordium*: DEREINE, "Étude critique", p. 97-99; MEIJNS, "De *pauperes Christi*", p. 46-48.



ever, possible that some of his fellow canons reminded him of the existence of a pamphlet in favour of clerical marriage, while he was writing his foundation chronicle. The *Tractatus* certainly must have enjoyed some circulation; witness the reaction of the clergy of Cambrai and Noyon. Still, the similarities could just as easily be explained by the clever way in which the author of the *Exordium* managed to reflect the *Zeitgeist* and the atmosphere of the conflict in which the *Guatinnenses* were involved. While he was writing, the canon used the archives of the priory, as well as oral information. He could count on the collaboration of regular canons who had lived through the initial years of the foundation, such as Prior Bernold, on whose command the *Exordium* was written. The complaints of the campaigners of the reform resound in the *Exordium*. The indignation and the impotence of the defender of the old order permeate the *Tractatus*. The two voices defend opposite positions, but are nevertheless surprisingly concurrent on a number of points. The antagonism allows the researcher to see both sides of the coin.

The most striking point of convergence is the ubiquity and the impact of preaching. This becomes very clear when the polemicist discusses contemporary situations. He disagrees with the shameful way in which laypersons treat clerics, but the real instigators are the *fabricatores mendatii et cultores perversorum dogmatum*, who use sermons to incite the laity to disrespect the married priest and his sacraments. In this passage, the presence of the words *docere*, *predicare* and *preces* clearly stands out.<sup>142</sup> According to the polemicist, the Patarenes pretended to be the keepers of the law, but in their malicious sermons, they twisted the truth into fallacy. From the history of the Pataria, we know that the leaders of the movement created

<sup>142</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 1-2 and 4-5: "... ut ostenderemus fabricatores esse mendatii et cultores perversorum dogmatum ... quique docent fabulis et saltationibus debere potius studere, quam missarum celebrationes a presbytero coniugato percipere vel audire"; l. 9: "Docendus est enim populus, Celestino papa testante, non sequendus"; l. 21-23 (concerning the Patarenes): "Nam quamvis verissime predicent sacerdotum mundiciam, falsissime tamen dogmatizant eorum preces et missarum sollempnia debere reprobare propter alicuius suspicionis infamiam."

enthusiasm for their ideas among the inhabitants of Milan through sermons.<sup>143</sup> Also when he discusses the matter of the ordination of sons of priests, the author lashes out at those preaching that these should not be ordained.<sup>144</sup> And when, at the end of his work, he forbids his readers to lend credence to the corruptors of the *canones* or to agree with their ideas, on pain of excommunication, he paraphrases from the Letter from St Paul to the Galatians (Gal. 1, 8), which focuses on the importance of correct preaching: "But even if we or an angel from heaven should proclaim to you a gospel contrary to what we proclaimed to you, let that one be accursed."<sup>145</sup> It was exactly the authority to preach which distinguished the priory of Watten and its prior. According to the *Exordium*, the founder of Watten had been a wandering preacher,<sup>146</sup> and it had been precisely his sermons which had convinced the forester Adam to lend his support to the establishment of a community of regular canons.<sup>147</sup> Even after he had become prior, Odfrid still continued to wander around preaching and he was officially authorized to do so by the bull of Gregory VII of 28 April 1077, which also granted him the authority to absolve the penitent, perhaps even the excommunicate, an authority which is closely linked to that

<sup>143</sup> COWDREY, "The Papacy, the Patarnes and the Church of Milan", p. 25-48; Andrea of Strumi, *Vita sancti Arialldi*, ed. by F. BAETGHEN, Leipzig, 1934 (reprint: Stuttgart, 1976) (*MGH, SS*, 30, 2), p. 1047-1075, here p. 1063-1064; Arnulf, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, ed. by L. C. BETHMANN and W. WATTENBACH, Hanover, 1848 (reprint: Stuttgart - Mendeln, 1968) (*MGH, SS*, 8), p. 1-13, here p. 19, c. 11; Landulf Senior, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. by L. C. BETHMANN and W. WATTENBACH, Hanover, 1848 (reprint: Stuttgart - New York, 1968) (*MGH, SS*, 8), p. 78-81; Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by C. ZEY, Hanover, 1994, (*MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 67), p. 175-181.

<sup>144</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 24-26: "Adest vero vel pertinacia pervicaciam, nec minori insipientia predicant filios clericorum ad sacros ordines promoveri vel quolibet ecclesiastico honore sublimari."

<sup>145</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 265, l. 17-18: "... sicut apostolus Paulus dicit: *Si quis aliud evangelizaverit vobis preter quod ego evangelizo vobis, anathema sit.*"

<sup>146</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 165-166 § 4 and 5.

<sup>147</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 166 § 6 l. 28-30.

of preaching. It was this preaching, most of all, which annoyed the clergy and which spurred them on to threaten Watten with violence, just as the preaching of reforming ideas seriously irritated the polemicist.

To what extent might the ideas against which our polemicist reacts have corresponded with the message which was being propagated by Watten? In order to find out, we have to confront the different positions against which the apologist reacts with the data from the Watten dossier. Even though the *Exordium* and the papal bull indicate that the regular canons were convinced Gregorians, it is difficult to discover the exact content of Odfrid's sermons, but we may safely assume that they followed the reforming discourse of that time. The first position to be refuted in the *Tractatus* concerns the way that the "inventors of the new dogma" equate the *mulier subintroducta* with the legitimate wife of a cleric, which is basically a general Gregorian point of view. The reformers are known not to have made a clear distinction between marriages contracted before or after the ordination, and between marriage and concubinage.<sup>148</sup> Moreover, the Council of Poitiers in January 1078 promulgated a prohibition of keeping a *concubina*, or for that matter any other woman (Canon 9).<sup>149</sup> We do not know whether Odfrid and some of the Watten canons were present at that ecclesiastical gathering, but a letter from Gregory VII dated 25 November 1078 to Hubert and the counts and canons of Saint-Pol tells us that some canons of the chapter of Our Lady of Saint-Omer, the community of Ingelranus, were in Poitiers at that time to persue the Quesques matter.<sup>150</sup> The close contacts between both houses will undoubtedly have stimulated the exchange of information.

<sup>148</sup> GAUDEMET, "Le célibat ecclésiastique", p. 8.

<sup>149</sup> *Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, col. 499: "Ut nullus diaconus, presbyter, vel subdiaconus concubinam habeat; sed nec aliam fœminam, unde mala suspicio habeatur, in una domo secum teneat, & quicumque hujusmodi sacerdotis, sive per pecuniam ordinati, missam scienter audierint, excommunicationi subjacere debeant." *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 231.

<sup>150</sup> *The Register*, transl. by COWDREY, p. 287, no. 6.8.

Second, the polemicist reacts against the “foolish insight” that of all clerics, only canons would not be allowed to have a wife. Not only the origin, but also the correctness of this statement is difficult to check. In the reform decrees of Gregory VII no specific attention is paid to canons. As receivers of a certain ordination, they were naturally supposed to follow the new guidelines, but a specific papal legislation concerning them was only promulgated at the Council of Clermont in 1095, and it was afterwards repeated at a number of French Councils (Poitiers 1100, Beauvais 1114).<sup>151</sup> The oldest mention of the obligation to remain abstinent is found in the context of the Council of Winchester in 1076, during which Lanfranc introduced the reform measures in England, albeit with some adaptations.<sup>152</sup> One of these adaptations was precisely the demand that canons have no wife, in contrast to the parish clergy who were still – for the moment – allowed to have a wife. In 1080, the same prohibition was imposed on the canons during the Council of Lillebonne (near Le Havre) in Normandy, which was presided over by William the Conqueror.<sup>153</sup> Did people in the diocese of Thérouanne, and more particularly in Watten, know about the measure imposed in Winchester in 1076? It is not impossible. Watten was situated a mere 10 kms from Saint-Omer and the abbey of Saint-Bertin, both of which maintained good relationships with England,<sup>154</sup> and already at that time the priory disposed of a

<sup>151</sup> T. P. McLAUGHLIN, “The Prohibition of Marriage Against Canons in the Early Twelfth Century”, *Medieval Studies*, 3 (1941), p. 94-100, here p. 95-96; C. N. L. BROOKE, “Gregorian Reform in Action: Clerical Marriage in England, 1050-1200”, *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, 12 (1956), p. 1-21, here p. 4 n. 9.

<sup>152</sup> *Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, p. 67-74; McLAUGHLIN, “The Prohibition”, p. 98; BROOKE, “Gregorian Reform”, p. 11; *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 279-280.

<sup>153</sup> McLAUGHLIN, “The Prohibition”, p. 94; *Histoire des conciles*, ed. by HEFELE and LECLERCQ, vol. 5, p. 215-217.

<sup>154</sup> V. ORTENBERG, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Cultural, Spiritual, and Artistic Exchanges*, Oxford, 1992, p. 21-40; E. VAN HOUTS, “Hereward and Flanders”, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), p. 201-223, especially p. 213-215: “Its [= Saint-Omer] ties with England have always been strong and they were particularly so in the middle of the eleventh century”; R. NIP, “The Political Relations between

*diversorium* which, seeing its location, undoubtedly must have been frequented by travellers from and to England.<sup>155</sup>

But what if the polemist was not referring here to a specific conciliar decree, but merely had in mind the way of life of the regular canons who, at that time, still presented a real novelty within the religious landscape? Regular canons applied themselves to the imitation of the *vita apostolica* and this meant a life in community, poverty and chastity, a life of which the purity was elaborately praised in the *Exordium*.<sup>156</sup> Perhaps they not only tried to promote this strict way of life in Watten, but also actively attempted to impose it on the secular canons? It is possible, but not necessarily so. Our polemicist might knowingly have distorted their message to elicit a stronger reaction to his writings. The purity on which the *Guatinenses* prided themselves, according to the *Exordium*, may actually have been a thorn in his side. Perhaps his reference at the end of his work, to the whited sepulchres, and to the cup, clean on the outside, but full of sin inside, is an insinuation regarding the *Guatinenses*, whose ideal of chastity – in his opinion, at least – was rather more sanctimonious than saintly. In the third part of his treatise, the author champions marriage, which he considers to be the best protection against lechery. The reproach of hypocrisy is also to be found in the claim that the reformers crack down on married priests, but approve of the conduct of fornicating clerics. This is probably

England and Flanders (1066-1128)”, *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 21 (1998), p. 145-156.

<sup>155</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 173, § 23 l. 14; P. GRIERSON, “The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ser., vol 23 (1941), p. 71-112, reprinted in: *Essays in Medieval History. Selected from the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society on the occasion of its Centenary*, ed. by R. W. SOUTHERN, New York, 1968, p. 61-92, with map.

<sup>156</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 165, § 3; cf. C. DEREINE, “Vie commune, règle de saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 41 (1946), p. 365-406; C. W. BYNUM, “The Spirituality of the Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century”, in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 1982; J. CHÂTILLON, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen Âge. Réforme de l'église, spiritualité et culture*. Études réunies par P. SICARD, Paris - Turnhout, 1992 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 3).

an exaggeration by the author, inspired by the fact that the reformers focus more on married priests.

In the fourth point of his argument, the polemicist lashes out at those who urge the laity to shun all contact with clerics consorting with women, and to doubt the validity of the sacraments administered by unchaste clerics. This is a clear reference to the general point of view of the reformers, as it had been proclaimed at the Lenten Synods of 1074 and 1075. Indeed, the *Exordium* explicitly, and with evident pride, mentions that the *Guatinenses* loyally observed the stipulations of Gregory VII, “namely about the non acceptance of married priests celebrating masses and about the avoidance of incestuous and the simoniacal clerics”.<sup>157</sup> Canon 9 of the Council of Poitiers excommunicated those who heard a mass celebrated by a simoniacal or unchaste priest.<sup>158</sup> It is difficult to believe that the brothers of Watten would have agreed with the excesses which the polemicist then describes. It is, however, quite possible that ordinary laypeople, after hearing the reform preachers, lost faith in their own parish priests and looked to other alternatives for the sacraments. On the other hand, the *Exordium* never even mentions the problem of the sons of priests, but this last theme in the *Tractatus* was probably a reaction to the promulgation of Canon 8 at the Council of Poitiers. If so, the polemicist must have been irritated by the fact that the only ecclesiastical career open to sons of clerics was to enter a community of monks, or ... of regular canons.

Another point of resemblance, apart from the preaching, is the erosion of episcopal authority. The polemicist’s main concern is the fact that laypersons think that they are qualified to judge the clergy, while this is of course a matter for the disciplinary power of the bishop and of canon law. In his days, however, clerics fall victim to the capriciousness of the laity, and the world gets turned upside down. Strikingly, it is precisely the argument about the erosion of episcopal authority which the clerics opposed to Watten seize upon and present

<sup>157</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171 § 18 l. 9-10.

<sup>158</sup> *Amplissima collectio*, ed. by MANSI, vol. 20, col. 499.

to the bishop:<sup>159</sup> “They denounced the fact that our provost had been granted the authority to bind and loose by the Roman document. If such a privilege were to be used, it would completely undermine episcopal law. From that moment onwards, the bishop would only be bishop in name, those of Watten would lead”. So, the polemicist clearly joins in with the laments of the enemies of Watten.

A final parallel in the content is the despair of the clerics in question. The polemicist renders this magnificently in his description of the events at the time. They are physically harassed, insulted, humiliated and they wander from one church to another. Are they supposed to be the attackers of the Watten priory? Do these direct their anger towards those they regard as one of the causes of their misery? According to the *Exordium*, the clerics form the direct vicinity offered most resistance. These uprooted clerics possibly tried to quell their anger by attacking the community from where the reforming ideas were preached. The parties under attack, the *Guatinenses* and the unchaste clerics, become in both sources the victims of more or less similar attacks (mockery, insults, threats of physical violence), but these might, of course, have been mere *topoi*.

Apart from these similarities in the content, some parallels with regard to the choice of themes, language and imagery are to be found between both texts. Even though the elements in question are frequently found in the polemical literature of the time, the similarities are still remarkable. A first theme is that of the ubiquitous fear, fear of persecution and physical violence, but also of the faith which offers solace. In the *Tractatus*, this theme is found in two instances: implicitly, in the description of the harassed parish priests, who take to wandering from necessity, on the run from laypersons who insult them and even physically attack them.<sup>160</sup> Explicitly, there is

<sup>159</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171, § 19 l. 27-29: “... auctoritatem ligandi atque solvendi Romano libellatico prepositum nostrum suscepisse accusant; huiusmodi privilegio, si roboratum sit, ius episcopali destrui, de cetero solo nomine episcopum militare, Guatinenses imperare ...”

<sup>160</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 11-15.

the crystal clear appeal right at the end of the treatise, addressed to the “sons of the Catholic Church”, not to be afraid of the innovators. On the contrary, the former should inspire fear in the latter as long as these observe the *canones* loyally.<sup>161</sup> The description of the priory of Watten under attack, found in the *Exordium*, is permeated with the atmosphere of all-pervading fear: “And for this reason [namely the observance of the Lenten decrees] they pursued Odfrid, as if he were the instigator of this commotion (*incentorem huius commotionis*) with hatred, reproaches and slander, so that, besides the outcries he endured by spreading the word of God everywhere outside, the *comprovinciales* and the nearby clerics threatened our home with murder, arson, and ruinous destruction. Disputes without and fears within.<sup>162</sup> Not even a single hour was spent in safety. We feared rocks from one direction, arrows from the other, and all-consuming flames from elsewhere”.<sup>163</sup> After Odfrid had been sent away in disgrace at the first gathering of the Théroutanne clergy, the priory comes under even more attack: “What mourning, what insults, what reproaches, what public vituperations, what threats, what horrors and mockeries our church meanwhile suffered”.<sup>164</sup> Amidst such disaster, the canons of Watten held on to the loyal observance of the *canonica vita*, which they considered to be the royal road (*regia via*) and from which they never strayed, despite all obsta-

<sup>161</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 266, l. 14-17.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. 2 Corinthians 7, 5 in the New Revised Standard Version: “For even when we came into Macedonia, our bodies had no rest, but we were afflicted in every way – disputes without and fears within.”

<sup>163</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171 § 18 l. 12-17: “... atque ob hoc velut incentorem huius commotionis domnum Odfridum odiis, opprobriis ac maledictionibus insectabantur, ut, preter illa quae ubique disseminando verbum Dei foris patiebatur convicia, comprovinciales et clerici vicini caedes, incendia, exterminium exitiale cotidie domi nobis comminerentur. Ita foris pugnae, intus timores, vix aliqua securi inter vivendum hora. Hinc, ut aiunt, lapides, inde sagittas, aliunde consumpturas omnia flammam timebamus.”

<sup>164</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171 § 20 l. 38-39: “Quos luctos, quas ignominias, quae obprobria, quas invectiões, quas comminationes, terrores, derisiones interim nostra ecclesia tulerit ...”



cles.<sup>165</sup> A little further, they draw courage from the thought that “continued godless and unpunished actions are not allowed according to Divine law”.<sup>166</sup>

Both sources refer to the opponents in very similar terms. They are disturbers of the peace: *pacis eversores alii atque alii* in the *Exordium*,<sup>167</sup> and *perturbatores ecclesiasticę pacis* in the pamphlet.<sup>168</sup> Their motives are pride and jealousy: “As a result of the pride of the villains and because of their jealousy (*malignorum superbia et obtrectatione*), the *Guatinenses* had been dragged over land and sea more than enough, and the invidious (*invidos*) reached fever pitch”<sup>169</sup> About the peasants who harass the priests, the polemicist writes: “Insulting, proud and arrogant, they never cease to attack, harm, dishonour and humiliate”.<sup>170</sup>

A theme which can be found in both sources is the inventing and devising of new ideas and deceits. In the *Tractatus*, the reformers are almost systematically referred to as *novi dogmatis auctores, fabricatores mendatii* and *cogitatores novarum traditionum*.<sup>171</sup> The conservative clergy views Odfrid as though he had forged the papal privilege or invented it himself (*velut adulterinum*).<sup>172</sup> This idea of forgery or of the truth being twisted is very prominently present in the *Tractatus: subversores*

<sup>165</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171, § 20 l. 41-42: “Consolabatur tamen in filiorum qui residui erant constantia, quia viriliter resistentes omnibus quae acciderant infortuniis, canonicae vitae a regia via non exorbitabant ...”

<sup>166</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 20 l. 8-9: “... tamen super omnia cogitandum, quod in divinas leges impie impune agere diu non cedatur ...”

<sup>167</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 21 l. 27-28.

<sup>168</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 256, l. 23.

<sup>169</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 20 l. 4-5: “Satis iam et plus quam satis malignorum superbia et obtrectatione Guatinenses terra marique fuisse decantatos, iam invidos ad cumulum grassatos ...”

<sup>170</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 12-13.

<sup>171</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, respectively p. 254, l. 4-5, p. 263, l. 1-2 and p. 265, l. 15.

<sup>172</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171, § 190 l. 34-35: “Defertur, legitur et velut adulterinum cum violentia atque iniuria, sine iure, sine iudicio trahitur, rapitur et in armario episcopi recluditur. Latorem autem prepositum nostrum contumeliis et convitiis affectum ...”

*canonum, cultores perversorum dogmatum, adulteratores canonum and qui ecclesiasticam veritatem subvertere.*<sup>173</sup> Also in the part where the Patarienes are described: *qui dum se legum custodes altius videri volunt, legis veritatem convertunt in errorem.*<sup>174</sup> According to the polemicist, this results in a reversal of the established order (*pre-posterus ordo*<sup>175</sup>), which he strikingly illustrates in his description of the much beset clerics, vulnerable to the opinion of peasants who think they can play archdeacons. This reversal of the established order is precisely what the opponents of Watten reproach the canons with, and they use this image in their attempt to convince the bishop and his entourage of their cause: "The highest would be exchanged for the very lowest, everything would be twisted, the head for the tail. They would lack nothing, except the *episcopalia*. It would be the end, unless Watten were to collapse completely".<sup>176</sup>

The similarities and the almost complementary character – on some points, at least – of both texts, lead us to suspect that the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* was written in the diocese of Théroutanne in the years 1077-1078, when the reform decrees were no longer a dead letter, but were actively promoted by the preacher Odfrid from the priory of Watten. It seems logical to look for the author of the *Tractatus* among the opponents of Watten.

### 7. *The identity of the polemicist*

In what precedes, it has been shown that the author more than likely was a canon,<sup>177</sup> probably even a cathedral canon.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>173</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, respectively p. 256, l. 23, p. 263, l. 2, p. 265, l. 15 and p. 266, l. 15-16, but also p. 256, l. 3-4: "... ut cavilant qui contentionibus deservire quam veritati malunt adquiescere."

<sup>174</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 21-22.

<sup>175</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 10: "Nunc vero proprotero ordine in qualibet parochia super unum infelicem presbyterum quot sunt rustici, tot sunt archidiaconi ..."

<sup>176</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 171, § 19 l. 29-31: "... summa imis commutari, inversa omnia, caput in caudam, nichil iam deesse preter infulas episcopales; actum esse, nisi Guatinum funditus concidat ..."

<sup>177</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 111 n. 111; BÖHMER, *Kirche und Staat*, p. 176.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 38.

Moreover, his indignant description of the state of affairs in his days reflects a deep pastoral concern. Furthermore, the author displays a deep respect for the episcopal dignity (*ad tante dignitatis apicem*<sup>179</sup>) and for ecclesiastical discipline. Should we look for our author amongst the canons of the cathedral chapter of Thérouanne, just as the authors of the Cambrai letter should probably be situated in the cathedral chapter (or in one of the two other collegiate churches of Cambrai, which were closely connected to the cathedral)? Very likely. The pastoral concern possibly indicates that we are dealing with an archdeacon. This would also explain why the polemicist remarks with some irritation *quot sunt rustici, tot sunt archidiaconi*, there are as many archdeacons as there are peasants.<sup>180</sup> As the bishop's right hand, the archdeacon was particularly concerned about the *cura animarum* of the diocese. As part of his responsibilities, he was one of the first to come into contact with the Gregorian Reform legislation, so it is hardly surprising that several opponents of the Reform are to be found among archdeacons, such as, for example, the three Cambrai archdeacons of that period, who have been clearly identified as anti-Gregorians in the study by Van Mingroot. Or Archdeacon Henry of Liège, at whose behest Sigebert of Gembloux wrote his *Apologia contra eos qui calumpniantur missas coniugatorum sacerdotum* around 1077, as well as his three other polemical works.<sup>181</sup>

The last part of the *Tractatus* suggests that the author has – or at least thinks he has – the authority to censure *sanctorum patrum prohibitionem, immo excommunicationem*, even with excommunication, those who give credence to the new stipulations or agree with them. The next quotation refers to an *anathema*. Even though an excommunication in the limited sense of the word, viz. a denial of the Eucharist, could also be imposed by ordinary priests, an excommunication in its worst form – social and religious exclusion – remained a privilege of the

<sup>179</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 14.

<sup>180</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 263, l. 11.

<sup>181</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ed. by J.-P. MIGNE, Paris, 1854 (PL, 160), col. 587; CHAZAN, *L'empire et l'histoire universelle*, p. 80.

pope, his legates and the (arch)bishops.<sup>182</sup> An archdeacon, being the assistant (*vicarius*) of the bishop, merely possessed the delegated authority of his bishop and as such, he could not act autonomously in the matter of imposing a full excommunication.<sup>183</sup>

The bishop of the diocese of Théroutanne was assisted by two archdeacons.<sup>184</sup> In the years 1077-1078, those positions were held by Hubert, whom we have met before, and Arnulf. We first encounter Arnulf in 1070 in the function of archdeacon, and he is last attested as such in 1112. For a large part of his term of office – from 1075-1076 until his death in 1116 or 1117 – he was also the provost of the collegiate church of Our Lady in Saint-Omer.<sup>185</sup> It is hardly likely that the provost of this chapter, to which Ingelrannus, Gregory VII's confidant, also belonged, would have been a passionate anti-Gregorian. During the conflicts between the Théroutanne clergy and the Flemish count Robert I in 1082-1083 and 1092, archdeacon Arnulf undoubtedly was a member of the reform circle which had meanwhile formed in the diocese of Théroutanne.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>182</sup> Cf. note 132.

<sup>183</sup> A. AMANIEU, "Archidiaque", in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 1, Paris, 1935, cols. 948-1004, especially cols. 966-967; A. DUMAS, "Juridiction ecclésiastique (histoire de la)", in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 6, Paris, 1957, here cols. 252-254; F. LOT and R. FAWTIER, *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge. Vol 3: Institutions ecclésiastiques*, Paris, 1962, p. 111-112.

<sup>184</sup> From the end of the twelfth century onwards, the names of the archdeacons become linked with their archdiaconate, either that of Artois (the south of the diocese) or that of Flanders (the north). O. BLED, *Regestes des évêques de Théroutanne. 500-1553*, Saint-Omer, 1904, vol. 2, p. 136.

<sup>185</sup> On the lists of the provosts of the chapter of Our Lady in Saint-Omer set down in the *Liber Floridus* of canon Lambert of Saint-Omer and on the precise period Arnulf stood at the head of this important collegiate church: J.-C. BÉDAGUE, "Abbés et prévôts à Sithiu (IX<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)", *Bulletin de la Société académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, 26 (2008), p. 81-98 (with an edition of the lists). Mr. Bédague is currently preparing a detailed catalogue of each of these provosts.

<sup>186</sup> After his deposition, Bishop Hubert was succeeded by the *clericus* Lambert of Bailleul, who had been elected as the new bishop simoniacally and with the support of Count Robert I. Several Théroutanne clerics, however, protested against this state of affairs and refused to obey Lambert. Robert I drove the insurgents away and confiscated their possessions.

This brings us to Archdeacon Hubert, who might very well be our man, based on what we have by this time learned about him from the correspondence of Gregory VII and from the *Exordium ecclesiae Guatinensis*. Both the *Exordium* and the papal letter of circa 1080 show Hubert to be a staunch defender of nicolaitism. He even refuses to bury those who follow the precepts of Rome regarding clerical celibacy, and refuses to baptize their children, according to Gregory VII. The author of the *Tractatus* was outraged about the fact that laypersons preferred their children to die unbaptized to having them baptized by a married priest. Would Hubert meanwhile have reached the point where he would be doing what he had earlier reproached the reformers with? Already in the papal letter to Adela of 1076, the countess had been warned about the nefarious influence of Hubert's *sermones*. Did the archdeacon fulminate against clerical celibacy in his sermons? Was this the content of the "wicked disputations" (*pravus contentionibus*) which had earned him a conviction for heresy in Montreuil in 1076? De Smet is certain that this was the case, even more, he situated the composition of the *Tractatus* before this conviction.<sup>187</sup> Even though it is possible that Hubert – if he really was the author of the *Tractatus* – was convicted precisely for writing this vehement work, we still think that its composition should rather be situated after the Council of Autun (September 1077) and maybe even after that of Poitiers (January 1078), because of its many similarities with the Cambrai and Noyon letters.

A study of the life of Hubert reveals additional elements to identify him as the author of the *Tractatus*. The polemicist

Among the victims were the provost and archdeacon Arnulf, abbot Manasses of Bergues and canon Ingelrannus, and these travelled to Rome to complain about the situation to Gregory VII; this led to, among other things, several papal letters *ad Flandrenses* in the years 1082-1083. Ten years later, in 1092, Arnulf headed the legation – of which Prior Bernold of Watten was also a member – sent by the Council of Rheims to Robert I to ensure that he would no longer confiscate the possessions of deceased clerics. Cf. GIRY, "Les évêques de Théroutane", p. 399-407; VERLINDEN, *Robert I<sup>er</sup>*, p. 119-127.

<sup>187</sup> DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 47-48.

must have been eminently literate, intelligent and must have had a thorough knowledge of the Bible, canon law and patristic texts. The *Exordium* tells us that Hubert was a *vir elegantis scientiae*,<sup>188</sup> and c. 1137-1148, Simon of Saint-Bertin described Hubert als a *satis honeste litteratus* in Liber II of his *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium*.<sup>189</sup> Although Simon wrote long after the facts, we have reason to assume that his information regarding Hubert is correct. Indeed, from 1081 to his death, Hubert was a member of the monastic community of Saint-Bertin, and Simon, who had entered this abbey as an oblate in 1085, might have known him. Did Hubert, in the diocese of Thérouanne, have access to the diverse works used as sources for the *Tractatus*? He probably did. The old abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer possessed a very rich library and an excellent scriptorium; the library of the collegiate church of Our Lady was more modest, but even so possessed some basis works.<sup>190</sup> From the 1090s onwards, three canonical collections

<sup>188</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 22 l. 39-40.

<sup>189</sup> Simon of Saint-Bertin, *Gesta abbatum*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 646, § 51 l. 6-7.

<sup>190</sup> On the libraries and *scriptoria* of Saint-Bertin and Our Lady in Saint-Omer: *The Autograph Manuscript of the Liber Floridus. A key of the Encyclopedia of Lambert of Saint-Omer*, ed. by A. DEROLEZ, Turnhout, 1998 (Corpus Christianorum, Autographa Medii Aevi, vol. IV), p. 12-17 and 29-34 with reference to the specific literature. The Bibliothèque de l'Agglomération of Saint-Omer conserves two manuscripts from the end of the eleventh century which belonged to the library of Our Lady in Saint-Omer: Ms. 188 containing the *Epistolae* of Gregory the Great and the *Liber Pontificalis*, and Ms. 189 which consists of two volumes with the *False Decretals* of Isidorus Mercator and a catalogue of popes ending with Gregory VII. The Letters of Pope Gregory, the *Liber Pontificalis* and the *False Decretals* were some of the primary sources of the author of the *Tractatus*. Moreover, the Ms. 188 from the end of the eleventh century, was copied in Saint-Bertin from Saint-Bertin originals (*The Autograph Manuscript*, ed. by DEROLEZ, p. 33 n. 45 and p. 192, Appendix II no. 4), which proves that this abbey possessed an exemplar of the *Epistolae* and the *Liber Pontificalis* before the end of the 11th C, which the author of the *Tractatus* might have used. Cf. MICHELANT [and DUCHET], *Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Saint-Omer*, p. 99-100 and p. 14-15 of the 'Additions et corrections'; S. WILLIAMS, "Le Ms. Saint-Omer 189 des Fausses Décrétales d'Isidore Mercator", *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, 20 (1964), p. 257-266; ID., *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani. A palaeographico-historical Study*, New York, 1971 (Monumenta Iuris

originated in the diocese of Arras and in Théroutanne, during the episcopacy of John of Warneton, which indicates that sufficient canon law sources were available in those regions.<sup>191</sup> So, it is not impossible that already a generation earlier, a supply of canon law texts had been present in Théroutanne or in its vicinity.

The *Exordium* also presents Hubert as a dominant man, not fully in control of himself: "he would have been worthy to rule, if he, as they say, would have had better control of himself."<sup>192</sup> He was stubborn, as the tenacity with which he continued to harass the regular canons of Watten evinces, while Odfrid, with whom Hubert was embroiled in an almost personal feud, was their leader.<sup>193</sup> He also gloried in his episcopal dignity, as becomes clear from a strange story, told by Simon of Saint-Bertin, relating events from the time when Hubert had entered that monastery.<sup>194</sup> One night, after having sung

Canonici, Series C, Subsidia, vol. 3), p. 55-56 no. 59. It is remarkable that both pro- and anti-gregorianists used the same base of texts for their respective arguments (e.g. the letters of Gregory I).

<sup>191</sup> The *Collection in Nine Books* is commonly ascribed to John, who would have written it when he was still archdeacon of the church of Arras (1096-1099); it is based on the *Collectio Atrebatensis* in the MS. Arras 425. The *Collection in Ten Parts*, a revision of John's *Collection in Nine Books*, was composed c. 1123 by Walter, archdeacon of Théroutanne, under the supervision of bishop John. Cf. P. FOURNIER and G. LE BRAS, *Histoire des Collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, Paris, 1931-1932 (Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit, 4), vol. 2, p. 259-306; L. WAELKENS and D. VAN DEN AUWEELE, "La collection de Théroutanne en IX livres à l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-Blandin: le codex Gandavensis 235", *Sacris Erudiri*, 24 (1980), p. 115-153; L. FOWLER-MAGERL, *Clavis Canonum. Selected Canon Law Collections Before 1140. Access with data processing*, Hanover, 2005 (MGH, Hilfsmittel, 21), p. 206-214; L. KÉRY, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington DC, 1999 (History of Medieval Canon Law, 1), p. 262-264 and 279; MÜNSCH, "Ein Streitschriftenfragment zur Simonie", p. 619-629.

<sup>192</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 172, § 22 l. 39-40: "In cuius sedem Hubertus, eiusdem ecclesiae archidiaconus, subrogatur, vir elegantis scientiae ac dignus dominio, si sibi, ut aiunt, dominari potuisset ..."

<sup>193</sup> *Chronica*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 174-175, § 25-27.

<sup>194</sup> Simon of Saint Bertin, *Gesta abbatum*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 646, § 52 l. 14-22.

matins, Hubert had insistently (*instanter*) asked God whether He might not show unto him, who had been a bishop, when he would die. Next, Hubert had fallen into a deep sleep and had heard a voice from above say: "I have read and reread the Book of Life, but nowhere in it have I found the name of bishop Hubert." According to Simon, this did not mean that Hubert would not be granted eternal life, just that God was displeased with him, because Hubert had explicitly referred to himself as 'bishop', even though he would not die a bishop at all. The story proves that Hubert was remembered by the monks as a proud and vain man, even though, at the end, he was not buried in the abbey church, but in the nearby priory of Saint-Momelin, and this at his own request. Only in death was Hubert humble, Simon suggested.

We have noticed the great respect for the episcopal dignity of the author of the *Exordium*, which fits in well with Hubert's character. But there is more, when we have a look at his ecclesiastical career. Indeed, Hubert seems to have been archdeacon for a remarkably long time. He first appears in that capacity in a charter from 1026, still during the episcopacy of Bishop Baldwin of Thérouanne († 1030).<sup>195</sup> After that time, he regularly signed the charters of Bishop Drogo of Thérouanne, who succeeded Baldwin.<sup>196</sup> This means that Hubert, just like Drogo, must have been at an advanced age in the 1070s, probably in his seventies.<sup>197</sup> This might explain his inflexibility and his problems with adapting to innovation. After having been an archdeacon for fifty years, Hubert was then elected bishop, *electione cunctorum*, according to Simon of

<sup>195</sup> *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, ed. by M. GUÉRARD, Paris, 1841 (Collections de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Série in-4<sup>o</sup>, Collection des cartulaires de France), p. 176.

<sup>196</sup> For a survey: BLED, *Regestes*, p. 136. There is no reason to assume that this is a different person.

<sup>197</sup> Ever since the Third Lateran Council in 1179, archdeacons had to be at least 25, which situates Hubert's date of birth around 1000. Hubert can only have died on 15 September 1095, at the very earliest, during the abbacy of Lambert (1095-1124). So he must have been about 95 years of age, possibly somewhat less (if he was younger than 25 when he became archdeacon). AMANIEU, "Archidiacre", col. 976.



Saint-Bertin,<sup>198</sup> with the approval of all – the cathedral canons, but probably also the count of Flanders.

If Hubert is indeed the author of the *Tractatus*, which was written after the Councils of Autun (Sept. 1077) or Poitiers (Jan. 1078) and before the summer (June–July) of 1078, then this implies that either he wrote it during the period that Bishop Drogo had been deposed and that episcopal government was *de iure* absent in Thérouanne, or when Drogo was still bishop, but had little hold left on the situation in his diocese because of his advanced age and his *simplicitas* (cf. the *Exordium*). This specific situation and the fact that Hubert had been an archdeacon for so long, might explain the fascination and the respect for the episcopal function displayed by the author of the *Tractatus*. Also the passage in which the polemicist refers to the way a bishop should be elected, seems to fit the situation of Hubert like a glove.<sup>199</sup> Indeed, the polemicist here lashes out at inexperienced neophytes who are foreign to the place to which they are appointed bishop, and who are given preference “to those who have served in that church from childhood passing through the successive grades”.<sup>200</sup> The latter characterization describes Hubert to a T; since he had been attached to the Thérouanne cathedral ever since his youth, it might reflect his fear of being passed over – after half a century of loyal service – as the next bishop of Thérouanne, in favour of a very young candidate from elsewhere, possibly after the intervention of a papal legate or under pressure of the reform-minded. A portrait of the ideal bishop is sketched in the passage from St Paul’s first letter to Timothy that the *Tractatus* alludes to without directly quoting. It is a passage that would have been well known to the intended readers. Did Hubert model himself on this portrait?

This identification would also explain why the author of the *Tractatus* thinks that he can impose an excommunication – in another quotation from Paul, a curse or *anathema* is men-

<sup>198</sup> Simon of Saint-Bertin, *Gesta abbatum*, ed. by HOLDER-EGGER, p. 646, § 51 l. 6.

<sup>199</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 8–15.

<sup>200</sup> FRAUENKNECHT, *Die Verteidigung*, p. 258, l. 12–13: “... qui ab infantia sua per singulos gradus in ecclesiis militaverint ...”

tioned – on all the reform-minded. Being an archdeacon with decades of experience and just a breath away from the episcopal dignity, Hubert might have deemed it permitted him to already use this weapon of punishment somewhat prematurely, or at least give a taste of what his reign would be like, once he was elected bishop. We have already seen that in 1078 the newly-elected bishop Hubert did not hesitate to strike the reform-minded new abbot of Bergues, Manasses, and his advisor, Prior Odfrid of Watten, with an *anathema*, even though they had the support of the papal legate, Hugh of Die, and of Pope Gregory VII himself.

Possibly, the quotations at the end taken from letters to bishops and St Paul's advice to the *seniores*, to resist the innovation, were not selected randomly. Should they be read as a kind of manifesto in which Hubert indicates that he will see to it that the *canones* are respected (letters Leo and Gregory) and that he will come down hard on those who violate their dignity (letter Leo and Gal. 1, 8)? A kind of proposal for a policy plan in which he promises to shepherd his flock not out of compulsion, the pursuit of profit or the thirst for power, but wholeheartedly, of his own volition and as an example for his flock, like the *seniores* mentioned in the First Letter from Peter?<sup>201</sup> At least he will not impose upon them unnecessary burdens, as the innovators do, and he will not be sanctimonious or hypocritical (reference to the cup and the whitened sepulchres in Matt. 23<sup>202</sup>). In the preamble of the charter which Hubert had drafted in Théroutanne in 1079 to re-estab-

<sup>201</sup> According to DE SMET, *De Heilige Jan van Waasten*, p. 50, Hubert uses *seniores* to refer to Drogo. This seems rather unlikely, since Drogo had either already been deposed as a bishop, or was letting things drift as a result of his advanced age and *simplicitas*. We should, however, keep in mind that in the 1070s Hubert probably already was in his seventies, and could definitely be considered one of the *seniores*.

<sup>202</sup> In the abbey chronicle of Lorsch (*Chronicon Laureshamense*), the monks of the abbey of Hirsau in the south of Germany, true preachers of the Gregorian ideas, are also compared to 'whitewashed tombs'. Cf. *Chronicon Laureshamense*, ed. by A. F. PERTZ, Hanover, 1869 (reprint: Stuttgart - New York, 1963) (*MGH*, SS, 21), p. 432, l. 14-15: "Audent mentiri Christo, plane Pharisei, Alba sepulchra foris, et ab intus plena fetoris"; MIRBT, *Die Publizistik*, p. 304-305. More on the resemblances between the German

lish the abbey of Auchy-les-Moines, he testifies to the seriousness with which he has assumed the office of bishop and he expresses the desire to be a model and an example of all kinds of goodness, as long as God proposes him.<sup>203</sup>

When we read the final part of the *Tractatus*, keeping in mind Hubert's personality and the specific circumstances of time and place, these sentences acquire a very pregnant meaning.

### *Conclusion*

The *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* can in all probability be identified with the "wise letter of our neighbors" (*finitimorum litteris probabilibus*) to which the Cambrai clergy, and afterwards the Noyon clergy, responded. On the basis of its content, the composition of the treatise and of the Cambrai and Noyon letters can be situated either after the Council of Autun (10-17 September 1077) or shortly after the Council of Poitiers (15 January 1078). The months June-July 1078 can serve as a *terminus ante quem*, but the composition of the *Tractatus*, to which the letters from Cambrai and Noyon are a response, should necessarily be situated closer to the former date than to the latter. The geographical reference to a region adjacent to the diocese of Cambrai is a crucial element in our search for the origin of the treatise. Of all the dioceses adjoining the double diocese of Cambrai-Arras the vast diocese of Thérouanne is the most likely candidate for being the location where this polemical work originated. Both the correspondence of Pope Gregory VII with the comital family and with the Thérouanne archdeacons and bishop in the years 1076-1080, and the foundation history of the community of regular

monastery of Hirsau and Watten: MEIJNS, "Hirsau dans la plaine côtière flamande?", forthcoming.

<sup>203</sup> DE CARDEVACQUE, *Histoire de l'abbaye d'Auchy-les-Moines*, p. 173, no. I: "Quo circa, quoniam alieno in labore quequam gloriari absurdum valde est ac virtuti contrarium, placuit et mihi, quo sit mea intentio exsequendi, in-junctum officium in uno opusculo presignar, ne commissi talenti videar re-positor, cum sim forma et exemplar totius bonitatis vobis prepositus a Domino."

canons of Watten which was first established *c.* 1072, clearly indicate that the celibacy legislation which had been promulgated at the Lenten Synods of 1074-1075 met with fierce resistance in the diocese of Thérouanne, and that it was to be a very arduous task indeed to have the decrees observed. The presence of a small but persistent core of reformers in Watten, with at its head a prior who had obtained special privileges from Gregory VII with regard to preaching and forgiving sins, caused the situation to escalate. In his work, the anonymous author of the *Tractatus* loudly voices his discontent with the general state of affairs in the Church and with the far-reaching consequences of the new legislation for the clergy around him. While writing, he intentionally or unwittingly revealed some information about his identity: he was a canon – more than likely belonging to a cathedral chapter – possibly even an archdeacon, given his deep pastoral concern, an intelligent and literate man with a lengthy record of service and an authoritative voice, as the reactions to his work by the Cambrai and Noyon clergy suggest. A profile, in short, which overall fits the archdeacon and future bishop Hubert of Thérouanne rather well.

### *Summary*

In scholarly literature there is no consensus concerning the origin and the author of the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*, an anonymous polemical writing in favour of clerical marriage. In this article, the author argues that the treatise was written either after the Council of Autun (10-17 Sept. 1077) or shortly after the Council of Poitiers (15 Jan. 1078), but certainly before June-July 1078, and that it has to be identified with the “wise letter of our neighbours” to which the Cambrai clergy responded in their polemical letter. Of all the dioceses adjoining the double diocese of Cambrai-Arras the diocese of Thérouanne is the most likely location where the polemical work originated. A serious candidate for the authorship is archdeacon and future bishop Hubert of Thérouanne.

# Zwei geistliche Gedichte des Petrus Abaelardus

von

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Die menschliche Natur bietet, was die Dichtungen und Schriften des Philosophen Petrus Abaelardus angeht, ein merkwürdiges Schauspiel. Werke, die schon in frühen und zuverlässigen Handschriften seinen Namen tragen, werden ihm aus allerlei subjektiven Überlegungen heraus abgesprochen oder nicht einmal zulänglich ediert, während man sich andererseits darin gefällt, ihm mit den haltlosesten Argumenten neue Schriften zuzuweisen. Es scheint so, als ließe sich der besonnene Mittelweg zwischen Skeptizismus und Leichtgläubigkeit, wenn überhaupt, dann nur mit großer Mühe finden. Auf ihm längere Zeit zu wandeln ist wohl keinem Sterblichen vergönnt. Doch verzichte ich gerne auf weitere Polemik. Stattdessen werde ich im folgenden Aufsatz zwei Gedichte in einer kritischen Neuedition vorstellen, welche schon um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts Abaelard namentlich zugewiesen wurden. Aus der Betrachtung ihrer dichterischen Form werden sich wichtige Konsequenzen für den Charakter seiner Dichtkunst und möglicherweise für weitere Zuschreibungen ergeben.

Der Kanon der großen Dichtungen Abaelards steht seit langem fest. Die sechs *Planctus*<sup>1</sup> versuchen, bekannte Begebenheiten des Alten Testaments durch die Verwendung unvermüte-

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, Bde. 1-3 (Berlin 1905-1936; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) Bd. 1, 340-374; Massimo SANNELLI (Hrsg.), *Pietro Abelardo, Planctus* (Trento 2002); Ursula NIGGLI, *Peter Abaelard als Dichter* (Tübingen 2007). – Angekündigt, aber noch nicht erschienen ist eine zweisprachige englische Ausgabe von Juanita

ter Perspektiven und durch ihre originelle Darstellung in ein neues Licht zu rücken. Den *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*<sup>2</sup> hat Abaelard für die Stundengebete und Gottesdienste im Paraklet gedichtet, um Heloise und ihren Nonnen die Möglichkeit zu geben, neben den traditionellen Hymnen auch solche zu singen, die inhaltlich besser auf den liturgischen Zweck ausgerichtet sind. Seinem Sohn Petrus Astralabius zugedacht ist eine lose Sammlung von moralischen und geistlichen Lebensregeln, das *Carmen ad Astralabium*<sup>3</sup>. Gerade dieses erfreute sich bei den Zeitgenossen bis hin zum aufkommenden Humanismus einer außerordentlichen Beliebtheit. Mit den nicht weniger als 17 erhaltenen Handschriften (ungerechnet der Streuüberlieferung) gehört es zu den am häufigsten überlieferten Werken Abaelards.

Bei den Zeitgenossen weit bekannter waren aber wohl die Liebesgedichte. Aus dem Briefwechsel zwischen Abaelard und Heloise wissen wir von seinen Liedern, welche wegen der schönen Melodien sogar die Ungebildeten auf öffentlichen Straßen und Plätzen gesungen haben sollen: ... *pleraque amatorio metro uel rithmo composita reliquisti carmina, que, pre nimia suauitate tam dictaminis quam cantus sepius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant, ut illiteratos etiam melodie dulcedo tui non sineret immemores esse* ...<sup>4</sup> Doch sind diese *carmina* entwe-

Feros RUYS - John O. WARD (Hrsg.), *The Repentant Abelard: Abelard's Thought as Revealed in his Carmen ad Astralabium and Planctus* (New York).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph SZÖVÉRFY (Hrsg.), *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, Bde. 1-2 (Albany N.Y. - Brookline Mass. 1975); Chrysogonus WADDELL (Hrsg.), *Hymn Collections from the Paraclete*, Bde. 1-2 (Cistercian Liturgy Series 8-9; Gethsemani Abbey, Trappist Ky. 1989).

<sup>3</sup> Josepha Marie Annaïs RUBINGH-BOSSCHER (Hrsg.), *Peter Abelard, Carmen ad Astralabium, A Critical Edition* (Diss. Groningen 1987). Eine Neuedition des *Carmen*, welche im Corpus Christianorum erscheinen soll, wird in Groningen vorbereitet; auch eine zweisprachige englische Ausgabe ist angekündigt in RUYS - WARD, *The Repentant Abelard* (Anm. 1). – Zur reichen Textüberlieferung vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen des Carmen ad Astralabium des Petrus Abaelardus*, in: *Sacris Erudiri* 46 (2007) 187-240.

<sup>4</sup> Heloisa, epist. 2; ediert von: Jacques MONFRIN (Hrsg.), *Abélard, Historia calamitatum* (Paris <sup>3</sup>1967) 115, Z. 198-203; Eric HICKS (Hrsg.), *La vie et les epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys sa fame* (Paris - Genève 1991) 51; *Lettres d'Abélard et Héloïse*, hrsg. Éric HICKS - Thérèse MOREAU - Michel ZINK - Jean-Yves TILLIETTE (Paris 2007) 146-148. – Wann endlich wird man den

der verloren, oder aber noch nicht wieder identifiziert worden<sup>5</sup>. Wenn uns also nicht ausdrückliche Zuschreibungen oder Erwähnungen dieser Gedichte bei Abaelards Zeitgenossen zu Hilfe kommen, wird wohl kaum eine Aussicht bestehen, sie wiederzufinden. Immerhin hat Dieter Schaller einmal versucht, über diese entmutigende Situation hinauszukommen<sup>6</sup>. Indem er Gedichte aus dem Schülerkreis Abaelards (Hilarius von Orléans) und eines etwas jüngeren spanischen Zeitgenossen (des anonymen Autors der *Carmina Riniipullensia*) vergleicht und interpretiert, gelingt es ihm, ein Lied zu ermitteln, welches so berühmt gewesen sein muss, dass es von beiden Dichtern imitiert wurde, und das wegen der Nähe des Hilarius zu Abaelard vielleicht von diesem stammen mag: das *Carmen Buranum* 117. Zwar lassen sich für Schallers Hypothese keine schlüssigen Beweise anführen, doch besteht immerhin eine gewisse Möglichkeit, dass CB 117 aus dem Kreis von Abaelards Schülern, wenn nicht gar von ihm selbst stammt.

Doch hat uns die Fortuna tatsächlich ein zeitgenössisches Zeugnis aufbewahrt, dessen Bedeutung jedoch bis heute völlig verkannt wurde. Erst vor kurzem entdeckte ich, dass sich hinter den vier Versen, die auf einem Handschriftenfragment in Bloomington (Poole mss. Fragment 99) *Petrus Abailardus* zugewiesen werden, ein Liebesgedicht aus den weitgehend unbekannten *Carmina Florentina* verbirgt. Mit den weitreichenden Konsequenzen dieses sensationellen Fundes für die Literaturgeschichte werde ich mich an anderer Stelle beschäftigen<sup>7</sup>.

Irrsinn der Seiten- und Zeilenzählung in den Briefen Abaelards durch eine verbindliche Paragraphenzählung beenden ?

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. Peter DRONKE, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, Bde. 1-2 (Oxford 21968) Bd. 1, 313-318; SZÖVÉRFY, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (Anm. 2) Bd. 1, 17-18; Joseph SZÖVÉRFY, *Secular Latin Lyrics and Minor Poetic Forms of the Middle Ages*, Bd. 2 (Concord N.H. 1993) 270-273; Peter DRONKE - GIOVANNI ORLANDI, *New Works by Abelard and Heloise* ? in: *Filologia mediolatina* 12 (2005) 123-177, hier 140-142. – *Checklist* § 313.

<sup>6</sup> Dieter SCHALLER, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Texten der mittellateinischen Liebeslyrik in P. Dronkes neuer Edition*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 5 (1968) 7-17, hier 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Carsten WOLLIN, *Ein Liebeslied des Petrus Abaelardus in Bloomington (Indiana)*, in: *Revue Bénédictine* 119 (2009) im Druck. – *Checklist* § 355.

Doch hat Abaelard neben diesen vier Gruppen während seiner langen Karriere als Hochschullehrer auch immer wieder kleinere Gelegenheitsgedichte und Epigramme verfasst, die uns in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung aber nur noch in wenigen weit verstreuten Splittern greifbar sind. Ein kunstvolles Figurengedicht, das von der Inkarnation und der Heilstat Christi handelt, hat Ulrich Ernst unlängst neu herausgegeben und erklärt<sup>8</sup>. Ebenfalls hierhin gehören ein freches und selbstbewusstes Liebesbillet an Heloise sowie eine spöttische Antwort auf das prahlerische Selbstlob des Magisters Guido von Étampes<sup>9</sup>. Vermutlich aus konkreten Lebenssituationen heraus entstanden sind zwei Epigramme über die schlichte Kleidung der Nonnen (an Heloise) und über einen Prahlhans, der sich mit geliehenen Festkleidern schmückt. Beide Gedichte fanden später in veränderter Form Eingang in das *Carmen ad Astralabium*<sup>10</sup>.

Nach der Überschrift in einer Züricher Handschrift des späten 12. Jahrhunderts (*Epitaphium Petri Baiolardi a semet compositum*) soll Abaelard selbst das Epitaphium *Servi animam servans* für sein Grabmal verfasst haben<sup>11</sup>. Für die Möglichkeit, dass dieses Gedicht auf Abaelard oder zumindest seine engste Umgebung, Heloise oder seine Schüler, zurückgeht, spricht die Überlieferung in einer kleinen Sammlung von Abaelardiana sowie die unregelmäßige metrische Form, welche später von seinen Schülern in demjenigen Epitaphium nachgeahmt wur-

<sup>8</sup> Ulrich ERNST, *Ein unbeachtetes 'Carmen figuratum' des Petrus Abaelardus*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 21 (1986) 125-146; ID., *Carmen Figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Köln - Weimar - Wien 1991) 629-639. – *Checklist* § 373.

<sup>9</sup> Erklärt und abgedruckt bei Carsten WOLLIN, *Die Lebenswelt der mittelalterlichen Intellektuellen im Spiegel der lateinischen Epigrammatik*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 40/2 (2005) 225-261, hier 244-245, 250-251. – *Checklist* § 376.

<sup>10</sup> Neu ediert bei WOLLIN, *Neue Textzeugen des Carmen ad Astralabium* (Anm. 3) 220-228.

<sup>11</sup> WIC 17581; ediert bei Johann Jakob WERNER, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Aarau <sup>2</sup>1905; Reprint Hildesheim 1979) 24, Nr. 50; mit verbessertem Text bei Peter DRONKE, *Abelard and Heloise in Medieval Testimonies*, in: ID., *Intellectuals and Poets in Medieval Europe* (Storia e letteratura 183; Roma 1992) 247-294, hier 284-285; Ursula NIGGLI (Hrsg.), *Peter Abaelard. Leben, Werk, Wirkung* (Freiburg im Breisgau 2003) 324 Faksimile, 325 Text und Übersetzung. – *Checklist* § 450.



de, welches dann tatsächlich auf seinem Grab zu lesen war<sup>12</sup>. Die Autoren der *Gallia Christiana* überliefern unter dem Namen Abaelards noch ein Epigramm zu Ehren des Alfons de Goulaine, der den Frieden zwischen Philipp I. von Frankreich und dem englischen König Wilhelm Rufus vermittelt hatte<sup>13</sup>. Solange aber ungeklärt ist, wie das Gedicht bis ins 18. Jahrhundert überliefert wurde und ob Abaelard in der genannten historischen Situation überhaupt als Autor in Frage kommen kann, sind vorerst berechnete Zweifel an seiner Autorschaft angebracht. Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit unecht ist der anonym überlieferte Hymnus *Mittit ad uirginem*, welchen zuerst Jodocus Clichtoveus (1516) und dann André Duchesne (1616) aufgrund mündlicher (?) Tradition und des literarischen Wertes Abaelard zugeschrieben haben<sup>14</sup>. Abschließend möchte ich noch auf ein allgemein übersehenes Epigramm hinweisen, das unmittelbar nach Abaelards Kastration im Kreis seiner Anhänger entstanden ist. Wie ich bei anderer Gelegenheit zeigen werde, liegt die Bedeutung dieses Gedichts darin, dass es sowohl ein Zeugnis für die öffentliche Entrüstung über die Untat Fulberts, als auch den frühesten Beleg für die manieristische Metapher des erotischen Daktylus bietet<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> WIC 5842; Inc. *Est satis in titulo* (auch *Sufficit in titulo*); hrsg. in PL 178, 92A; WERNER, *Beiträge* (Anm. 11) 24, Nr. 51; DRONKE, *Abelard and Heloise* (Anm. 11) 285; NIGGLI, *Peter Abaelard* (Anm. 11) 324 Faksimile, 325 Text und Übersetzung. – Dieses Epitaphium wird schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts in dem anonymen Prisciankommentar *Promissimus* erwähnt (Richard William HUNT, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages. Collected Papers* [Amsterdam 1980] 79, Anm. 5): ‘Cui soli patuit, scibile quicquid erat.’ Iste uersus factus est in epitaphio Magistri P<etri> Abal<ardi> a quodam clerico suo post istum uersum: ‘Sufficit; in tumultu iacet hoc Petrus Abailardus.’ – *Checklist* § 442 und 452.

<sup>13</sup> WIC fehlt; *Gallia Christiana* 7 (1744) 595; *Histoire littéraire de la France* 12 (1763) 136 (Dom CLÉMENT) mit ernst zu nehmenden Zweifeln; wieder in Victor COUSIN (Hrsg.), *Petri Abaelardi opera* (Paris 1849; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) Bd. 1, 348, Anm. 1. – *Checklist* § 338.

<sup>14</sup> Chevalier 11653; WIC fehlt; André DUCHESNE, *Petri Abaelardi ... Opera* (Paris 1616) 1136-1137; COUSIN (Anm. 13) Bd. 1, 328-329; PL 178, 1815-1818. – *Checklist* § 360.

<sup>15</sup> WIC 3541; gedruckt in: *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Bd. 7 (Wien 1875;

Der Vergessenheit entreißen werde ich im folgenden Aufsatz zwei Gedichte, die schon in Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts Abaelards Namen tragen. Das Gedicht *Lux orientalis*, ein Lobpreis der Jungfrau Maria, ist zwar schon lange unter Abaelards Namen gedruckt, hat aber bis heute keine kritische Edition erfahren; während das Kreuzgedicht *Quam uenerabilis* ohne Verfassernamen in den *Analecta hymnica* eher versteckt als veröffentlicht wurde.

### 1. Der Marienpreis *Lux orientalis*

Überwiegend nordfranzösischer Provenienz ist eine Reihe von Handschriften, welche Petrus Abaelardus als Autor des Marienpreises *Lux orientalis et amica Dei specialis*<sup>16</sup> benennen. Dieses Gedicht in 31 (bzw. 30) leoninischen Hexametern ist in zwei Textfassungen ( $\alpha$   $\beta$ ) erhalten, wobei sich  $\beta$  von  $\alpha$  nur durch den Ausfall zweier Halbverse (4b, 5a) unterscheidet:

$\alpha$ <sup>17</sup>	P	Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 16565 (fol. 59r-v)	nach 1172
	V	Città del Vaticano, BAV, Ms. Vat. lat. 636 (fol. 125r)	s. 12/13
$\beta$ <sup>18</sup>	D	Douai, Bm, Ms. 825 (fol. 140r-140v)	1165-1185

Reprint Graz 1965) 235-236; vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Der erotische Daktylus (eine Anmerkung zu Alanus de Insulis, De planctu Nature 1, 31-32)*, in Vorbereitung.

<sup>16</sup> CHEVALIER 19862; WIC 10519. – *Checklist* § 359.

<sup>17</sup> Beschreibungen geben für P: Léopold Victor DELISLE, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris 1863-1871; Reprint Hildesheim 1974) 66; Edmond ALBE, *Les miracles de Notre-Dame de Roc-Amadour* (Paris 1907) 10-12. – V: Marco VATASSO - Pio Franchi DE' CAVALIERI, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, Bd. 1 (Roma 1902) 484-485.

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. die Beschreibungen von D in: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, Bd. 6 (Paris 1878) 545-547; Carsten WOLLIN, *Der 'Floridus Aspectus' D des Petrus Riga: Erstausgabe nach der Handschrift Douai 825 (Teil I)*, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 43/3 (2008) 355-391, hier 389-391. – K: Wilhelm WATTENBACH, *Beschreibung einer Handschrift mittelalterlicher Gedichte* (Berl. Cod. theol. oct. 94), in: SB Berlin (1895) 1, 123-157; wieder in: Id., *Kleine Abhandlungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte* (Leipzig 1970) 431-465, Nr. 15; Beate BRAUN-NIEHR, *Die theologischen lateinischen Handschriften in Octavo der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz*,

- K* Krakau (olim Berlin), Biblioteka Jagiel- 1162-1180  
 lońska, Ms. theol. lat. oct. 94 (fol. 135r)
- L* London, BL, Ms. Ad. 22287 (fol. 128r-128v) s. 12
- M* Mons, Bibliothèque centrale de s. 13 inc.  
 l'Université de Mons-Hainaut (olim Bibl. publ.)  
 Ms. 25/118 (fol. 52v-53r)
- T* Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomé- nach 1229  
 ration troyenne (olim Bibl. munic.)  
 Ms. 1916 (fol. 85r)

Die Textfassung  $\alpha$  wird in den Handschriften *P* und *V* in Gemeinschaft mit geistlichen Prosatexten überliefert. So hat man in der Handschrift *P*, welche vermutlich aus der Diözese Cambrai stammt, eine Sammlung von aktueller Marienliteratur angelegt: in einem ersten Teil die Mirakelsammlung aus dem berühmten Wallfahrtsort Rocamadour (fol. 1r-34v) sowie die Marienwunder von Soisson des Hugo Farsit (fol. 35r-48v); in einem zweiten Teil eine Sammlung von marianischen Gedichten, Gebeten und Psalmen (fol. 49r-71v). Die Handschrift *V* war Eigentum der dänischen Zisterziensersabtei Esrom (auf Seeland in der Diözese Roskilde). Hier folgt *Lux orientalis* zusammen mit zwei anderen geistlichen Gedichten (Bedas *Versus de die iudicii* und der anonymen *Cartula*) auf eine umfangreiche Sammlung von Pilgerführern ins Heilige Land und nach Rom.

Innerhalb der Fassung  $\beta$  ist *K* vermutlich die älteste Handschrift (ca. 1162-1180). Sie stammt aus dem Kloster Hautmont (bei Maubeuge) und bewahrt eine Sammlung moderner französischer Dichter auf: neben Marbod von Rennes, Hildebert von Lavardin, Roland von Dol, Hugo Primas, Bernardus Silvestris, Petrus von Saintes sind hier vor allem Stücke aus dem *Floridus Aspectus* des Petrus Riga vertreten. Es handelt

*Teil 1* (Wiesbaden 2007) 168-174. – *L*: *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLIV-MDCCCLX* (London 1875) 627-628; die Handschrift fehlt bei Rudolf GÖY, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Hugos von St. Viktor* (Stuttgart 1976). – *M*: Paul FAIDER - Germaine FAIDER-FEYTMANS, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la Ville de Mons* (Gent 1931) 36-39. – *T*: *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, Bd. 2 (Paris 1855) 791.

sich um eine typische Sammlung von Mustergedichten, wie man sie in den Schulen Nord- und Ostfrankreichs oft für den Unterricht in der Dichtkunst angelegt hat. Da die jüngsten Gedichte aus der Feder des Petrus Riga stammen, könnte die Zusammenstellung, jedenfalls in Teilen, auf dessen Lehrtätigkeit in Reims zurückgehen. Die Codices *D* und *L* sind, was Abaelards Gedicht betrifft, zwar nicht voneinander abhängig, doch eng verwandt. *D* stammt aus der Abtei Anchin (bei Douai) und *L* aus dem Coelestinerpriorat Sainte-Croix d'Offement (Diözese Soisson). In beiden Handschriften finden wir *Lux orientalis* neben der großen Satire *De contemptu mundi* des Bernhard von Cluny und Gedichten des Petrus Riga<sup>19</sup>. Die Gedichtsammlungen *D K L* enthalten aber meines Wissens neben *Lux orientalis* keine weiteren Gedichte Abaelards. Während die übrigen Gedichte hier in der Regel ohne Autornamen überliefert werden, fällt es auf, dass dieser bei *Lux orientalis* in übereinstimmender Form genannt wird: *Versus magistri Petri Abailardi de sancta Maria uirgine*<sup>20</sup>. *T* hingegen stammt aus der Bibliothek von Clairvaux und enthält ein Florilegium aus den Kirchenvätern, welches ein sonst nicht bekannter Johannes von Clairvaux zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts kompiliert und mit dem wohlklingenden Titel *Resina scripturarum* versehen hat. Dieses bisher kaum beachtete Florilegium ist besonders durch seine poetischen Bestandteile wertvoll, denn in einem marianischen Teil stehen neben Abaelards *Lux orientalis* auch ein Mariengedicht des Petrus Riga (Flor. Asp. A 2) und die berühmte Marienklage des Gottfried von St. Viktor (*Planctus ante nescia* = CB 14\*). Die größte Überraschung war aber für mich der Fund von Liedern Philipp des Kanzlers, teils von bekannten, teils von bislang unbekannten Stücken, welche hier namentlich dem *can-*

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. WOLLIN, *Der 'Floridus Aspectus' D des Petrus Riga (Teil I)* (Anm. 18) 390-391 : Nr. 11, 12, 15.

<sup>20</sup> Zu den orthographischen Abweichungen des Namens Abaelardus (*Abellardi D, Abeilardi K, Abailardi L, Ababelardi M*) vgl. Constant J. MEWS, *In Search of a Name and its Significance : A Twelfth-Century Anecdote about Thierry and Peter Abaelard*, in: *Traditio* 44 (1988) 171-200.

*cellarius* zugewiesen werden<sup>21</sup>. Da Philipp hier bereits als Kanzler der Pariser Universität titulierte wird, kann *T* also erst nach 1229 geschrieben sein.

Die frühe Entstehungszeit der Handschriften *D* und *K* (ca. 1162-1185) sowie die Übereinstimmung und Provenienz der beiden Handschriftenfamilien lassen eine gemeinsame Vorlage erkennen, welche schon um 1150, wenn nicht noch früher, in Nordfrankreich existierte und den Namen Abaelards trug. Damit ist die Zuweisung des Gedichts an unseren Dichter zeitlich und geographisch mindestens ebenso gut bezeugt wie die der großen logischen, theologischen und ethischen Schriften. Für die oft vorgebrachten Zweifel an der Echtheit gibt es keine fassbaren Argumente, vielmehr spiegelt sich in diesen Zweifeln ein Unverständnis der modernen Forschung für die Freude des Dichters an der Wortvirtuosität und dem sprachlichen Experiment wider, welche in *Lux orientalis* zum Ausdruck kommt.

Von Abaelards Gedicht wurde bisher nur die Fassung  $\alpha$  gedruckt<sup>22</sup>. Édelestand du Ménil edierte sie 1847 nach *P*. Für die außerordentliche sprachliche Virtuosität des Gedichts allerdings bringt er wenig Verständnis auf, er bemerkt vielmehr: „Aussi, malgré la complète nullité des idées et la puérité de ses recherches rythmiques, croyons-nous devoir publier en entier cette Prière à la Vierge“. Diesen Text übernahm 1849 Victor Cousin in seine große Ausgabe der Werke Abaelards, wobei er eine Kollation von *M* hinzufügte. Offensichtlich ohne Kenntnis von du Ménil und Cousin edierte Guido Maria Dreves das Gedicht erneut 1893 in den *Analecta hymnica*, diesmal aus *V*. Da Abaelards Name in *V* nicht genannt wird, erregte dieser Hymnus unter Zehntausenden bei Dreves kein besonderes Interesse. Meine Neuedition der Fassung  $\alpha$  basiert

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. Carsten WOLLIN, *Unbekannte Lieder Philipp des Kanzlers in der Resina scripturarum des Johannes von Clairvaux* (in Vorbereitung).

<sup>22</sup> Édelestand DU MÉNIL, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris 1847) 428-429; Victor COUSIN, *Petri Abaelardi opera*, Bd. 1 (Paris 1849; Reprint Hildesheim 1970) 329-330; Guido Maria DREVES, *Analecta hymnica* 15 (Leipzig 1893) 151, Nr. 124. – Hans Walther (WIC) Hinweis auf DUCHESNE, *Petri Abaelardi ... Opera* (Anm. 14) 1136 beruht auf einer Verwechslung mit dem Hymnus *Mittit ad uirginem*.

ebenfalls auf *P*, zieht aber für den kritischen Apparat alle bis heute bekannten Handschriften heran.

Über den Inhalt fasse ich mich kurz. Der Dichter spricht die Jungfrau Maria an, deren Taten und Eigenschaften er in einem Katalog von nicht weniger als 53 Adjektiven (ungerechnet der Pronomina und Partizipien) aufzählt und rühmt. Die Verse 1-30 verbinden miteinander Apostrophe und Epiklese. Inhaltlich und syntaktisch endet das Gedicht erst im letzten Vers als Gebet mit einer Euche. Wirft man einen Blick in die Darstellungen der mittellateinischen Mariendichtungen<sup>23</sup>, dann zeigt sich sogleich die unerhörte sprachliche Kühnheit unseres Gedichts. Statt der traditionellen Mariensymbolik benutzt der Dichter eine Fülle von Adjektiven auf *-alis* (insgesamt 40), wie sie damals gerade in der Logik und der scholastischen Theologie überaus beliebt waren. Selbst dort, wo altbekannte Sinnbilder ausgedrückt werden, geschieht das in der Umformung zu einem solchen Adjektiv.

Von größter Bedeutung für eine bessere Einschätzung von Abaelards dichterischer Persönlichkeit erweist sich weiterhin die Untersuchung der metrischen Form. Schon beim ersten Lesen erstaunt uns die Virtuosität der leoninisch gereimten Hexameter<sup>24</sup>. Zwar sind 23 von 31 Versen *Leonini* mit dem Tiradenreim *-alis*, doch wird die Tirade schon in Vers 21 von einem Reimpaar auf *-anis* unterbrochen. Drei Verspaare in abweichenden Reimarten (*Unisoni* und *Collaterales*) folgen, ein einzelner *Leoninus* beschließt das Gedicht:

<sup>23</sup> Einen Überblick über das gesamte Feld bieten Josef SZÖVÉRFY, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, Bde. 1-2 (Berlin 1964-1965); Frederic James Edward RABY, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1953). – Aus den zahlreichen Einzeluntersuchungen nenne ich nur ERICH AUERBACH, *Dante's Prayer to the Virgin (Paradiso, XXXIII) and Earlier Eulogies*, in: *Romance Philology* 3 (1949/50) 1-26; GEORG ENGLHARDT, *Die lateinische lyrische Mariendichtung im deutschen Sprachraum von den Anfängen bis zum Barock*, in: *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 16 (1965) 58-88; JOSEPH SZÖVÉRFY, *Marianische Motivik der Hymnen* (Leyden 1985).

<sup>24</sup> Zur Terminologie der gereimten Hexameter grundlegend ist noch immer MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Anm. 1), hier Bd. 1, 59-135 „Radewins Gedicht über Theophilus und die Arten der gereimten Hexameter“.

1-24	<i>Leonini</i> (Meyer II. 2)	Tiradenreim auf <i>-alis</i> (Ausnahme: 21 <i>-anis</i> )
25-26	<i>Unisoni</i> (Meyer II. 4)	reiner zweisilbiger Reim <i>-egis</i>
27-28	<i>Unisoni</i> (Meyer II. 4)	unreiner zweisilbiger Reim <i>-ignis</i> , <i>-itis</i> , <i>-imis</i> , <i>-ilis</i>
29-30	<i>Collaterales</i> (Meyer II. 1)	reine zweisilbige Reime auf <i>-ole</i> und <i>-ore</i>
31	<i>Leoninus</i> (Meyer II. 2)	zweisilbiger reiner Reime auf <i>-ure</i>

Bemerkenswert ist, dass der Dichter sich zwar selbst einen formalen Rahmen setzt (*Leonini* und Tiradenreim auf *-alis*), doch keine Bedenken trägt, diesen zu durchbrechen, sobald es ihm nötig scheint. Auch die plötzliche unregelmäßige Abwechslung verschiedener Reimarten und Reime in den Schlussversen stört ihn offensichtlich kaum. Steht der Reimzwang einem Gedanken entgegen, dann trägt schließlich der Gedanke den Sieg davon. In der Regel ist der Reim zweisilbig und rein, doch sind die Ausnahmen charakteristisch: Innerhalb der Tirade nimmt sich der Dichter die Freiheit, den Vers 21 mit abweichendem, wenn auch ähnlichem, Reim zu bilden (*-anis*); desgleichen verstösst er in V. 2 *salutaris* und V. 19 *suavis* mit Nonchalance gegen die konsonantische Reinheit des Reimes. In dem Paar von *Unisoni* (V. 27-28) gleicht in den Konsonanten kein Reim dem anderen. Trotzdem sind von den 62 Reimen 90% rein und zweisilbig; nur in 10% ist der zweisilbige Reim konsonantisch unrein. Einsilbige Reime oder auch Assonanzen fehlen völlig. Zuweilen entstehen auch drei- und viersilbige Reime durch Gleichformenreim (V. 3-6 *magisterialis* | *puerperialis* | *effigialis* | *conubialis*). In der folgenden Tabelle habe ich sie jedoch nicht aufgeführt, weil sie meistens nur im Endreim und nicht an der Zäsur stehen. Außerdem lässt sich nicht erkennen, ob sie vom Autor eigens gesucht wurden, oder nur zufällig entstanden sind:

einsilbig rein	0	0 %
zweisilbig unrein	6	10 %
zweisilbig (dreisilbig) rein	56	90 %

Synalöphe und Aphärese hat Abaelard in diesem Gedicht wegen des Reimschmucks vollständig gemieden, wohingegen

er sie im reimlosen *Carmen ad Astralabium* häufig benutzt<sup>25</sup>. Im zweiten Versfuß steht regelmäßig ein Spondäus (Ausnahme V. 26 *Qui dat in aure gregis*).

Mein Text folgt P, der ältesten und vollständigsten Handschrift der Fassung  $\alpha$ , welche schon du Méril seiner Ausgabe zugrunde gelegt hatte. Die zahlreichen Eigenfehler von V (Dreves), meistens Schreibfehler, wurden nicht verzeichnet; gleiches gilt in der Regel für orthographische Varianten.

*Edition der Fassung  $\alpha$*

(Paris, BnF, Ms. lat. 16565, fol. 59r-v)

VERSVS MAGISTRI PETRI ABaelARDI.

	Lvx orientalis	et amica Dei specialis,
	Avla salutaris,	genitrix pacis generalis,
	Virgo triumphalis,	persona magisterialis,
	Regula moralis,	regina puerperialis,
5	Femina regalis,	fidei calor e<f>figialis,
	Federe sponsalis,	sed nulli conubialis,
	Nec naturalis	usus pariendo iugalis,
	Spes mea causalis,	mediatrix sola uocalis,
	Mvnere pluralis,	largaque manu uenialis,
10	Hostia paschalis,	cuius fuit alta sub alis,
	Gloria uitalis,	saluatio spiritualis,
	O<p>s medicinalis,	placatio subsidialis,
	Mentio festalis,	operaria prodigialis,
	Dextra maritalis	quam non tetigit socialis,
15	Sed neque riuallis	se miscuit officialis,
	Sic immortalis	fuit actio spiritualis,
	Nullaque carnalis	corruptio feda sodalis,
	Flos rosa uernalis	in fructu perpetualis,
	Cuius odor suauis	uitiis est exitialis,
20	Stella diurnalis,	reuerentia catholicalis,
	Mentibus humanis	non est laus cuius inanis,
	Fons rationalis,	et Christi collateralis,
	Plus quam regalis,	quia non erit altera talis,

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. allgemein Paul KLOPSCH, *Einführung in die mittellateinische Verslehre* (Darmstadt 1972) 80-82; zum Versbau des *Carmen ad Astralabium* vgl. RUBINGH-BOSSCHER (Anm. 3) 101.



- Nec fuit equalis,            tam fortis et imperialis,  
 25 Mater ouans regis,        in cuius lumine degis,  
     Qvi dat in aure gregis        Diuine dogmata legis,  
     Nobilis, insignis,            memorabilis, inclita, mitis,  
     Strenua, sublimis,            et tota potenter herilis,  
     Ivre cluens prole,            pariens tamen absque dolore,  
 30 Splendidior sole,            celesti plena decore,  
     Fac fore me iure            sine fine tue geniture !

Amen.

Repp.: CHEVALIER 19862; WIC 10519; *Checklist* § 359.

Codd.: uersio  $\alpha$ : P (fol. 59r-v); V (fol. 125r). – uersio  $\beta$ : D (fol. 140r-140v); K (fol. 135r); L (fol. 128r-128v); M (fol. 52v-53r); T (fol. 85r).

Edd.: DU MÉRIL, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (1847) 428-429; COUSIN, *Petri Abaelardi opera* (1849) Bd. 1, 329-330; DREVES, *Analecta hymnica* 15 (1893) 151, Nr. 124.

*titulus*  $\alpha$ : Versus magistri Petri Abaelardi P, Versus de sancta Maria V -  $\beta$ : Versus magistri Petri Abailardi (Abellardi D, Abeilardi K, Abailardi L, Abahelardi M) de sancta (beata M) Maria uirgine (*om.* K) DKLM, Magister Petrus Abailardus T

**4b-5a** regina puerperialis / Femina regalis  $\alpha$ ] *om.*  $\beta$  6 Federe] Cedere *ut uideatur* L 8 mediatrix] mediatrix P - K 12 Ops] Os P 14 *om.* V  
**21** non est laus  $\alpha$  - MT] non laus est DKL **22** Fons] Mons P **23** erit P - DLMT] erat V, ē (est) K **26** *om.* V **28** potenter  $\alpha$ ] patenter  $\beta$   
*post* **30** Letitie portus cuius mundo fuit ortus *add.* V

## 2. Das Kreuzgedicht *Quam uenerabilis*

In den großen Gesamtausgaben Abaelards von André Duchesne, François d'Amboise (1616) und Victor Cousin (1849) fehlen bis heute die *Versus Petri Abaiolardi in laudem crucis*<sup>26</sup>, 12 kunstvoll gereimte Hexameter auf das Kreuz Christi. Diese sind in der Handschrift W (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 143) aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts und in L, einem noch nicht identifizierten Codex der British Library, erhalten. Den Verfassern der *Checklist* ist entgangen, dass Clemens Blume das Gedicht schon 1898 in den

<sup>26</sup> Inc. *Quam uenerabilis, inpreciables, hic ades, o crux*; CHEVALIER 32220, WIC 15176. – *Checklist* § 366 (372).

*Analecta hymnica* aus *L* ediert hatte<sup>27</sup>. Somit ist es also keineswegs ein Ineditum. Blume hingegen war offensichtlich die Handschrift *W* mit der Zuweisung an Abaelard unbekannt. Leider gibt Blume als Quelle für seinen Abdruck nur den folgenden Hinweis: „Add. ms. saec. 15. post Septemplex gaudia imp. s. l. et a.“ Um welches der in diesem Band der *Analecta hymnica* genannten Additional Manuscripts der British Library es sich handelt, habe ich noch nicht feststellen können. Doch lassen der anscheinend recht zuverlässige Text Blumes und die geringfügigen Abweichungen von *W* diese Lücke verschmerzen.

Die Verehrung des Kreuzes geht bis auf die frühe Christenheit zurück<sup>28</sup>. Die Auferstehung Christi bewirkt eine radikale Umdeutung seines Todes am Kreuz, welcher nun als notwendiges Ereignis der Heilsgeschichte angesehen wird. Erst aus seinem Tod gehen Auferstehung und Erhöhung hervor; das Instrument des Henkers wird zur Waffe Christi, mit der er Tod und Teufel besiegt, schließlich wird das Kreuz selbst das Zeichen des Sieges. Die Verehrung des Kreuzes gibt dem Gläubigen die Zuversicht auf das ewige Leben und schützt ihn vor den Anfeindungen des Teufels. Dichterisch hat sie zuerst in den fünf Kreuzeshymnen des Venantius Fortunatus (carm. 2, 1-2. 4-6) ihren beredten Ausdruck gefunden, besonders aber im berühmten *Pange lingua* (carm. 2, 2)<sup>29</sup>. Auch Abaelard hat nach eigener Aussage fünf Hymnen zum Fest der Auffindung des Kreuzes gedichtet, obgleich nach konventioneller Zählung im *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* nur drei erhalten sind (Szöverffy Nr. 66-68)<sup>30</sup>.

Abaelards Verse *Quam uenerabilis* besitzen keine scharf umrissene Gliederung, sondern reihen die Gedanken in lockerer Folge aneinander:

<sup>27</sup> Clemens BLUME, *Analecta hymnica* 31 (Leipzig 1898) 96, Nr. 77.

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 2 (1953) 2607-2623, s.v. Croix (mystère de la); TRE 19 (1990) 732-761, s.v. Kreuz; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5 (1991) 1489-1497, s.v. Kreuz, Kruzifix; LThK<sup>3</sup> 6 (1997) 441-451, s.v. Kreuz.

<sup>29</sup> Vgl. Joseph SZÖVERFFY, *Hymns of the Holy Cross* (Brookline, Mass. - Leyden 1976).

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. SZÖVERFFY, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (Anm. 2) Bd. 1, 34-35 und Bd. 2, 141-147.

- 1-2 Apostrophe des Kreuzes, welches dem Gläubigen als Führer beistehen soll.
- 3-7 Das Kreuz hat den Herrscher der Welt getragen und besitzt daher die Kraft, die Menschheit von ihren Sünden zu reinigen und zum ewigen Leben zu führen.
- 8-11 Das Kreuz schützt vor den Nachstellungen des Teufels. Daher soll die giftige Schlange die liturgischen Gefäße und den Titel Christi am Kreuz fliehen.
- 12 All dies vermag das am Kreuz vergossene Blut Christi zu bewirken.

Abaelard versucht den Stil lebendig zu gestalten, indem er von der Apostrophe Gebrauch macht: er spricht nacheinander das Kreuz (*o crux*), Christus (*o patris agne, ó leo magne*) und den Teufel an (*leo trux, letifer anguis*). Dazu passt auch gut der häufige Gebrauch des Imperativs und jussiven Konjunktivs. Im einleitenden Verspaar benutzt Abaelard, ähnlich wie im Marienpreis, eigentlich unpoetische Adjektive auf *-bilis* (*uenerabilis, inpreciables, amabilis, insuperabilis*). Anlass und Zweck des Gedichts jedoch bleiben unklar. Allein aus den Stellen *hic ades, o crux* (V. 1) und *Uasa Dei, titulum fidei fuge* (V. 11) wird man nicht ablesen dürfen, dass es sich um einen Titulus, also um die Aufschrift auf einem Kreuz handelt, denn *titulus* bezeichnet hier allein die dreisprachige Aufschrift (INRI), welche Pilatus auf dem Kreuz anbringen ließ (Matth. 27, 37 par.). Dennoch bleibt es eine ansprechende und berechtigte Vermutung, dass die Verse ursprünglich als Aufschrift für ein Kreuz oder eine Kreuzesdarstellung gedacht waren. Die Überschriften der beiden Handschriften helfen hier nicht weiter.

Über die Herkunft des Codex *W* lässt sich aus dem Katalog nichts entnehmen. Im 16. Jahrhundert gehörte er dem Wiener Professor der Medizin Wolfgang Lazius (1514-1565). Daher bleibt zu prüfen, ob vielleicht der Inhalt der Handschrift auf Frankreich als Ursprungsland der Texte hinweist oder wenigstens dem nicht widerspricht. Warum Constant Mews für unser Gedicht auch auf einen Eintrag im Katalog des Zisterzienserklosters Walderbach (Diözese Regensburg) verweist<sup>31</sup>, ist

<sup>31</sup> MEWS, *In Search of a Name* (Anm. 20) 178: „Another copy of these verses is mentioned in a catalogue of Walderbach ...“

mir unklar, denn dieser Katalog nennt für die (heute verlorene) Handschrift R.I. *Versus magistri Petri Baiolardi valde boni*, gibt jedoch kein Incipit an<sup>32</sup>. Ein ebenfalls in Walderbach vorhandenes Gedicht *Petrus Baiulardus de sacramentis metrice* (Hs. D.III.) ist vermutlich identisch mit dem weitverbreiteten Messgedicht des Petrus Pictor (carm. 2)<sup>33</sup>. Ich gebe zunächst eine Übersicht über die in *W* überlieferten Texte:

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 143.

Perg., 15 fol., s. 12, 1 Kolumne, 31 Zeilen<sup>34</sup>.

- fol. 1r-12r Inc. *Desideranti tibi scribi a me misteria omnium lapidum ...*  
Marbod von Rennes, *Liber lapidum*  
PL 171, 1737-1770; *Marbode of Rennes' (1035-1123) De Lapidibus*, hrsg. John M. RIDDLE (Wiesbaden 1977).
- fol. 12r „*Versus Petri Abaiolardi in laudem crucis.*“  
Inc. *Quam uenerabilis inpreciable hic ades o crux*  
CHEVALIER 32220; WIC 15176.
- fol. 12v-13r „*Versus vii sapientum. Bias. Fereneus dixerunt.*“  
Inc. *Quenam summa boni ? mens semper conscia recti*  
ICL 12912; WIC 15065; WPS 23136; hrsg. Rudolf PEIPER, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis opuscula* (Leipzig 1876) 406-408, Nr. XXII, I-VII.
- fol. 13r-v „*Versus Platonis ad quendam Tyberianum de Greco in Latinum translate [sic].*“  
Inc. *Omnipotens annosa poli quem suscipit etas*  
Tiberianus, carm. 4  
AL 490; ICL 11308; WIC 13323; hrsg. Silvia MATTIACCI, *I carmi e i frammenti di Tiberiano* (Firenze 1990) 58-59, Kom. 157-199.

<sup>32</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Bd. 4, Teil 1, hrsg. Christine Elisabeth INEICHEN-EDER (München 1977) 561, Z. 1430.

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. *Checklist* § 264.

<sup>34</sup> Vgl. die Beschreibung in *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Bd. 1 (Wien 1864; Reprint Graz 1965) 20.

- fol. 13v-14r „*Versus beati pape Gregorii.*“  
 Inc. *Virgo parens hac luce deumque uirumque*  
 Andreas Orator  
 AL 494c; CHEVALIER 34625; ICL 17345; WIC 20527.
- fol. 14r „*Virgilius.*“  
 Inc. *Vt belli sonuere tube uiolenta peremit*  
 AL 392; ICL 16845; WIC 19768.
- fol. 14r „Item eiusdem.“  
 Inc. *Sus iuuenis serpens casum uenere sub unum*  
 AL 160; ICL 15908; WIC 18931.
- fol. 14v-15v Inc. *Omni tempore si necessitas urget fleotomum est adhibendum ...*  
 Aderlassstraktat  
 PL 90, 959-962 mit Abweichungen; vgl. Lynn THORNDIKE - Pearl KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Cambridge Mass. 1963) 988.
- fol. 15v Inc. *Ad boree partes arcti uertuntur et angues*  
 AL 679; ICL 151; WIC 310.
- fol. 15v Inc. *Porticus est Rome qua dum spaciando fero me*  
 Marbod von Rennes, *carm.* 26  
 WIC 14284; *ed. princ.* Nr. 26; PL 171, 1685B-C, *carm.* I 59.

Für eine Bestimmung der Herkunft der kleinen Sammlung fallen die Gedichte des Tiberianus und Andreas Orator („Papst Gregor“) sowie die Stücke aus der *Anthologia latina* fort. Selbst wenn diese spätantiken Texte auch in Frankreich bekannt waren und dort gerne abgeschrieben wurden, lässt sich daraus noch keine Exklusivität ableiten. Ob der Aderlassstraktat in der hier vorliegenden Textgestalt auf eine bestimmte Provenienz verweist, entzieht sich leider meiner Kenntnis. Es bleiben also nur die beiden Gedichte Marbods von Rennes übrig, die ohne Zweifel in Frankreich entstanden sind. Doch erfreuten sich gerade diese beiden Stücke einer solchen Beliebtheit, dass sie schnell über ganz Europa verbreitet wurden. Wir kommen also zu einem negativen Ergebnis: Für eine Entstehung der Handschrift oder der Sammlung in Frankreich gibt es keine Hinweise. Doch spricht auch nichts gegen die Annahme, dass Abaelards Kreuzgedicht von Frankreich

aus zusammen mit den Gedichten Marbods in die Hände des Kopisten oder Kompilators gelangt ist<sup>35</sup>.

Für die Kenntnis von Abaelards Stil allerdings ist auch dieses unscheinbare Gedicht von großer Wichtigkeit. Wie schon in *Lux orientalis* zeigt sich auch hier die erstaunliche Freiheit, mit welcher er Metrum und Reim behandelt. Gerade die Abwechslung der unterschiedlichen Reimarten, selbst innerhalb einer syntaktischen Einheit wie den Versen 1-2, ist bemerkenswert. Die Grundformen sind der *Tripertitus dactylicus* und der *Trininus saliens*, je nachdem ob der Binnenreim mit einem Daktylus endet (*Tripertitus dactylicus*) oder ihn zerteilt (*Trininus saliens*). Diese Formen werden teils rein, teils in Varianten eingesetzt, ohne dass sich eine Regelmäßigkeit erkennen ließe:

1. 4-8     *Tripertiti dactyllici* (Meyer III. B. 7a, als Paar III. B. 10a)
- 2         Variante der *Tripertiti dactyllici*, wobei der Binnenreim um ein Metrum nach hinten verschoben ist
3. 10-12 *Trinini salientes* (Meyer III. A. 2a)
- 9         Variante der *Trinini salientes*, wobei der Binnenreim um ein Metrum nach hinten verschoben ist

Wenn sich auch deutlich eine Aufteilung der beiden Reimformen auf zwei Abschnitte (Verse 1-8 und 9-12) feststellen lässt, gestattet sich der Dichter im Einzelnen aber große Freiheiten. Schon der 2. Vers ändert die normale Reimverteilung des *Tripertitus dactylicus*, indem der Reim um ein Metrum nach hinten verschoben wird. Im 3. Vers wird mit dem *Trininus saliens* eine völlig neue Reimart vorweggenommen, die erst wieder im zweiten Teil (Verse 9-12) benutzt wird. Aber schon zu Beginn dieses Teils bietet der Vers 9 eine Variante des *Trininus saliens* mit Verschiebung des Reims<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Zur Überlieferung von Abaelards Schriften im Süden des Reiches vgl. Peter CLASSEN, *Zur Geschichte der Frühscholastik in Österreich und Bayern*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 67 (1959) 249-277; wieder in: *Id.*, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen* (Sigmaringen 1983) 279-306.

<sup>36</sup> Gerade diese zweite Reimverschiebung hat mich dazu bewogen, den von *W* bezeugten „unregelmäßigen“ Bau des 2. Verses unangetastet zu lassen und nicht mithilfe der „regelmäßigen“ Gestalt in *L* zu verbessern.

Eine ähnliche Unbekümmertheit wie in der Verteilung des Reimschemas zeigt sich auch in der Behandlung des Reims. Das Gedicht weist in 12 Versen insgesamt 36 Reime auf, die sich folgendermaßen verteilen:

einsilbig rein	6	17 %
zweisilbig unrein	4	11 %
zweisilbig rein	16	44 %
dreisilbig rein	10	28 %

Deutlich überwiegen auch in *Quam uenerabilis* die reinen zwei- und dreisilbigen Reime mit 72%. Der einsilbige Reim in den Versen 9-10 erklärt sich durch das Spiel mit den Monosyllaba *trux*, *crux*, *lux*, *crux*<sup>37</sup>. Die von anderen Dichtern meistens peinlich gemiedene Wiederholung eines Reimwortes (*crux*) ist hierdurch bedingt. Das spricht nicht etwa gegen Abaelards Autorschaft, denn im *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* lässt er sogar identische Reime innerhalb einer Strophe zu (Szövérfy Nr. 97, 3 *magna sunt* | *parua sunt* | *dona sunt*).

Text und Orthographie folgen der fehlerfreien Handschrift *W*, während die Interpunktion modernen Maßstäben angepasst ist. Der Kommentar verzeichnet vor allem die Übereinstimmungen mit dem *Pange lingua* des Venantius Fortunatus und der Sequenz *Laudes crucis attolamus* eines Kantors Hugo von Orléans, der aber mit großer Sicherheit nicht mit dem Hugo Primas identisch ist<sup>38</sup>. Die Berührungen mit dem *Hym-*

<sup>37</sup> Vielleicht nach dem Vorbild zweier weithin bekannter Gedichte Marbods: carm. 12 *Virginitas flos est* (WIC 20475; PL 171, 1653D-1654A, Nr. I, 13) und carm. 60, § 1 (*De ornamentis uerborum*; PL 171, 1687A) *Tu michi rex, michi lex, michi lux, michi dux, michi uindex, | te colo, te laudo, te glorificans, tibi plaudo*. – Zur epigraphischen Tradition vgl. Robert FAVREAU, *Rex, lex, lux, pax. Jeux de mots et jeux de lettres dans les inscriptions médiévales*, in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 161 (2003) 625-635.

<sup>38</sup> Aufgebracht wurde diese Identifizierung von Nicolas WEISBEIN, *Le Laudes crucis attollamus de maître Hugues d'Orléans dit le Primat*, in: *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin* 3 (1947) 5-26. Das gewichtigste Gegenargument bietet der anonyme Prisciankommentar *Promisimus* (Ende des 12. Jh. in Paris), welcher reich an Dichterzitaten ist. Der Verfasser differenziert deutlich zwischen Hugo Primas und dem Dichter der Sequenz; er schreibt zu Hugo von Orléans (HUNT, *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages* [Anm. 12] 70, Anm. 2): *Hoc 'talassare' est pauimentum, quod inuenit cantor Aurelianensis, qui fecit 'Laudes crucis accolamus'* [sic]. – Ich zitiere den Text von *Laudes crucis attola-*

*narius Paraclitensis* beschränken sich auf eine Stelle. Für die meisten Gedanken existiert eine lange hymnologische und theologische Tradition, die jedoch hier nicht ausgebreitet werden kann. Die allegorischen Deutungen entnehme ich daher nur beispielhaft den anonymen *Allegoriae in Universam Sacram Scripturam* (PL 112, 849-1088), einer frühen, alphabetischen geordneten Sammlung biblischer Distinctiones.

*Edition*

(Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 143, fol. 12r)

VERSVS PETRI ABAIOLARDI IN LAVDEM CRVCIS.

- Quam uenerabilis, inpreciabilis, hic ades, o crux.  
 Hic ades, arbor amabilis, insuperabilis o dux.  
 Cuncta poli, maris atque soli bona sola tulisti.  
 Crimina contere, commoda congere, baiola Christi.  
 5 Ad tua cornua pectora carnea mors trahe mortis.  
 Ad sacra stigmata contrahe climata quatuor orbis.  
 Tu sine sordibus, influe cordibus, o patris agne.  
 Crux lita postibus est pauor hostibus, ó leo magne.  
 Hincproculhinc,leotruх, nichilhic,nisicruх, nisipax,lux.  
 10 Viuat homo foris,inque domo uiget unica spes: crux.  
 Uasa Dei, titulum fidei fuge, letifer anguis.  
 Nos foueat, mala dimoueat sacer in cruce sanguis.

Repp.: CHEVALIER 32220; WIC 15176; *Checklist* § 366 (372).

Codd.: (L) London, British Library, codex non repertus; (W) Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 143 (fol. 12r).

Edd.: BLUME, *Analecta hymnica* 31 (1898) 96, Nr. 77 „De sancta cruce metra“.

2 Arbor amabilis, insuperabilis, hic ades, o dux L 4 commoda W] gaudia L

2 arbor: Ven. Fort. carm. 2, 2, 8 *Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis | – nulla talem silua profert flore, fronde, germine –*, | *dulce lignum, dulce clauo dulce pondus sustinens!* – Anspielung auf die apokryphe Legende vom Kreuzholz;

mus nach SZÖVÉRFY, *Hymns of the Holy Cross* (Anm. 29) 55-60; weitere Ausgaben bei Clemens BLUME – Henry BANNISTER, *Analecta hymnica* 54 (Leipzig 1914) 188-189, Nr. 120; WEISBEIN 23-26; Adam von Sankt Viktor, *Sämtliche Sequenzen*, hrsg. Franz WELLNER (München <sup>2</sup>1955) 142-149, Nr. 22.



vgl. Daniel DRASCEK, *s.v. Kreuzholzlegende*, in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 8 (1996) 398-401.

3 Vgl. Ven. Fort. carm. 2, 2, 7, 2-3 *mite corpus perforatur, sanguis, unda profluit, | terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lauantur flumine.*

5 *mors ... mortis*: Os. 13, 14 *De manu mortis liberabo eos, de morte redimam eos. Ero mors tua, o mors! Morsus tuus ero, inferne!*

6 *climata quatuor orbis*: vgl. Hugo Aurel. *Laudes crucis attolamus* 9 *Forma cuius hoc ostendit, | que terrarum comprehendit | quatuor confinia.*

7 *patris agne*: Ioh. 1, 29 *Altera die uidit Iesum uenientem ad se, et ait: „Ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi ...“* Anon. *Allegorie in Sacram Scripturam* (PL 112, 855C-D) *Agnus est Christus ...* Ven. Fort. carm. 2, 2, 6, 2-3 *se uolente natus ad hoc, passioni deditus, | agnus in crucis lenatur immolandus stipite.*

8 *Crux lita postibus*: die Israeliten hatten in Ägypten die Türrahmen ihrer Häuser mit einem Tau (Kreuz) gekennzeichnet, damit der Zorn Jahwes an ihnen vorüberginge; vgl. Ex. 12, 7-29. Hugo Aurel. *Laudes crucis attolamus* 12 *Nulla salus est in domo, | nisi cruce munit homo | superliminaria.* 13 *Neque sensit gladium, | nec amisit filium, | quisquis egit talia.* Abaelard. Hymn. 66, 4-5 *Tau beatum, | quo penitentum | fronte signata | Interfactoris | ira crudelis | est religata.*

*leo magne*: Apoc. 5, 5 *Ne fleueris: ecce uicit leo de tribu Iuda, radix Danid, ...* Anon. *Allegorie in Sacram Scripturam* (PL 112, 983A-C) *Leo est Christus, ut in Apocalypsi ... id est, superauit diabolus Christus ortus de tribu Iuda.*

9 *leo trux*: I Petr. 5, 8 *Sobrii estote et uigilate: quia aduersarius uester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens, quem deuoret.* Anon. *Allegorie in Sacram Scripturam* (PL 112, 983A-C) *Leo, Antichristus in fallacia sua, leo ipse diabolus rugiens fremit, quod diabolus semper rapere studet fideles.*

11 *titulum fidei*: die dreisprachige Aufschrift (INRI), welche Pilatus auf dem Kreuz anbringen ließ, vgl. Matth. 27, 37 par.

*letifer anguis*: der Teufel, vgl. Gen. 3.

12 *sacer ... sanguis*: Ven. Fort. carm. 2, 2, 10 *Sola digna tui fuisti ferre pretium saeculi | atque portum praeparare nauta mundo naufrago, | quem sacer cruor perunxit, fusus agni corpore.*

### 3. Der Reim bei Abaelard

Die Behandlung des Reims in den soeben edierten Gedichten ist merkwürdig. Auf der einen Seite sucht der Dichter den Reim als Schmuckmittel in Tiraden und den anspruchsvollen *Tripertiti* und *Trinini*, auf der anderen Seite durchbricht er leichthin das selbstgesetzte Reimschema und scheut sich auch nicht, einsilbige neben dreisilbige Reime zu setzen. Diese Beobachtung führt uns abschließend zu der Frage, wie Abaelard sonst mit dem Reim umgeht.

In reimlosen Distichen sind das *Carmen ad Astralabium* und die kleineren Epigramme verfasst. Das angeblich selbstge-

dictete Epitaphium *Serui animam seruans* besitzt zwar keinen Reim, zeichnet sich stattdessen aber durch die unregelmäßige Verteilung der Versarten aus, da das zweite Distichon durch einen zusätzlichen Pentameter erweitert wird. Diese Besonderheit übernimmt das spätere und gleichsam „offizielle“ Epitaphium *Est satis in titulo*. Diese Gedichtgruppe fällt für eine Reimuntersuchung fort.

Somit standen der Forschung bis heute nur die sechs *Planctus* und der *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* zur Verfügung. Doch existiert noch immer keine umfassende Untersuchung ihrer Form und Reimtechnik<sup>39</sup>. Selbst der verdiente Wilhelm Meyer präsentierte in seiner Edition der *Planctus* die Ergebnisse in äußerster Kürze. Allen Forschern aber, die sich mit unserer Frage beschäftigt haben, fiel auf, wie unregelmäßig und unbekümmert Abaelard in formalen Dingen vorgeht. Doch leider spiegeln ihre Äußerungen zur Reimtechnik nur subjektive Eindrücke wider, die selten auf eine nachprüfbare Grundlage gestellt wurden.

Wilhelm Meyer betont die ungleichmäßige Reinheit des Reims sowie das Überwiegen einsilbiger und unreiner zweisilbiger Reime, woraus er den Umkehrschluss zieht, dass Abaelard keine Gedichte in reinen zweisilbigen Reimen geschrieben haben kann<sup>40</sup>: „In der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts haben aber selbst sehr formenfeste Dichter noch unvollständigen oder unreinen Reim. So hat Abaelard hie und da nur Assonanz der letzten Silbe, weitaus in den meisten Fällen Reim der letzten Silbe mit häufiger Assonanz der vorletzten, und weniger häufig reinen Reim der beiden letzten Silben; dem-

<sup>39</sup> An formalen Analysen kenne ich nur für die *Planctus*: MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Anm. 1) Bd. 1, 358-364; HANS SPANKE, *Über das Fortleben der Sequenzenform in den romanischen Sprachen*, in: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 51 (1931) 309-334, hier 320-328; – für den *Hymnarius*: HANS SPANKE, *St. Martial-Studien. Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik*, in: *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931) 282-317, 385-422; ib. 56 (1932) 450-478, hier 406-410; wieder in: ID., *Studien zur lateinischen und romanischen Lyrik des Mittelalters*, hrsg. Ulrich MÖLK (Hildesheim 1983) 1-103, hier 58-62; SZÖVÉRFY, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung* (Anm. 23) Bd. 2, 58-65; SZÖVÉRFY, *Peter Abelard's Hymnarius Paraclitensis* (Anm. 2) Bd. 1, 48-53.

<sup>40</sup> MEYER, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Anm. 1) Bd. 1, 277-278.

nach kann der Hymnus 'Mittit ad virginem' ..., wenn er auch sowohl von Hiatus als von rein daktylischem Wortschlusse frei ist, nicht von Abaelard sein, da er nur zweisilbige Reime hat.“

Hans Spanke übernimmt Meyers Ergebnisse, sucht ihre Erklärung aber in Abaelards Charakter<sup>41</sup>: „Was darüber hinaus an Speziellem über die Reimkunst St. Martials zu erwähnen ist, läßt sich kurz erledigen. Wir finden mehrere schon von W. Meyer ausführlich behandelte Stufen des Reims: beim männlichen den ein- und den zweisilbigen, beim weiblichen den starken und den schwachen. ... Auffallend ist bei Abaelard die nur durch seltene Ausnahmen durchbrochene Bevorzugung des alten Prinzipes; er steht in dieser Hinsicht auf derselben Stufe wie der 100 Jahre ältere Adhémar von Chabannes. Huldigte der Dichter hier einem trotzigem Archaismus? Das ist nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich, denn die andern Dichter seiner Zeit, auch die Martialdichter, waren bedeutend fortschrittlicher ...“

Peter Dronke stellt ebenfalls die altertümliche Reimbehandlung fest und bedient sich des von Meyer aufgebrachten Umkehrschlusses, um die neuesten Zuschreibungen von zweisilbig gereimten Gedichten anzuzweifeln<sup>42</sup>: „In the whole of Abelard's 129 hymns in Waddell's edition of the *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, I have noted only the following instances of stressed, or rich, rhyme: ... These instances do not give the impression of having been deliberately sought. Rather they were, so to speak, allowed to remain because of a certain syntactic parallelism which prompted them. Apart from this very small group of exceptions, the overwhelming majority of Abelard's rhymes in his known lyrical poetry are unstressed. This should make one wary of attributing to Abelard any lyrics in which stressed rhymes predominate.“

Da eine umfassende Untersuchung der *Planctus* und des *Hymnarius* hier nicht ihren Platz finden kann, möchte ich mich auf die Analyse zufällig ausgewählter Textpassagen beschränken, um nachzuprüfen, in welchen Zahlenverhältnissen

<sup>41</sup> SPANKE, *St. Martial-Studien* (Anm. 39) 470 [95].

<sup>42</sup> DRONKE, *New Works by Abelard and Heloise?* (Anm. 5) 136.

sich die unterschiedlichen Reimarten bei Abaelard tatsächlich bewegen.

Aus den *Planctus* habe ich den sechsten ausgewählt, den *Planctus David super Saul et Ionatha*, der genau 110 Verse lang ist (Zeilenzählung nach Niggli). Wenn innerhalb eines mehrfach wiederholten reinen zweisilbigen Reims nur ein Wort von den übrigen abweicht, habe ich nur dieses als einsilbig gezählt (z.B. die Verse 1-12 *cythara, necessaria, uictoria, omnia*). Die Reimarten verteilen sich hier wie folgt:

einsilbig rein	33	30 %
zweisilbig unrein	21	19 %
zweisilbig rein	52	47 %
dreisilbig rein	4	4 %

Im *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* habe ich die Hymnen 91-100 (nach Szövérfy) zugrunde gelegt, weil sich hier sowohl sehr einfache Strophenformen als auch äußerst komplizierte Gebilde mit zahlreichen Kurzzeilen finden. Wiederholte Doxologien wurden nur einmal gezählt. Die folgenden Zahlen beziehen sich auf insgesamt 223 Verse:

einsilbig rein	88	39 %
zweisilbig unrein	66	30 %
zweisilbig rein	64	29 %
dreisilbig rein	4	2 %

Schon beim ersten Blick auf die Prozentzahlen zeigt sich, dass die Verhältnisse differenzierter sind, als man bisher angenommen hatte. Nur der mit Sicherheit erst im letzten Lebensjahrzehnt Abaelards entstandene *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* weist tatsächlich die archaische Reimtechnik auf, die man so gerne für den Dichter in Anspruch genommen hatte. Der einsilbige Reim überwiegt hier mit 39%; zwei- und dreisilbig rein sind nur 31%. Die *Planctus* hingegen zeigen einen deutlich geringeren Prozentsatz einsilbiger Reime (30%), während reine zwei- und dreisilbige Reime zusammen 51% ausmachen. Damit macht die Reimtechnik des früheren (?) Werkes einen weit moderneren Eindruck. Es muss unentschieden bleiben, ob Abaelard im Alter den Reim immer mehr verschmähte, so wie ungefähr 50 Jahre zuvor Marbod von Rennes, oder ob

die sorgfältige Formulierung theologischer Aussagen den Einsatz umfangreicherer Reime behinderte.

Das Bild, das man bisher allein aus den Spätwerken abgeleitet hatte, ändert sich jedoch in grundlegenden Zügen, wenn nun auch Abaelards kleinere gereimte Gedichte miteinbezogen werden. Beginnen möchte ich mit einem Distichon, an dessen Authentizität kaum zu zweifeln ist<sup>43</sup>. Den dritten Brief beendet Abaelard mit Wünschen an Heloise und ihre Nonnen<sup>44</sup>:

*Vine, uale, uiuantque tue ualeantque sorores.  
Viuite, sed Christo, queso, mei memores.*

Wie schon Dronke bemerkt hat, wird bei Abaelard der zweisilbige und reine Reim oft durch den gedanklichen und syntaktischen Parallelismus hervorgerufen, so auch hier. Der Reim *sorores - memores* gehört in die Klasse des Gleichformenreims.

Die geometrische Konzeption des *Carmen figuratum* als Radgedicht zwingt Abaelard, jeden der 14 Hexameter mit dem Buchstaben O beginnen und schließen zu lassen (Vers 1 *Omni-bus ostendo, quod homo sum, corpus habendo*). Als weitere Erschwerung führt er den leoninischen Reim ein, welcher in allen Versen zweisilbig rein durchgehalten wird, ohne dass auch nur eine einzige Abweichung gestattet wird. Hier ist offensichtlich das vorgegebene optische Muster für den Dichter so zwingend gewesen, dass er vollkommen reine Reime gebildet hat. Diese beiden Gedichte zeigen uns, dass Abaelard also durchaus in der Lage war, den Reim ausnahmslos zweisilbig rein durchzuführen, wenn er es wollte.

<sup>43</sup> Natürlich lässt sich die Echtheit der kleineren Gedichte Abaelards im Einzelfall leicht anzweifeln. Doch selbst wenn eines von ihnen wegfallen sollte, ändert das wenig an den Ergebnissen meiner Untersuchung der ganzen Gruppe, denn dass sich mehr als ein oder zwei der unabhängig voneinander überlieferten Gedichte als unecht erweisen sollte, ist statistisch sehr unwahrscheinlich.

<sup>44</sup> HICKS (Anm. 4) 60; HICKS - MOREAU - ZINK - TILLIETTE (Anm. 4) 166.

In *Lux orientalis* beruht der Tiradenreim da Versen 1-24 ebenfalls auf grammatischer Gleichartigkeit, da alle Adjektive mit demselben Suffix *-alis* gebildet werden. Der Reim ist hier beinahe ebenso sorgfältig durchgeführt wie in den eben genannten Gedichten: 90% der Reime sind zweisilbig rein, 10% zweisilbig unrein. Dass der Dichter aber den Tiradenreim durchbricht, wenn es ihm gefällt, und sich nicht scheut, ein Verspaar mit konsonantisch unreinen Reimen zu versehen, ist charakteristisch. Gerade diese Freiheiten sprechen mehr als alles andere für die Richtigkeit der handschriftlichen Zuweisung des Gedichts an Abaelard.

Das Kreuzgedicht *Quam uenerabilis* hingegen zeigt Abaelards Bekanntschaft mit den kunstvolleren Formen der gereimten Hexameter wie den *Tripertiti dactylici* und *Trinini salientes*. Die Analyse hat ergeben, dass sich Abaelard hier, angesichts der enorm gestiegenen Schwierigkeit, passende Reime zu finden, schon größere Freiheiten gestattet. Es treten sogar einsilbige Reime auf (17%), wenn auch in den meisten Fällen durch das Spiel mit Monosyllaba entschuldigt. Dennoch überwiegen auch hier die reinen zwei- und dreisilbigen Reime mit insgesamt 72%.

Wir sehen also, wie einseitig der Eindruck ist, den man allein aus den beiden Spätwerken, den *Planctus* und dem *Hymnarius*, erhält. Offensichtlich ist Abaelard in ihnen so sehr mit dem Inhalt und der musikalischen Form beschäftigt, dass die Suche nach dem vollklingenden Reim für ihn nebensächlich wird, ja dass er diesen geradezu verschmäht. In den kleineren Gedichten hingegen gilt der reine zweisilbige Reim auch für Abaelard, wie für viele seiner Zeitgenossen, als legitimes akustisches und optisches Schmuckmittel der Dichtung, das dementsprechend sorgfältig behandelt wird. Wir können nicht einmal unterstellen, dass diese Gegensätze auf einer biographischen Entwicklung des Dichters beruhen, der vielleicht, ganz ähnlich wie Marbod, von der gereimten Dichtung seiner Jugend zum (weitgehenden) Reimverzicht seiner späten Dichtung gelangt. Nichts spricht dafür, dass die sorgfältig gereimten Kleindichtungen Frühwerke wären. Gerade das gereimte Distichon im 3. Brief kann erst nach 1130 entstanden sein. Hinfällig wird damit auch Meyers Ausschlussargument, Ge-

dichte in reinen zweisilbigen Reimen könnten nicht von Abaelard stammen<sup>45</sup>.

Die beiden hier vorgestellten Gedichte und das *Carmen figuratum* zeigen uns eine neue und bislang kaum bekannte Seite von Abaelards Dichtkunst, die Freude an formalen und sprachlichen Experimenten. Einem Virtuosen des Gedankens und des Wortes wie Abaelard stand sicher mehr als nur eine Ausdrucksmöglichkeit zur Verfügung. Wir müssen zugestehen, dass „trotziger Archaismus“ und geradezu üppige Reimtiraden in seinem Werk nebeneinander bestehen können. Die Fähigkeiten des großen Dichters in diesen Dingen beschränken zu wollen, wäre kleinlich. Das lehren uns gerade seine bisher kaum beachteten geistlichen Gedichte. Es gilt also selbst in einer so unscheinbaren Materie, was Joseph de Ghellinck, ein großer Kenner der mittellateinischen Literatur, über Abaelards Dichtung insgesamt geschrieben hat<sup>46</sup>:

Le principal mérite d'Abélard est celui du créateur plein d'audace. En poésie comme en théologie, il rompt avec les procédés antiques: il crée de nouvelles formes pour les strophes et pour les vers, à huit syllabes, à dix syllabes, à cinq syllabes, à rimes entremêlées; c'est un initiateur qui prélude au magnifique développement de la rythmique qui viendra après lui. ... C'est dans la forme qu'Abélard l'emporte évidemment: parfois d'une variété inattendue, sans les hardiesses qu'on trouve dans les Planctus, elle est d'une lecture très aisée grâce à sa clarté d'expression. Le contenu toutefois n'en est

<sup>45</sup> Vergleichbare Unterschiede lassen sich auch bei anderen Dichtern feststellen. Die formale Spannweite der Reimbehandlung zeigt am Beispiel des Paulinus von Aquileia Dieter SCHALLER, *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Frühmittelalters* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters 11; Stuttgart 1995) 391-393. Auch in den rhythmischen Gedichten Walters von Châtillon zeigen sich im Gebrauch des Tonwechsels und der Vermeidung des Hiats enorme Unterschiede, ohne dass diese sich durch eine biographische Entwicklung erklären ließen; vgl. Otto SCHUMANN, *Rez. Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon, hrsg. Karl Strecker*, in: *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* (1932) 92-98, hier 93-94. – In all diesen Fällen ist die Freiheit des Dichters größer gewesen, als so mancher heutige Interpret es sich auch nur vorstellen kann.

<sup>46</sup> Joseph DE GHELLINCK, *L'essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 Bde. (Bruxelles 1946) hier Bd. 2, 294-295.

pas négligeable, rehaussé occasionnellement par un heureux symbolisme, et par des pensées élevantes, comme aussi par l'utilisation des ses propres idées et de ses œuvres antérieures. Mais sans prédécesseur dans son genre, Abélard n'a pas eu non plus d'imitateurs.

#### BENUTZTE ABKÜRZUNGEN

- AL Alexander RIESE, *Anthologia Latina* I, 1-2 (Leipzig 1870; I, 1 <sup>2</sup>1894; I, 2 <sup>2</sup>1906).
- Checklist* Julia BARROW - Charles BURNETT - David LUSCOMBE, *A checklist of the manuscripts containing the writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and other works closely associated with Abelard and his school*, in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14/15 (1984/1985) 183-302.
- CHEVALIER Ulysse CHEVALIER, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 Bde. (Louvain - Bruxelles 1892-1920).
- ICL Dieter SCHALLER - Ewald KÖNSGEN, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen 1977).
- WIC Hans WALTHER, *Carmina medii aevi posterioris Latina I/1. Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen <sup>2</sup>1969).



*Summary*

In spite of scholars' long-lasting and intense interest in the writings and teaching of Peter Abaelard, a number of shorter texts still await reissuing in critical and annotated editions. In the present article I have chosen to publish two little-known religious poems: The *Versus magistri Petri Abailardi de sancta Maria uirgine* (Inc. *Lux orientalis*; Chevalier 19862; WIC 10519), a praise of the Virgin Mary in exuberant tirades of full rhymes, have been edited from the seven manuscripts presently known, and the *Versus Petri Abaiolardi in laudem crucis* (Inc. *Quam uenerabilis*; Chevalier 32220; WIC 15176), taken from the manuscript, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 143. Abaelard's thorough command of artificial rhyme-schemes, as exhibited in the two poems, leads us to question how the poet uses the rhyme in general. A comparison of the newly edited poems with the *Planctus* and the *Hymnarius Paraclitensis* shows Abaelard's astonishingly wide range of rhyme-schemes. When he concentrates on theological thinking in the *Hymnarius*, he may neglect full rhymes, but on other occasions he is capable of writing perfectly rhymed poems like the *Carmen figuratum* (Inc. *Omnibus ostendo*) or the billet to Heloise in the third letter. The widely-held opinion that Abaelard prefers an archaic use of monosyllabic rhyme also needs to be rectified in light of his smaller poems. In these terms, Wilhelm Meyer's argument that a poem written with full rhymes cannot belong to Abaelard also has to be abandoned. Abaelard's behaviour as a poet is unpredictable: at times he enjoys in composing long tirades of full rhymes, only to break his own rules in the next line, substituting rhyme by mere assonance.

*Non scholastico stilo :*  
Education and Irish Identity  
in the Dublin Collection of Irish Saints' Lives\*

by  
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The Dublin Collection is a collection of Latin lives of Irish saints, anonymously compiled and revised, probably in the first quarter of the thirteenth century and probably in south Leinster, soon after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. When the Anglo-Normans came from England to settle in large parts of Ireland in the last third of the twelfth century (arriving at the invitation of the deposed king of Leinster to support him in his struggles against his rivals), they could justify their arrival and military interventions as a movement to reform the barbarian and heterodox Irish. According to Gerald of Wales, for example, the pope had supported Henry II's interventions in Ireland as a means of proclaiming "the truth of the Christian faith to an unlearned and crude people" ("ad declarandum indoctis et rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem").<sup>1</sup> The issue of church reform (already, in fact, well

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<sup>1</sup> *De principis instructione* 2.19, ed. by G. F. WARNER, Rolls Series, 21.8, p. 196-197. In this passage, Gerald cites Pope Adrian IV writing in 1155 and Pope Alexander III, writing after the actual invasion. See also Gerald's *Expugnatio hibernica* 2.5, ed. by J. F. DIMOCK, Rolls Series, 21.5, p. 317-19) and *De rebus a se gestis* 11, ed. by J. S. BREWER, Rolls Series, 21.1, p. 62-63. See Robert BARTLETT, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223*, Oxford Historical Monographs, Oxford, 1982, p. 169-172. For these papal sources and the argu-

under way in Ireland) thus became caught up in politics, the Anglo-Normans claiming credit for reforming the Irish church. While this portrayal of the Irish as unlearned is certainly exaggerated, it was nevertheless not uncommon among the Anglo-Norman newcomers.<sup>2</sup>

The Dublin Collection is an early example of a “national” collection, a form that emerges in the twelfth century and is very rare outside of England and Ireland.<sup>3</sup> In an important study, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives* (1991), Richard Sharpe demonstrated that a single individual revised most, if not all, of the lives of the Dublin Collection so that they reflect a shared understanding of early Irish history and a common heritage of patron saints. The collection presents Ireland itself as a collective whole, more or less unified, historically and politically under the high king at Tara, and, culturally and religiously under the archbishop of Armagh, thereby creating an identity shared by all the Irish. At the same time, the collector also regularly intervenes in the texts to explain aspects of Irish culture, geography, and language, suggesting that he was writing for an audience unfamiliar with them. The collection thus explains and defends the Irish church to a foreign audience, the newly arrived Anglo-Norman settlers.<sup>4</sup>

I accept Sharpe’s position but will build on it by addressing two important and interrelated issues that the collection raises. First, how does the Dublin Collection respond to Anglo-Norman assumptions about Irish barbarism? In particu-

ments for and against their authenticity, see J. A. WATT, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, 3, Cambridge, 1970, p. 36-40.

<sup>2</sup> See F. X. MARTIN, “Diarmait Mac Murchada and the Coming of the Anglo-Normans,” in *A New History of Ireland*, ed. by F. J. BYRNE *et al.*, 9 vols., Oxford, 1976-2005, vol. 2, p. 59-61, for Bernard, Gerald, and their influence on the image of the Irish.

<sup>3</sup> On “national” collections, see G. PHILIPPART, *Les Légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge, 24-25, Turnhout, 1977, p. 95-96, and “Martirologi e Legendari,” in *Lo spazio letterario del medioevo*, edited by G. CAVALLO, C. LEONARDI and E. MENESTÒ, Rome, 1994, vol. 1.2, p. 638-639.

<sup>4</sup> *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives: An Introduction to Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1991, esp. 363-367. For arguments about the date and place of origin of the collection, see n. 9 below.

lar, Anglo-Normans like Gerald of Wales believed that the Irish were badly educated by the standards of England and the continent. Gerald of Wales, who had studied grammar, rhetoric and dialectic at Paris and describes his own hagiographical style as scholastic (*scholastico stilo*), argued the Irish were insufficiently grounded in Latin letters and the liberal arts, especially in the core disciplines of Latin grammar and rhetoric.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the learning they found in Ireland would have seemed, as Scott describes it, rather old-fashioned to the Anglo-Normans.<sup>6</sup>

The Dublin Collection constitutes, in part, a defense against the Anglo-Norman charges about Irish education. In this collection, the education of the saints, specifically education in the scriptures and in ecclesiastical studies (for example, in *sanc-tae scripturae* and *disciplina ecclesiastica*, *VCronani* 2), is an essential element of their lives. Moreover, in the Dublin Collection, the Irish ecclesiastical “educational system”, consisting of famous scholars and their disciples and the famous centers of learning that they found, forms a network reaching throughout Ireland, and constitutes the most important link binding one saint and another. In the Dublin Collection, then, Irish sanctity is founded upon education and marvelous learning, which are in turn rooted in the apostolic teachings of Rome and characterize the Irish church from its beginnings.

But at the same time that I will argue that the collection serves to highlight the erudition and education of Irish saints and so to defend them against the Anglo-Norman disparagement of Irish learning, I will also necessarily be addressing the issue of how, in a broader sense, this collection – and

<sup>5</sup> *Vita S. David*, ed. by J. S. BREWER, in *Rolls Series* 21.3, p. 377-404. proem. On Gerald’s criticisms of Irish learning, see section 3 below.

<sup>6</sup> A. B. SCOTT, “Latin Learning and Literature in Ireland, 1169-1500,” in *A New History of Ireland*, ed. by F. J. BYRNE *et al.*, 9 vols., Oxford, 1976-2005, vol. 1, p. 935-936. F. J. BYRNE, “The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169,” *A New History of Ireland*, ed. by F. J. BYRNE *et al.*, 9 vols., Oxford, 1976-2005, vol. 2, p. 39-41, points to the archaizing tendencies of Irish learning and literature in this period; he qualifies this picture, pointing out that some of the new continental learning was studied in Ireland in the twelfth century.

other similar collections – should be read. While Sharpe has demonstrated that the collector sought to impose on the collection a coherent vision of early Irish history and Irish culture, he does not address the problem that some lives are less revised than others. Indeed, some lives are not revised at all. This lack of revision is most noticeable in the lives by the continental writers, who, much like their Anglo-Norman contemporaries, present the Irish as uneducated barbarians. None of the scholars who have worked on the Dublin Collection have addressed the problem of this peculiar dissonance. The following study will address the problems raised by this strange mixture of unity and dissonance: Why has the collector extensively revised the majority of the lives to promote Irish sanctity and culture, while including lives of Irish saints written by outsiders who share the Anglo-Norman incomprehension of and hostility to Irish culture and the Irish church? Given the inclusion of unrevised lives in the collection, can we still read it as a coherent, if composite, whole? If so, what implications does this have for how we read the collection? In what ways does a collection of lives function like or unlike individual saints' lives in isolation? On what aesthetic does a collection depend? These are questions that have implications extending well beyond the Dublin Collection and that raise fundamental questions about the nature of authorship, particularly collective authorship, in the Middle Ages.

### 1. *The Dublin Collection and its Collector*

Only recently have scholars begun to grapple with Irish collections of saints' lives as a collective whole rather than studying them individually as if they were independent of one another. Sharpe has established the importance of the collection in late Irish hagiography; however, his primary concern is to characterize the collectors of the three great collections of Irish saints' lives produced in Ireland (the Dublin Collection, the Oxford Collection, and the collection contained in the *Codex Salmanticensis* in Brussels) and to describe their diverse methods of redaction. Only by understanding the collectors

and their methods can we begin to unpack the complex histories of the individual lives and to understand their strengths and limitations as historical sources.

Sharpe and many of his reviewers see his major accomplishment as the discovery of reliable new sources (some of the lives compiled in the Codex Salmanticensis) for early medieval Ireland. Sharpe also shows, however, that the Dublin collector intervenes often and consistently in the texts he brought together. If a version from which any particular life was drawn is no longer extant, he asserts, it is impossible to distinguish between the primitive core of the original life and the editor's own contributions and alterations. Such lives cannot be used as reliable historical sources for the early Irish period. Sharpe concludes, however, that the Dublin Collection itself is a literary achievement in its own right.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> For the editor's interventions in the Dublin collection, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 363-367. See Sharpe's comments, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 15-16, on Esposito's efforts to date the core of the *Vita S. Darerca* from the Codex Salmanticensis to the seventh century, "Whether or not the argument is accepted, the supposed Primitive Life is lost to us and we are dependent on later derivatives." For the early dating of some of the lives of the Codex Salmanticensis, see SHARPE, p. 311-334. Criticisms of SHARPE's work have focused largely on his handling of Old Irish linguistic evidence and his dating of the "O'Donohue Group" to ca. 800. See, for example, J. CAREY's review in *Speculum*, 68 (1993), p. 260-262, which questions Sharpe's linguistic evidence for the early date of the O'Donohue group and argues that, while seeming older than the other material in the collections, this group should nevertheless be dated to the ninth century rather than the eighth. See also C. ETCHINGHAM, *Church Organisation in Ireland, A.D. 650 to 1000*, Kildare: Laigin, 1999, p. 93 and 336, who argues against as early a date as c. 800, but is willing to place the lives in the first millennium. M. HERBERT, "Latin and Vernacular Hagiography of Ireland from the Origins to the Sixteenth Century," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en occident des origines à 1500*, ed. by Guy PHILIPPART, 4 vols., Turnhout, 1994-2006, vol. 3, p. 336-337, in a review article of Irish hagiographical studies, accepts an eighth-century date for these lives. See, however, Charles DOHERTY, "The Transmission of the Cult of St Máedhóg," in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission = Irland und Europa im früheren Mittelalter: Texte und Überlieferung*, ed. by P. Ní CHATHÁIN and M. RICHTER, Dublin, 2002, p. 268-283, who admits the strength of Sharpe's arguments "that a single redactor, the compiler of [the Dublin] collection, put his own stamp on this material seems strong" and of Sharpe's methodology, but raises the possibility that the

For the purpose of my argument here, I accept the picture of the Dublin collector that Sharpe has drawn, while noting places where other scholars have disagreed. The Dublin Collection of lives of Irish saints is found only in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, both now in Dublin: Trinity College MS 175 (hereafter *T*) and Primate Marsh's Library, MS Z3.1.5 (hereafter *M*).<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, neither manuscript is now complete; however, a comparison of their contents, together with a table of contents added to *M* in the seventeenth century, has allowed Sharpe to reconstruct the original form of the collection. Scholars disagree about the date of the collection, which Sharpe believes dates to the 1220s or 1230s, but they largely agree that it originated in the area of Uí Cheinselaig in south Leinster. We know nothing of the collector but that which can be deduced from the internal evidence of the collection.<sup>9</sup>

Using internal evidence, Sharpe establishes that the Dublin collector reshaped earlier lives to create a new "literary achievement", a "personal interpretation of a sizeable corpus of older *uitae*."<sup>10</sup> Sharpe focuses specifically on the Dublin collector's historiographical accomplishments: his revisions forge lives from various sources and varying aims into a history expressing a cultural identity shared by all the Irish. The collection, in effect, is an account of the foundation of Irish Christianity, seeking to establish both its antiquity and its or-

"we may find that the redactor is a very elusive figure – and one that may well be the creation of the modern scholar himself." On the literary achievement of the Dublin collection, see esp., SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 365-366.

<sup>8</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 93-119.

<sup>9</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 349-367. See P. Ó RIAIN, *Beatha Bharra: Saint Finbarr of Cork*, Irish Texts Society, 57, London, 1994, p. xi, 95-101, who argues that the Dublin version of the Life of Finbarr is two hundred years later, that the Franciscan lives were original to the collection and locates its origin in "a Franciscan friary in south Leinster, very probably that of Ross (or New Ross) in County Wexford." See also the article-length review of Ó RIAIN, *Beatha Bharra*, by P. A. BREATNACH, "The New Edition of the Hagiography of St Finbarr," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 32 (1996), p. 118.

<sup>10</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 367.

thodox Roman roots. The saints, once defenders of local interests, are here the patrons of all Ireland, with Patrick, Brigit and Columba at their head. For Sharpe, then, the “national” quality of the collection is greater than the simple assemblage of Irish lives, and he places the context of its creation in the wake of the arrival of the potentially hostile Anglo-Normans.<sup>11</sup>

A more detailed examination of the contents of the Dublin Collection will show how the Dublin collector proceeds. The following chart and description of the Dublin Collection below depend on Sharpe’s reconstruction:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 208-211, for the Dublin collector and the Anglo-Normans. While the term “national” is usually applied to collections of lives that are more than regional and less than European, focused on one *natio* or *gens* (see n. 3 above), Sharpe’s usage of the term “nationalism” is closer to the modern sense. Although this may seem anachronistic to many, he is justified by the medieval usage of the term *nationes* to describe the two peoples living side-by-side in Ireland. For the more widespread use of the term *natio*, along with *gens*, and other terms expressing a sense of group identity, see S. REYNOLDS, “Regnal Sentiments and Medieval Communities,” in *Nationalism*, ed. by J. HUTCHINSON and A. D. SMITH, Oxford and New York, 1994, p. 137-140. For the use of this term in Anglo-Norman Ireland, see J. LYDON, “The Middle Nation,” in *The English in Medieval Ireland: Proceedings of the First Joint Meeting of the Royal Irish Academy and the British Academy, Dublin 1982*, ed. by J. LYDON, (Dublin, 1984, p. 1-26.

<sup>12</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 108-119. Like SHARPE, I am omitting the two lives of the Franciscan saints, Louis of Toulouse and Anthony of Padua. These two lives, the only two dedicated to non-Irish saints, have different positions in the two manuscripts. This suggests that they were not originally integral to the collection, but were inserted as a loose *libellus*, presumably in a Franciscan context, and later copied into the two surviving manuscripts at different points. I also follow Sharpe also in omitting the life of Flannán, which does not appear in *T* and is fragmentary in *M*. See, however, Ó RIAIN, *Beatha Bharre*, p. 100, who argues that the collection originated in a Franciscan context. Unless otherwise noted, for the lives of the Dublin Collection, I have used throughout the editions of C. PLUMMER, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae partim hactenus ineditae ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1910. Plummer prefers the fuller lives of the Dublin collection to those of the Oxford collection, and if given a choice, bases his edition on the manuscripts of the Dublin collection. The translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own. For the names of well-known Irish saints, I have used the form of the name most familiar to non-Celticists, such as Columba for Colum Cille, Finnbar for Bairre, Kevin for Coemgen, Lawrence O’Toole for Lorcán Ó Tuathal, and Malachy for Mael Maedóc Ó Morgair,



	SAINT	AUTHOR, if known	SAINTS' DAY	ABBREVIATION for life used below
1	Patrick		March 17	<i>VPatrickii</i>
2	Brigit		February 1	<i>VBrigidae</i>
3	Columba	Adomnán (abbreviated on the continent in ninth century)	June 9	<i>VColumbae</i>
4	Maedóc		January 31	<i>VMaedoc</i>
5	Brendan		May 16	<i>VBrendani</i>
6	Coemgen (Kevin)		June 3	<i>VCoemgani</i>
7	Moling		June 17	<i>VMoling</i>
8	Fintán of Clonenagh		February 17	<i>VFintani</i>
9	Senán	Anonymous Anglo-Norman	March 8	<i>VSenani</i>
10	Mochoemóc		March 13	<i>VMochoemog</i>
11	Fínán		April 7	<i>VFinani</i>
12	Ruadán		April 15	<i>VRuadani</i>
13	Crónán		April 28	<i>VCronani</i>
14	Comgall		May 10	<i>VComgalli</i>
15	Carthach/ Mochutu		May 14	<i>VCarthagi</i>
16	Declán		July 24	<i>VDeclani</i>
17	Ciarán of Saigir		March 5	<i>VCiarani de Saigir</i>
18	Íte		January 15	<i>VItae</i>
19	Lugidus/Molua		August 4	<i>VMoluae</i>
20	Lawrence O'Toole	Anonymous canon of Eu	November 14	<i>VLaurentii</i>
21	Cainnech		October 11	<i>VCainnichí</i>
22	Fintán of Taghmon/ Munnu		October 21	<i>VMunnu</i>
23	Colmán Élo		September 26	<i>VColmani</i>
24	Bairre / Finnbar		September 25	<i>VBarri</i>
25	Aed mac Brice		November 10	<i>VAedi</i>
26	Ailbe		September 12	<i>VAlbei</i>
27	Abbán		October 27	<i>VAbbani</i>
28	Ciarán of Clonmac- nois		September 9	<i>VCiarni de Cluain mic Nois</i>
29	Malachy	Bernard of Clairvaux	November 3	<i>VMalachiae</i>

and so forth. I have followed the Irish forms used by Sharpe for less widely familiar saints.

Of the twenty-nine lives in the collection, all but the two “modern” saints of the twelfth-century Irish reform movement, Malachy and Lawrence O’Toole, lived in the earliest period of Irish Christianity, the fifth through the seventh century. Four (Declán, Ailbe, Ciarán of Saigir, and Abbán) worked, according to the collector’s revisions of their lives, to Christianize Ireland before the arrival of Patrick in the fifth century.<sup>13</sup> Linguistic evidence suggests that all of the lives, except those of the “modern” saints, were originally written in Ireland, the life of Senán, the only life in verse, by an Anglo-Norman living in Ireland, the remainder by native Irish speakers.<sup>14</sup> Only three of the lives can be dated with any certainty: Adomnán’s life of Columba (originally written around 700, here a revised version of a ninth-century continental recension), the life of Malachy by Bernard of Clairvaux (soon after 1148), and the life of Lawrence by the anonymous canon of Eu, where Lawrence died (soon after 1226).<sup>15</sup> The first two of these are the only two lives associated with a named author. We cannot be sure of the dates of the other lives, although they are widely assumed to be eleventh- or twelfth-century recensions of earlier material.<sup>16</sup>

The order of the collection is puzzling, for it seems to reflect several organizational principles that are at odds with one another. On the one hand, the collector has placed Patrick, the “archbishop of Ireland”, at the head, followed by the two other “national” saints of Ireland, Brigit, and Columba. This order serves both to emphasize the “national” nature of the collection, and also to appeal to an Anglo-Norman audience, for the Anglo-Normans had sought to appropriate these saints to support their own claims to authority within

<sup>13</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 115, and “Quatuor sanctissimi episcopi,” p. 376-399.

<sup>14</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 241 and n. 43; W. W. HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae ex codice olim Salmanticensi nunc Bruxellensi*, *Studia Hagiographica*, 28, Brussels, 1965, p. xliii.

<sup>15</sup> For the life of Columba, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 392; for the life of Malachy, p. 396; for the life of Lawrence, p. 395.

<sup>16</sup> For the resurgence in Hiberno-Latin hagiography in this period, see HERBERT, “Latin and Vernacular Hagiography of Ireland,” p. 347-350.

Ireland. John de Courcy discovered the relics of Patrick, Bridget and Columba at Down and had their bodies translated to the new Cistercian abbey, and he commissioned a new life of Patrick in commemoration.<sup>17</sup> Immediately after these three national lives comes the life of Maedóc, bishop of Ferns (in the fourth place), followed shortly by the lives of the south Leinster saints Kevin and Moling (in the sixth and seventh place). The position of these three lives gives secondary importance, after Ireland as a whole, to the area of south Leinster, and the collection may have originated there.<sup>18</sup> The life of Brendan's relatively early position in the collection (fifth) may be due to its popularity, since his life and *Voyage* were known throughout Europe and so had a claim to importance readily recognized by a wide audience. After this, however, the ordering principle seems to change to follow the liturgical year, a common means of organizing legendaries.<sup>19</sup> This principle is strictly maintained from the eight to the sixteenth life.

<sup>17</sup> See Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernie* 3.18, ed. by J. F. DIMOCK, Rolls Series 21.5, p. 163-164, and *Expugnatio hibernica* 2.35, ed. by J. F. DIMOCK, Rolls Series 21.6, p. 387, on the John's *inventio* and *translatio* of the three saints at the Cistercian abbey at Down. For John's commissioning of Jocelin of Furness to write a life of Patrick to commemorate the translation, see Robert BARTLETT, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints," p. 76, A. G. RIGG, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 98, and L. BIELER, "Jocelin von Furness als Historiograph," in *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Karl and Hubert Mordek, Cologne, 1978, p. 410-415. According to Joseph SZÖVÉRFY, "The Anglo-Norman Conquest of Ireland and St. Patrick: Dublin and Armagh in Jocelin's Life of Patrick," *Reportorium Novum*, 2 (1957-60), p. 12-13, John de Courcy also seized from Armagh one of the most important of Patrick's relics, the *Bachall Iosa* ("staff of Jesus"), which was believed to have been used by Patrick as his crosier. It was then "kept in Dublin as a permanent symbol of the Norman victory". On Anglo-Norman interest in and use of these events, see also SHARPE, *Medieval Latin Saint's Lives*, p. 209-211. The Dublin Collector knew of the invention and translation for he twice alludes to the triple burial of the saints (*VBrigidae* 2.30, 99).

<sup>18</sup> See SHARPE, *Medieval Latin Saints' Lives*, p. 114, and Ó RIAIN, *Beatha Bharra*, p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> See F. DOLBEAU, "Notes sur l'organisation des légendiers latins," in *Hagiographie, cultures et société IV<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2-5 mai 1979)*, ed. by Pierre Riché, Paris, 1981, p. 11-31.

After this point, however, calendrical order is no longer maintained, although most of the saints that follow have their days in the period from September through November. It seems probable that the collector has taken a pre-existing collection organized by the calendar as the basis for at least part of his collection, but then has reordered or inserted lives support or emphasize his own “national” themes and concerns. This explains, as we shall see below, the irregular positions of the two foreign lives, those of Lawrence (20) and Malachy (29).<sup>20</sup>

In the absence of a source for comparison, it is difficult to know in detail precisely how individual lives have been revised. Sharpe, however, has been able to demonstrate that almost all of the lives of the collection have under undergone at least some revision. Some, like the life of Brigit, have been extensively revised, others, like the lives of Brendan and Columba, much less. The only lives to remain virtually untouched are Bernard of Clairvaux’s life of Malachy, the Anglo-Norman verse life of Senán, and the Norman life of Lawrence O’Toole, all of which stand out from the other lives of the Dublin Collection in tone, content, and style.<sup>21</sup> The col-

<sup>20</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 114, sees “no intelligible pattern”. He concludes, “It appears that we have an arrangement with more liturgical order than can be accidental, but which was not carried out fully, or which has been corrupted between the original arrangement of the collection and the writing of the exemplar[.]” For the procedure of composition of a new legendary using an old one as a base, as I suggest here, see PHILIPPART, *Légendiers latins*, p. 101-102.

<sup>21</sup> See Sharpe’s overall summary, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 348, concluding, “with the lives of SS Columba, Malachy, Lawrence, and Senán, comparisons show that the redactor made no substantial changes at all.” For Adomnán’s life of Columba, however, however, at p. 118, Sharpe notes that the redactor of D “has altered the text very little: this text is a copy of the shorter recension of Adomnán with only minor rearrangement of chapters and very little to show the hand of the redactor at work”. Those minor changes, however, include ones typical of the Dublin collector, as Sharpe points out, p. 118, n. 72: he makes Patrick an archbishop, explains “achad bó” with the Latin phrase, “.i. ager uaccarum”, and adds a note explaining Irish geography, “in media parte Hybernie que uocatur Midi habitabat”. For the life of Brendan, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 126, where he classifies it as “scarcely tampered with”; see, however, p. 116 and 118, where he points to a demonstrable addition by the collector to his original text, including a characteristic description of Patrick as “archipontifex to-

lector's habits can be observed extensively in the case of the life of Brigit, of which both the Dublin collector's version and its original survive. Here the collector imposes a relatively uniform style, one which is quite prosaic. This style is markedly different from the rhetorical style typical of contemporary Anglo-Norman hagiographers such as Jocelin of Furness, who wrote a life of Patrick to support the Anglo-Norman cause in Ireland around 1185.<sup>22</sup> The collector has a preference for words and phrases that occur both in his revisions of the life of Brigit as well as in the other lives that he revised for the collection. Furthermore, he adds several sections, while removing other material, including whole episodes, particularly those which might seem unorthodox or cause scandal. He also adds pious remarks on the miracles, emphasizing that they are due to God's grace and show the saint's glory. He comments on Irish genealogy, history, topography, and customs, and he explains Irish place names for a Latin-speaking audience. He makes changes reflecting his own understanding of early Irish history. He not only smoothes out the chronology within the life, but he also stresses Patrick's apostolicity and (anachronistically) his rank as archbishop of Ireland, while presenting Tara (again, anachronistically) as the center of a monarchy ruling all of Ireland.

cus Hybernie". Sharpe also notes traits of the Dublin collector in the life at p. 147, n. 54; 149, n. 61; 150, n. 64; and 190, n. 162. Compare PLUMMER, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. xxvi-xlii, who states that, whereas the Oxford collection (the basis for his edition) conflates the saint's *vita* with the a full version of *Navigatio S. Brendani*, the Dublin collector, while also conflating the two texts, excluded almost all the travel episodes from the *Navigatio*, thereby eliminating the "glaring inconsistencies of the [Oxford] text". This kind of editing, as we have seen, is typical of the Dublin editor. Moreover, his changes bring these lives more into conformity with the historical picture of early Christian Ireland that he seeks to develop throughout the collection.

<sup>22</sup> For Jocelin's promotion of the Anglo-Norman cause and the historical context, see SZÖVÉRFY, "Anglo-Norman Conquest," p. 6-16, and BARTLETT, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints," p. 76. On the contrast between Jocelin's style and that of the Dublin collector, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 209-210.

Sharpe demonstrates that revisions of this sort can be seen in most of the lives of the collection.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, the Dublin collector reworked the Latin of many lives when he found the language unclear. Those changes include the clarification of previously ambiguous pronouns, the identification of subjects of verbs, the addition of demonstratives to serve as definite articles, the addition of proper names, brief explanations of characters and places, and emendations of corrupt parts of the text, all of which serve to help the reader better follow the narrative.<sup>24</sup> Here he may be responding to criticisms of Irish hagiography such as those of Jocelin of Furness. Jocelin justifies the composition of his new life of Patrick partly on the basis of style and Latinity:

*perplures idiotae, et dictandi ignari Vitas Sanctorum scriptitabant, intentione quidem pia, sed oratione inculta, ne deleantur a fidelium memoria. Quocirca multis ad legendum Vitas Sanctorum et gesta, stylo incondito seu sermone barbarico digesta, nausea provocatur vel fastidium, et generatur saepius tarditas ad credendum. Hinc est quod et Vita gloriosi Pontificis Patricii, Hiberniae Patroni et Apostoli, signis et prodigiis clarissimis, a multis illiteratis multipliciter dictata, ob confusionem et obscuritatem styli nec patet nec placet pluribus; sed habetur taedio ac contemptui. Compellante igitur caritate, conabimur confusa in seriem reducendo colligere, collecta in codice cudendo condere, condita et si non Latinissimi, saltem vel Latini sermonis sapore condire. (Jocelin, Vita S. Patricii, prol.)<sup>25</sup>*

Many extremely uneducated people, ignorant of the art of Latin composition (“dictandi”), composed saints’ lives, with pious intentions, no doubt, lest the lives be erased from the memory of the faithful, but in unpolished language. For this reason, many were provoked to nausea or scorn at reading the lives and deeds of the saints, thrown together in an unpa-

<sup>23</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 209-215, as well as his notes throughout the text of the life of Brigit, p. 139-210.

<sup>24</sup> Most of these changes can be seen, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 123-126, in Sharpe’s synoptic layout of passages from the collection’s *V Brigidae* (= *Vita IV Brigidae*) with the its source. For the emendation of corrupted passages, see *Vita IV S. Brigidae* 1.53 and n. 165. For parallel sorts of revisions in the *V Patricii* and the *V Maedoc*, see p. 216-227.

<sup>25</sup> The text cited is from the *Acta Sanctorum* 17 (March 2), p. 536-577. The translation is my own.

latable style or in barbarian speech, and quite often a reluctance to believe arose. Hence it is that even the life of the glorious bishop Patrick, patron and apostle of Ireland, a life of the brightest signs and miracles, which was written down many times by many illiterates, is neither clear nor pleasing to many because of its confusion and obscurity of style; but it is held in scorn and contempt. Therefore, driven by love, I will try to collect the confused things, putting them back in order, and having collected them in a codex, to compose them as a new whole, hammering them out as if on a forge, and having composed them, to season them, if not with the savor of the most Latin of discourses, at least with the savor of Latin discourse.

The claim that a life must be rewritten because of the poor quality of its language had been a *topos* of medieval Latin hagiography since the Carolingian period – indeed, it was the most common excuse given for rewriting a life. As Monique Goulet points out, however, the *topos* was often an excuse, and the style of the new life was not altered. In other cases, however, some authors actually did rework the style of the work, especially when the social and cultural conditions had changed since the earlier life had been written, in which case the reform of the style may be an ideological change as much as a linguistic one.<sup>26</sup> Just so, Bartlett has shown, dramatic cultural change in the aftermath of Anglo-Norman settlement in England, Wales and Ireland led to a flurry of hagiographical rewritings, as ancient foundations found that their “repertoire of saints might need to be reinterpreted in a new environment or for a new audience,” and part of that repositioning was regularly expressed as a need to meet scholastic standards especially in style.<sup>27</sup> In particular, however, the Anglo-Normans

<sup>26</sup> See M. GOULET, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Hagiologia, 4, Turnhout, 2005, p. 33-37, 56. On the possible ideological significance of a stylistic change, see GOULET, p. 166, and M. BANNIARD, “Les deux Vies de saint Riquier: du latin médiatique au latin hiératique,” *Médiévales*, 25 (1993), p. 45-52, who argues that, in this instance, the change in style from a popularizing Latin to an elevated one has the effect of distancing the readers and giving a sense of mystery to the content.

writing about Ireland and Wales stressed the contrast between their own civilized *Latinitas* and the illiterate barbarity of their Celtic predecessors, a claim not made in revisions of Anglo-Saxon lives.<sup>28</sup>

Like Jocelin, Gerald of Wales also was concerned with the poor style of the lives of pre-Norman saints. In the 1190s, for example, he rewrote a life of their saint for the canons of St. David in Wales. Gerald makes considerable changes in the life's content, downplaying, for example, the earlier life's emphasis on an "Irish-influenced asceticism" and monasticism. In his prologue, however, he emphasizes rather the changes he makes in style to the "antiquated" ("lectionis [...] antiquae et propemodum iam antiquatae") form of the life by Rhygyfarch:

*Vitam S. David archiepiscopi [...] scholastico declarare stilo, quam aliis occupatus plurimum et detentus literarum studiis, fratrum tandem et concanonicorum victus instantia, vix tandem et invitatus adquevi [...] Lectionis igitur antiquae et propemodam iam antiquatae, sicut nec verba, sic neque rerum hic series, nec continentia requiratur. (Vita S. David, proem)*

Overcome by the pressure of the brothers [of St. David's] and their fellow canons, finally, even though extremely busy with other things and detained by my literary studies, finally with difficulty and unwillingly I sought to make clear the life of St. David the archbishop in scholastic style [...] Don't seek out any longer, therefore, the words, the order of events, nor the content of this ancient reading, now practically antiquated.

While Gerald here omits the language of barbarism, his main focus in rewriting, like Jocelin's, is to create a text up to scholastic standards ("stilo scholastico").<sup>29</sup> Like Jocelin, Gerald at-

<sup>27</sup> BARTLETT, "Rewriting Saints' Lives," p. 598-599.

<sup>28</sup> BARTLETT, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints," p. 84-86. He contrasts their approach with those Anglo-Norman hagiographers rewriting the lives of Anglo-Saxon saints, such as Osbert of Edberga and William of Malmesbury. Those authors also see the need for a stylistic updating, but express this idea without reference to barbarism. Bartlett points out that, in this context, the denigration of the barbarism is directed at the language, not the saints.



tributes this deficiency in style of the earlier life to its failure to measure up to “modern” expectations of style as inculcated in the schools of England and the continent.<sup>30</sup>

As we shall see below, Anglo-Normans like Gerald of Wales and, slightly later, Stephen of Lexington assumed that the Irish were insufficiently educated in Latin grammar, composition and rhetoric. Their criticism was not restricted, however, to Hiberno-Latinity alone. They both believed that this defect in Latin learning led to pervasive problems in the Irish church and in Irish culture.

## 2. *The Barbarism of the Irish: Gerald of Wales and Stephen of Lexington*

Considerable evidence beyond the saints’ lives suggests a clash between Irish ecclesiastical education and Anglo-Norman/continental scholasticism in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Scholastic education itself was debated outside Ireland throughout the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries. For some, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, the traditional monastic life rooted in *lectio divina* was threatened by an increased emphasis on secular studies and dialectic. Others, such as John of Salisbury, believed that the liberal arts themselves were threatened by the growth of philosophy, theology and law, and by the careerism of the schools.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> On Gerald’s extensive reworking of the life of David by Rhygyfarch of Llanbadarn to meet scholastic expectations, see BARTLETT, “Rewriting Saints’ Lives,” p. 598-612. On the date of the life, see p. 599; on the prologue, see p. 600-601.

<sup>30</sup> BARTLETT, “Rewriting Saints’ Lives,” p. 598-612, shows moreover how pervasively scholastic modes of thinking pervade Gerald’s hagiographical rewritings.

<sup>31</sup> See S. C. FERRUOLA, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215*, Stanford, 1985, for the heated debate over education in the twelfth century. See G. R. EVANS, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, Oxford, 1983, p. 37-38, for Bernard’s own education in the liberal arts, and p. 46, for his rejection of such secular studies in exchange for the *lectio divina*. While Bernard privileged the *lectio divina* over secular studies, he continued, of course, to apply all the skills he had learned from his studies of the liberal arts in his own study of the scripture.

Although the Irish had centers of learning, including Armagh, the conservative Irish approach to learning and scholarship was not surprisingly quite different from that of England and the continent, where scholasticism and the evolution of the urban schools had transformed education during the course of the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the contrast between Irish education and continental education was in large part due to the overwhelming monasticism of the Irish church. As Jean Leclercq pointed out long ago, monastic education put more emphasis on the study of Scriptures, the *lectio divina*, and the classical authors were studied only to further that end.<sup>33</sup> Where monasteries valued *meditatio*, schools and universities produced administrators and preachers, who needed eloquence in writing and in speech and studied the classical authors to acquire it. But, in addition, as Scott points out, the cultural conservatism of the Irish meant that Latin learning available there was old-fashioned compared to that on the continent. The strength of the vernacular literature and learning may also have taken away from Latin learning: certainly the eleventh and twelfth centuries were a low point in the production of Latin literature by the Irish.<sup>34</sup>

Not surprisingly, then, the Anglo-Normans see educational reform as an important aspect of the reform of the Irish church. In 1192, the first Anglo-Norman bishop of Dublin, John Cumin, whom Gerald of Wales calls a “man of literate eloquence” (“literatae vir eloquentiae,” *Expugnatio Hibernica* 2.24) justified his foundation of a college of canons at St. Patrick’s in Dublin by asserting:

*Cum studia literarum per orbem latum floreant, et earum professores*

<sup>32</sup> See A. GWYNN, *The Twelfth-Century Reform*, A History of Irish Catholicism, 2, Dublin and Sidney, 1968, p. 27-28, and SCOTT, “Latin Learning and Literature in Ireland,” vol. 1, p. 935-936, for the differences between continental learning and Irish learning in the early twelfth century. On Irish monastic schools, see Ó CRÓININ, *Early Medieval Ireland*, p. 178-181, 186-189. For Armagh as a center of Irish learning in the early twelfth century, see p. 345 and note 41, p. 348 and n. 46 below.

<sup>33</sup> J. LECLERCQ, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, trans. C. MISRAHI, New York, 1982, p. 1-7, 13-17.

<sup>34</sup> SCOTT, “Latin Learning and Literature in Ireland,” p. 934-936.

*multiplices tam in divino quam in humano iure, preter Hiberniam, habeantur in regnis singulis; minus erudite simplicitati gentis Hibernie providere cupientes, decrevimus, auctore Deo, de assensu et consensu sancte Romane sedis et principis nostri Johannis Comitis Moreton, ecclesiam Sancti Patricii Dublin instituere prebendam et in ea probate vite et litterature collegium facere clericorum, qui pro honeste conversationis forma ceteris sint in exemplum vivendi et pro litteratura sint simplicioribus eruditioni.*<sup>35</sup>

Since the studies of letters flourish through the wide world, and many teachers of them are maintained both by human and divine law in individual realms, with the exception of Ireland, desiring to make provision for the uneducated simplicity of the Irish people, I have decreed, at God's instigation and with the assent and consent of the holy Roman see and of our lord, John, Count of Mortain [the future king of England], to establish the prebendary church of St. Patrick in Dublin, and to establish in it a college of clerics of respectable life and learning, who through their good conduct may be an example for living and through their learning might serve to teach the more simple.

Two other prominent representatives of the Anglo-Norman church, Gerald of Wales and Stephen of Lexington, scathingly attacked Irish standards of clerical education. As he records in his self-congratulatory autobiography, *On his own accomplishments* (*De rebus a se gestis*), in 1186 Gerald of Wales preached a sermon on the vices of the Irish clergy at the Council of Dublin. This sermon was a response to an attack on the Anglo-Normans by the native Albinus (Ailbhe) O'Mulloy, abbot of the Cistercian foundation of Baltinglass (and later in the work Gerald's successful rival for the see of Ferns), who had asserted that those clergy who had come to Ireland from England and Wales were to blame for all the vices of the Irish church.<sup>36</sup> Gerald's hostile response draws on

<sup>35</sup> Foundation Charter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, ed. by W. M. MASON, in *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin, from Its Foundation in 1190 to 1819*, Dublin, 1820, appendix 1, p. i. On John Cumin's election to the bishopric of Dublin by Henry II of England, applying for the first time English custom to Ireland, see WATT, *The Church and the Two Nations*, p. 45-46.

standard rhetoric of the Anglo-Normans and their contemporaries to justify the conquest of their “barbarian” neighbors by attacking their heterodox sexual and religious practices. Bartlett has shown that, by viewing Irish practices always through the lens of Anglo-Norman assumptions about civilized society, Gerald provides only an “unsympathetic and external viewpoint”. Thus, for example, his focus on the “monkishness” of the Irish church, whose leaders spend more time in contemplation than in acquiring the education that would enable them to preach effectively to the Irish, reflects a certain reality. The strongly monastic Irish church did not adopt an ecclesiastical organization comparable to that of the continental church, with its division into metropolitan and episcopal sees, before the mid-twelfth century. At the same time, however, one cannot take at face value Gerald’s presentation of this difference as the main cause of the failures of the Irish church.<sup>37</sup>

I would develop Bartlett’s argument further, for in his speech Gerald states that the monkishness of the Irish bishops led to a failure to provide the Irish with religious guidance through preaching and teaching, and he links this failure to a lack of eloquence. We should read Gerald’s account of the failings of the Irish bishops in the light of his description of his own education earlier in *De rebus a se gestis*, in which he puts a premium on his training in rhetoric. In the first book, Gerald describes his education in the liberal arts at Paris:

<sup>36</sup> On Gerald’s sermon at the Council of Dublin, see BARTLETT, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 37. For Albinus, see P. Ó RIAIN, “St. Abbán: The Genesis of an Irish Saint’s Life,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies Held at Oxford, from 10th to 15th July, 1983*, ed. by D. E. EVANS and *et al.*, Oxford, 1986, p. 164-66; SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 351-363; and W. L. WARREN, “Church and State in Angevin Ireland,” *Chronicon* [journal online, last updated January 28, 1998], 1 (1997), p. 7-8, 12 (available from \* HYPERLINK « <http://www.ucc.ie/chronicon/warrfra.htm> » ).

<sup>37</sup> BARTLETT, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 38, for Gerald’s hostile point of view. See p. 169-176, for the employment of such rhetoric as the justification for Anglo-Norman and other European expansionism in this period.

*profectus ter in Franciam transfretando, tresque status annorum plurimum Parisius in liberalibus disciplinis faciendo, summosque praeceptores demum aequiparando, trivium ibidem egregie docuit, et praecipuam in arte rhetorica laudem obtinuit. (1.2)*<sup>38</sup>

he thrice crossed the seas to France and spent three periods of several years at Paris in the study of the liberal arts and at last equalling the greatest teachers, taught the trivium [grammar, rhetoric and dialectic] there most excellently, winning especially fame in the art of rhetoric [...]

Gerald goes on to tell us that he did so well that the Parisian masters of the liberal arts chose him as a model of good scholarship.

Gerald's pride in his rhetorical skill and his communicative abilities is also clear in his description of his achievements in theology and canon law at Paris a few years later. After adding the higher studies to his foundation in the liberal arts, he began to present regular lectures on canon law :

*Adeo namque vivas legum et canonum rationes introductas rhetoricis persuasionibus adinuvabat ; adeoque tam verborum schematibus atque coloribus quam sententiarum medullis causas adornabat, dictaque philosophorum et auctorum miro artificio inserta locis congruis adaptabat ; ut quanto scientiores et eruditiores accederent, tanto avidius et attentius ad audiendum memoriaeque figendum aures et animos applicarent. Tanta nempe verborum dulcedine ducti et deliniti, ut dicentis ab ore tanquam penduli et suspensi longo licet eloquio et prolixo, cuiusmodi taedium multis afferre solet, nec fatigari possent hunc audiendo nec satiari. (De rebus a se gestis 2.1)*

For he reasoned on civil and canon law in such lively fashion and so enhanced his exposition with all the persuasions of rhetoric and adorned it with figures and flowers of speech as well as with profound argument, and made such apt use of the sayings of the philosophers and other authors by the wondrous art with which he applied them to appropriate topics, that the more learned and expert his audience, the

<sup>38</sup> The edition cited throughout is that of J. S. BREWER, Rolls Series, 21.1, p. 3-122. The translation is that of H. E. BUTLER, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis*, London, 1937, except that I have supplied translations for the quotations from Jerome, which Butler omits.

more eagerly and attentively they applied their ears and minds to drink in his words, that they hung upon his lips as he spoke, however long and protracted his discourse, and were never weary nor could hear enough of his eloquence.

In both accounts, it is Gerald's rhetorical virtuosity and learning in the secular arts that makes him successful, not just as a scholar, but also as a teacher and effective communicator.<sup>39</sup>

According to Gerald, the same persuasive skill makes a preacher a successful teacher of his flock. In his sermon against the abuses of the Irish, reported in *De rebus a se gestis* 2.14, Gerald describes the Irish as "the race most uneducated of all races in the rudiments of faith" ("gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima"). In this sermon, he declares that:

*Non [...] praelatus in ipsis fuerat, qui tanquam tuba vocem exaltaret; non fuit qui ex adverso ascenderet, et murum pro domo Israel se opponeret; non fuit qui usque ad exilium, nedum usque ad sanguinem, pro ecclesia Christi dimicaret, quem ipse sibi suo pretioso sanguine adquisivit. (De rebus a se gestis 2.14)*

There has [...] never been a prelate among them to 'lift up his voice as a trumpet,' not one to rise up against them and 'set himself as a hedge for the house of Israel'; not one to fight for the church of Christ (which Christ won for himself with his most precious blood), to the point of suffering exile, much less to shedding his blood for her sake.

The failure of the Irish to fight for the faith begins, for Gerald, with their failure to speak eloquently and forcefully.

Bishops, he goes on to explain, ought to possess the virtues of both monks and clerics, but the Irish bishops, as monks, place the care for their own souls before the care for their flocks. He then goes on to cite the authorities (knowledge of whom Gerald views, as we have seen, as an important part of his own eloquence) to illustrate the importance of learning for

<sup>39</sup> See BARTLETT, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 3-5, on the importance of "Gerald's training at Paris, and his acquisition of the highest learning that the Latin West could offer, that enabled him to articulate and analyse his own society in the way he did."

those whose duty is to instruct. The Irish bishops either do not know, or pretend not to know (“vel prorsus ignorantes vel dissimulantes”), Jerome’s words to the monk Rusticus:

*Sic vive in monasterio, ut clericus esse merearis: longo tempore disce, quod postmodum doceas; et inter bonos semper sectare meliores; et cum in clerum electus fueris, age ea quae clerici sunt. (De rebus a se gestis 2.14)*

Live in the monastery in such a way that you might deserve to be a cleric: take a long time learning that which you may later teach; and always follow those who are better among the good, and when you have been made a cleric, do as clerics do. [my trans.]

or his words to Eleutherius:

*Bipertiti ergo huiusmodi praelati quaedam contrabant ex monacho et quaedam ex clerico. Ex monacho contrabant columbinam simplicitatem, ex clerico vero serpentinam prudentiam; hinc sapientiam, inde eloquentiam; hinc verba, inde opera; hinc conscientiam, inde scientiam; hinc foecundi fiant, inde facundi: et sic utrumque compleant officium, ut [...] in ore ipsorum tam instructionis quam increpationis verbum resonans audiatur. (De rebus a se gestis 2.14)*

Bishops of this sort who have two parts take certain things from the monk and certain things from the cleric. From the monk they take a dovish simplicity, but from the cleric a serpent’s foresight; from the monk wisdom, from the cleric eloquence; from the monk words, from the cleric deeds; from the monk conscience, from the cleric learning; from the monk they become fruitful, from the cleric they become eloquent: and so they fulfill both offices, so that [...] in their mouths words of both instruction and reproof may be heard resoundingly. [my trans.]

Gerald continues:

*Fatuos enim et elingues praelatos et plus monachi quam clerici praeferentes manifeste redarguit Jeronimus dicens: ‘Innocens et absque sermone conversatio quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio obest. Latratu namque canum et baculo pastorum lupi sunt arcendi.’ (De rebus a se gestis 2.14)*

Jerome reproves foolish bishops, who lack a tongue with which to speak, and who show more of the monk than of the

cleric: 'An innocent way of life that lacks speech is advantageous to the degree that it provides an example, but a liability to the degree that it serves up silence. For wolves are driven off by the barking of dogs and the crook of the shepherd.'  
[my trans.]

For Gerald, the bishop's pastoral care depends on his eloquence, a skill acquired not in the monastery but in the schools.

Gerald attributes the following response to his speech's content and language to the Bishop of Ossory, who, when asked what he thought of Gerald's words, replies:

*quia multum bene dixit mala. Vocavit, inquit, nos potiores. Certe vix me continui, quod statim in ipsum non involavi, vel saltem quod verbis talionem reddendo quod acriter ei non responderim. (De rebus a se gestis 15)*

that he spoke evil very well. 'He called us drunkards,' he said, 'and in truth I could hardly restrain myself from flying at him or at least giving a very sharp answer in retaliation for what he had said.'

While Gerald had certainly attributed drunkenness to the Irish clerics, it did not form the major subject of his speech, the primary points of which the Bishop of Ossory seems to have missed. He is so wanting in eloquence, that his initial response is to wish to attack Gerald physically, rather than rebutting his assertions verbally. Moreover, if Gerald "spoke evil very well", the bishop, at least as quoted by Gerald, has spoken little poorly, for his brief speech is both awkward and ungrammatical. Against the backdrop of Gerald's classicizing command of the subjunctive and his elaborately worked parallel clauses, the shift in mood from the indicative *involavi* to the subjunctive *responderim* is jarring. The redundant repetition of the *quod* in the final clause even suggests a stutter: the bishop has not thought out the grammar of his sentence before beginning to speak and is not certain of how to introduce the gerund. The bishop's speech thus proves Gerald's point: in a war of words with the unlearned Irish, his trained eloquence will inevitably win.



Half a century later, Anglo-Norman attitudes had not changed. The university-trained Anglo-Norman Cistercian, Stephen of Lexington, was sent as Visitor-General to assess the Cistercian communities in Ireland in 1228. In a letter to the abbot of Cîteaux, he describes the Irish as utterly lacking in education. He explains that he has decreed that no one be admitted into the order unless he can make confession in French or Latin (“nisi culpam suam confiteri nouerit gallice uel latine,” *Ep.* 37):<sup>40</sup>

*Unde Regula iam apud Mellifontem et aliam filiam uestram de Beatitude insimul quamplures domos Hibernie non nisi gallice tam nunc exponitur nec de cetero exponetur, ut cum uos personaliter ueneritis uel uisitatores ex parte uestra miseritis, uisitandos intelligant et ab ipsis intelligantur, nec amodo pallio ignote lingue locum latendi inuenisse se gaudeant minus ordinati. Quomodo autem diligit claustrum aut librum, qui nichil nouit nisi Hibernicum? Nec aliud nisi turris Babel construi poterit, ubi nec discipulus magistrum intelligit nec e contra nec congrue dinoscitur, ut dum unus petit panem, alius pro pane porrigat lapidem seu pro pisce tribuat scorpionem. Quapropter Hiberniensibus iniunximus, quod si quem de suis in ordine de cetero recipi desiderant, Parisius uel Oxonium uel ad alias ciuitates famosas mittere studeant, ubi litteras et loquere peritiam addiscant morum compositionem, manifestiusque ostendimus, quod nullam intendit ordo excludere nationem, sed solummodo ineptos et inutiles et moribus humanis dissidentes [...]*

Whence the Rule is now explained at Mellifont and at your other daughter, Bective and in very many other houses of Ireland only in French, nor will it be explained otherwise, that, when you come personally or send visitors from your side, they may understand those whom they are to visit and be understood by them, nor henceforth may they, who are less regulated, rejoice to have found a hiding place in the cloak of an unknown tongue. But how will one who knows only Irish love either the cloister or the book? Nor will anything but a tower of Babel be able to be built, when the stu-

<sup>40</sup> The edition used is that of B GREISSER, *Registrum Stephani de Lexington*, in *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, 2 (1946), p. 1-118. On Stephen and his visitation to Ireland, see WATT, *The Church and the Two Nations*, p. 91-106. According to WATT, p. 93-94, Stephen found the Cistercian houses of Ireland torn by nationalistic strife.

dent does not understand the master, nor is he properly understood in return, so that when one man asks for bread, another offers him a stone instead of bread, or a scorpion instead of fish. Wherefore we have enjoined upon the Irish that, if they wish any of them to be received in the order, they strive to send them to Paris or Oxford or to other famous cities, where they may learn their letters, gain a knowledge of speaking and what proper behavior is composed of, and we have demonstrated to them fairly clearly that the order does not intend to exclude any nation, but only the inept and useless and those who fail to behave like human beings [...]

While Stephen seeks in this passage to promote effective communication within the order, he nevertheless sees a lack of the knowledge of the civilized languages of Latin and French as allied with inhuman behavior. Only after they have acquired the appropriate education in the liberal arts in England or on the continent, will the Irish become capable of intelligible discourse and civilized behavior. Both Gerald and Stephen seem unaware of the long Irish tradition of ecclesiastical learning that is celebrated in many of the lives of the Dublin Collection. They also seem unaware of those Irish scholars, such as Flann Ua Gormáin, who, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, was the leading scholar of Armagh (*airdfer leccin*) when he died in 1174 and had studied for twenty-one years in France and England before returning to teach in Ireland for another twenty, and who had been granted ten cows yearly by king Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair in 1169 to teach students from Ireland and Scotland.<sup>41</sup>

The grammatical and stylistic improvements made by the Dublin collector suggest that he was conscious of Anglo-Norman assumptions about the literacy and Latinity of the Irish. In order to re-position the Irish lives for a new Anglo-Norman audience he had to improve their Latinity. In the following section, I will address the question of whether the collection addresses the issue of Irish education in other ways,

<sup>41</sup> BYRNE, "The Trembling Sod," p. 41, and Fergal McGRATH, *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*, (Dublin, 1979), p. 142.

specifically in its repeated returns to the *topos* of the saint's education.

### 3. *The Topos of the Saint's Education in the Lives of the Dublin Collection*

The *topos* of the saint's education appears in every one of the lives of the collection, except the lives of the two women, Brigit and Íte. The life of Brigit from the Dublin Collection is incomplete and is missing the section of her life in which she would have been educated. In the *Vita I S. Brigidae*, the source text, however, there is no description of Brigit's learning to read. Moreover, the opposition set up between Brigit and learned clergy in the rest of the Dublin life suggests that in her life, as that of Íte, which is modeled on Brigit's, the formal education of the saint does not appear. In this collection, book-learning seems to be the province of men. Such learning, with an emphasis on the study of scripture and monastic discipline, however, is presented as essential to male Irish sanctity.<sup>42</sup>

Education is also the major link connecting one (male) saint to another, as spiritual father teaches and nurtures spiritual son. The collection reveals considerable ambivalence, how-

<sup>42</sup> See for example the contrast between the folly of the *scholasticus* Ninnid Lamadán and the wisdom of Brigit's unlearned simplicity at *VBrigidae* 62-63, ed. by SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints Lives*, p. 194-196. Compare *VItae* 4, where Íte begins to preach eloquently, taught by the Holy Spirit alone. Like Brigit, she is contrasted with men of learning: she possess a charismatic *scientia prophetiae* superior to the *sapientia*, book-learning in Hiberno-Latin, displayed by educated men (see, for example, *VItae* 19, 31). SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 120-123, has demonstrated that, although the Life of Brigit is no longer in either of the manuscripts of the Dublin Collection, it survives in two seventeenth-century editions, J. COLGAN, *Triadis thau-maturgae seu dinorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae: Trium veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae sanctorum insulae, communium patronorum acta a variis, usque pervetustis, ac sanctis authoribus scripta ac studio*, Louvain, 1647, p. 546-537, and by the Bollandists in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 1 (1658), p. 155-171. It has been re-edited by SHARPE in *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 132-208. Since the educational *topos* is noteworthy in the women's lives only in its absence, there is no need to discuss them more fully here.

ever, in regards to the liberal arts curriculum as conceived by scholastically-trained Anglo-Norman and continental writers.

The lives of the three saints at the beginning of the text, Patrick, Brigit and Columba, the three greatest miracle workers of Ireland, establish patterns that will be repeated, with variations throughout the collection. The *VPatricii* of the Dublin Collection survives only in fragmentary form, but it was a revision of the *Vita III S. Patricii*.<sup>43</sup> The *Vita tertia*, fortunately, survives intact. There, we are told that, instructed by an angelic vision, Patrick decides to go to the continent to study the scriptures in order that he may teach them to others (“ut sanctas scripturas disceret, ut posset eos docere”). He then goes to Gaul to study with Germanus of Auxerre, and he reads the scriptures with him for forty years (“et mansit apud eum quadraginta annis legens et implens diuinas scripturas,” *Vita tertia* 21, p. 129-30).<sup>44</sup> Fragment 11 shows that the Dublin Collection’s revision clearly contained this same information, if perhaps not precisely in this same form.<sup>45</sup> Patrick continues to be linked to book-learning elsewhere in the life: one surviving fragment tells us that Armagh, Patrick’s foun-

<sup>43</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 217-219, has shown that fragments of Patrick’s life survive in the form of quotations from and comments on a work that Ussher called the *Opus tripartitum* in his 1639 *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*. They are edited by L. BIELER in *Four Latin Lives: Colgan’s Vita Secunda, Quarta, Tertia and Quinta* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1971), p. 235-245, and this is the edition cited here (hereafter *VPatricii*). This life was also quoted much more briefly by Geoffrey Keating, however, none of his quotations are relevant to the matter at hand.

<sup>44</sup> For the relationship of the fragmentary life from the Dublin collection and the *Vita tertia*, see BIELER, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick*, p. 244. Ussher comments (BIELER, *Four Lives of Patrick*, frag. 6, p. 237), that those biographers are incorrect who assert that Patrick spent forty years in Germanus’ tutelage, and includes the *Opus tripartitum* among those mistaken authors (“biographos illos falli necesse est qui Patricium [...] sub Germani magistrum [...] xl [...] annos transegisse retulerunt”). The *Vita tertia* is edited by Bieler in *Four Lives of Patrick*, p. 115-190. Patrick’s education under Germanus had become a standard feature of the Patrician tradition since the seventh century life of Muirchú, *Vita S. Patricii*, ed. by L. BIELER in *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, 10, (Dublin, 1979), 1.6[5].2. See also the *Vita Secunda* 22 (xvi), p. 73-74, *Vita Quarta* 26, p. 73-74, both edited by BIELER, *Four Lives of Patrick*.

<sup>45</sup> Fragment 11 (SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 238).

dation, became and remained a center of education (“sum-mum studium literale manet semper,” Bieler, frag. 27, p. 243). As elsewhere in the Patrician tradition, then, in the Dublin Collection Patrick’s entrance into the religious life is linked to his pursuit of an education in the scriptures. The saint is figured both as the diligent student of a prominent master and as a teacher himself, for he is the founder of a center of ecclesiastical learning.

This life not only provides a model for the education of the saint, but it also asserts the venerability of Irish learning. The founding of Armagh, as both an episcopal see and a center of learning, is pushed back into the earliest days of Irish Christianity. And the life emphasizes the continuity of learning at Armagh into the present, reminding the readers of the prominence of the school of Armagh: in 1162, for example, the synod of Clane decreed that only students from Armagh could become *fer léiginn*, the leading scholar and master, in any Irish church.<sup>46</sup>

The third life in the Dublin Collection is a ninth-century abbreviation of Adomnán’s life of Columba and is one of the lives in the collection only minimally altered by the collector. While this version of the life cuts out a number of the many miracles related to learning and book culture in Adomnán’s original, its continued emphasis on book-learning is nevertheless striking, particularly after the absence of such learning in Brigit’s life just before. Moreover, the ninth-century abbreviator of the life made changes which make Adomnán’s life conform more closely to the norms of hagiography. Where Adomnán’s organization by subject matter rather than chronology minimized reference to the saint’s formation, in this version of the life the saint’s education and childhood are pushed to the front stage. Rather than being buried in the second Preface, as in Adomnán’s original, his birth and childhood appear as the first chapter of Book 1, which also gives prominence to Columba’s education and his studies throughout his later life:

<sup>46</sup> GWYNN, *Twelfth-Century Reform*, p. 28; McGRATH, *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*, p. 142.

*Qui etiam a puero Christiano deditus tyrocinio, et sapientiae studiis [...] Nullum etiam unius horae intervallum transire poterat, quo non aut orationi, aut lectioni, uel scriptiōni, uel etiam alicui operationi incumberet. (Abbreviated VColumbae 1.1)*<sup>47</sup>

He was dedicated from boyhood to Christian education and to the studies of wisdom [...] He could not allow even one hour to pass by, however, in which he did not exert himself in prayer or reading or writing or, indeed, some work.

In this passage, Adomnán paraphrases Sulpicius Severus' description of Martin of Tours, "Never did any hour or minute pass by in which he did not either press on with his prayers or apply himself to reading" ("Numquam hora ulla momentumque praeteriit quo non aut orationi incumberet aut insisteret lectioni," *Vita Martini* 26.3).<sup>48</sup> The addition of writing to the prayer and reading referred to by Sulpicius reflects the higher status of writing in Ireland than on the continent, where writing in Sulpicius' day was still viewed as arduous manual labor to be relegated to an underling. In Ireland, as is clear from the life of Columba, writing has become a spiritual activity, a means of contemplating the divine equal to prayer and study

<sup>47</sup> Since the Dublin collection's version is unavailable in print, the edition used is that of H. CANISIUS, *De Sancto Columba Scoto, presbytero et confessore*, in *Antiquae lectiones*, 6 vols. in 14, Ingolstadt, 1601-1604, vol. 2, p. 579-621, with reference to the variant readings from *M* provided by William Reeves (using the *siglum* D) in his edition of Adomnán, *The Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy*, Dublin, 1857. The translations are mine, with reference to the edition and translation in *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. by A. O. ANDERSON, and M. O. ANDERSON, rev. ed., Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, 1991, (hereafter, referred to as Adomnán, *VColumbae*). For the division between prologue and first book in Dublin, Primate Marsh's Library, Z1.3.5, see REEVES's ed., *Life of Columba*, p. 8, n. 1.

<sup>48</sup> *Vie de saint Martin*, ed. by J. FONTAINE, 3 vols., Paris, 1967-1969), vol. 2, p. 312-314. On Adomnán's use of Sulpicius' *Vita Martini*, see Gertrud BRÜNING, "Adamnans *Vita Columbae* und ihre Ableitungen," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 11 (1917), p. 244-247, and J.-M. PICARD, "Tailoring the Sources: The Irish Hagiographer at Work," in *Irland und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter: Bildung und Literatur = Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Learning and Literature*, ed. by P. NÍ CHATHÁIN and M. RICHTER, Stuttgart, 1996, p. 170.

of the scriptures, a way of imitating God's authorial and creative role by re-creating his Word.<sup>49</sup>

Indeed, so central is the written word in Columba's life that several miracles specifically involve books copied by Columba or one of his monks. For example, at the abbreviated *VColumbae* 2.8, a young man falls off his horse and drowns:

*quidam iuuenis de equo lapsus, in flumine mersus, et mortuus, uiginti sub aqua diebus permansit. qui, sicuti sub assella, cadens, libros in pellicio reconditos sacculo habebat; ita etiam post supra memoratum dierum numerum est repertus sacculum cum libris inter manum ac latus continens. cuius etiam ad aridam reportato cadauere, et aperto sacculo, folium sancti Columbae sanctis scriptum digitis, inter aliorum folia librorum non tantum corrupta, sed et putrefacta, inuentum est nullo modo corruptum, acsi in scrinio esset reconditum.*

a certain young man falling from a horse sank and was drowned in the river and remained under the water for twenty days. And just as when he fell under this mount he had had books enclosed in a skin satchel under his arm, so also he was found after the aforementioned number of days holding fast between his hand and his side the satchel with the books. When his body was brought back to dry land, and the satchel was opened, among the pages of other books which were not merely damaged, but even rotten, the page written by the holy fingers of Saint Columba was found not at all injured, as though it had been kept in a coffer.

After recounting a second similar miracle in the next chapter, Adomnán asserts that these are only two of the many miracles involving books written in Columba's hand that fell into water and were not harmed (*VColumbae* 2.9).

Indeed, the final task of Columba's life is copying out the psalter, and Adomnán's exegesis of the last passage that he copies (Ps 33:11: "Those seeking the Lord will not lack every

<sup>49</sup> See D. Ó CORRÁIN, "The Historical and Cultural Background of the Book of Kells," in *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6-9 September 1992*, ed. F. O'MAHONY, Aldershot, 1994, p. 22, and M. P. BROWN, 'In the Beginning Was the Word': *Books and Faith in the Age of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture, 2000, [Jarrow], 2000, on the importance of the physical book among Germanic and Celtic peoples in the early Middle Ages.

good” (“Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono”) draws an analogy between writing and leading a monastery. When Columba puts down his pen, he declares, “Here, at the end of the page, I must stop. Let Baithéne write what follows” (“hic [...] in fine cessandum est paginae. Quae uero sequuntur Baitheneus scribat”). Adomnán explains:

*Sancto convenienter congruit decessuro nouissimus uersiculus, quem scripserat, cui numquam bona deficient aeterna. Successori uero sequens patri spiritalium doctore filiorum, Venite filii audite me, timorem Domini docebo uos, congruenter conuenit. Qui sicut decessor commendauit non solum ei docendo, sed etiam scribendo successit. (Abbreviated VColumbae 3.30, p. 618)*

The last verse that [Columba] wrote aptly befits the holy man on his death bed, who will never lack eternal good things. And the verse that follows, ‘Come, my sons, hear me; I will teach you fear of the Lord’, is fittingly adapted to the successor [Baithéne], the father of spiritual sons, a teacher, who, as his predecessor enjoined, succeeded him not in teaching only, but in writing also.

The succession of Baithéne is metaphorically a new leaf in the book begun by Columba.

Each of these lives is idiosyncratic, but, when combined, they serve to lay out themes concerning education and book-learning that will pervade the remainder of the collection. The life of Patrick establishes the link between the saint’s entrance into the religious life and the commencement of his formal education, shows the importance of the student/teacher relationship, and depicts the saint as the founder of a center of ecclesiastical learning. The life of Columba, although it places less emphasis on the *topos* of the saint’s education, nevertheless puts tremendous emphasis on the association of the saint with literacy, books, and book-learning. The life of Brigit, in contrast, demonstrates the gendering of these themes, for her sanctity is an unlearned one. These themes, as we shall see, will reemerge throughout the collection.

Every male saint is depicted learning to read or acquiring book-learning, usually as a boy (*puer*), and often at the moment when he (invariably he) leaves his family or nurse, and/



or is dedicated to the religious life.<sup>50</sup> Thus, Fintán's mother brings him to a holy man, who baptizes him, and afterwards, Fintán "reads with him and makes great advances in grace and in letters" ("apud eum legit, et profecit multum in gratia et litteris," *VFintani* 1).<sup>51</sup> In the life of Kevin, when his parents perceive the extent of God's grace in him, they hand him over to the holy elders so that he may be brought up for Christ, and Kevin learns to read with them. Similarly, Fínán's parents send him to Brendan so that the boy may read and study with him in a monk's habit.<sup>52</sup> Munnu left his father's flocks alone in the wilderness to "read and to learn ecclesiastical customs" with a holy man ("legere et discere ecclesiasticos mores apud eum," *VMunnu* 3).<sup>53</sup> As these passages suggest,

<sup>50</sup> *VMaedoc* 5; *VBrendani* 3; *VCoemgani* 4; *VMoling* 2; *VFintani* 1; *VSenani* 9, lines 271-87; *VMochmog* 8, cf. 26, 31; *VFinani* 3; *VRuadani* 12; *VCronani* 2; *VComgalli* 3, 9; *VCarthagi* 9-10; *VDeclani* 5, 7; *VCiarani de Saigir* 3; *VMoluae* 15, 16; *VLaurentii* 3, 4; *VCainnichi* 3; *VMunnu* 3-5; *VColmani* 1, 3; *VBarri* 3-4; *VAedi* 2-3; *VAlbei* 2, 8; *VAbbani* 9; *VCiarani de Cluain mic Nois* 4; *VMalachiae* 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> The source life from the *Codex Salmanticensis*, *Vita S. Fintani* 1, ed. by HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 146, also mentions Fintán's education, but in much less full form: "et ipse baptizavit infantem, et cum eo legit puer". For the relationship between the two lives, see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 394. The changes that the Dublin editor makes to the lives are often small and pertain mostly to clarity and style. It is also possible that he takes over some of the changes from an intermediary text. For my overall point, that a collection functions differently than an independent text, the issue is not particularly relevant.

<sup>52</sup> *VCoemgani* 4, "Videntes parentes sancti Coemgeni tantam gratiam in eo, tradiderunt eum sanctis senioribus Eogano, Lochano, et Enne, ut in cella eorum Christo nutrireretur. Et apud illos sanctos beatus Coemgenus sedule legebat"; *VFinani* 3, "dimiserunt eum ad sanctum Brendanum, ut legeret et disceret apud eum in monastico habitu". Compare *VBarri* 4, in which the saint learns the alphabet and is tonsured in the same moment, and *VSenani*, in which the saint learns everything necessary for the monastic life ("*vite monastice*", l. 274), specifically, l. 277-279, "litterarum vel artium / quas magistri ecclesie vel secularis scientie ministrant / auditoribus". See *VDeclani* 5, where Colmán recommends that Declan be handed over at the age of seven "ad legendum", provided that a literate Christian can be found ("si Christianus literatus prope inueniretur").

<sup>53</sup> The source life in the *Codex Salmanticensis*, *Vita prior S. Fintani seu Munnu* 3, ed. by HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 199, also reports his education, although, again, in considerably shorter form: *exiebat ad legendum*.

learning to read is an essential part of the *topos*, but it stands for something more, the entrance of the boy into the religious life. As the life of Mochoemóc says, Íte had him educated “in honorable habits and knowledge of letters for God [...] so that he might become a priest and build a place for God” (“in moribus honestis scientiaque literarum nutriuit eum Deo [...] ut sacerdos fieret, et locum Deo edificaret,” *VMochoemog* 8). And so the account of the boy’s education is often followed immediately by his ordination as priest or bishop, and/or his acquisition of *discipuli* of his own.<sup>54</sup>

Indeed, education provides important links between the Irish saints, whose relationships and allegiances are often defined in terms of their training: *magistri* adopt *discipuli*, and *discipuli* seek out *magistri*. The training provided by the *magister* is twofold. Thus in the life of Crónán we are told that the saint left his family and their property “so that he might read the Holy Scriptures and learn ecclesiastical discipline from the holy fathers” (“Qui, relictis parentibus cum suis rebus, perrexit, ut sanctas legeret scripturas, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam a sanctis patribus disceret,” *VCronani* 2). Crónán’s actual education is elided, but by the end of the chapter he is attracting men to the monastic life, and by *VCronani* 4 they are described as his *discipuli*. In this example, as elsewhere, education is first expressed in terms of literacy, an education in reading the scriptures. The second part of Crónán’s education, however, is in religious formation (*disciplina*), which in other lives is sometimes described as a “rule” (*regula*; *VDeclani* 26, *VMoluae* 47). That is, a *discipulus* is both a student and a disciple of his ecclesiastical superior, whether a bishop or an abbot, who is responsible both for his education in scripture and his religious formation.<sup>55</sup>

The miracle that follows in both versions tells how Munnu continued to go to study daily while wolves guard his father’s flock.

<sup>54</sup> For ordination, see *VMoling* 2, *VMochoemog* 8, *VRuadani* 1; *VCarthagi* 10, *VCiarani de Saigir* 3. For *discipuli*, see *VMoling* 2, *VColmani* 3, *VCiarni de Cluain mic Nois* 15-16, *VSenani*, lines 275-283, *VComgalli* 9, 11.

<sup>55</sup> See *VCiarani de Saigir* 5, in which a boar is described as Ciarán’s “primus discipulus quasi monachus”.

The relationship between *discipulus* and *magister* is often described in familial terms, drawing on part on the Irish practice of fosterage: *nurtrire* (*VCoemgani* 4), *nutritor* (*VCarthagi* 13), *alumpnus* (*VMochoemog* 31, *VColmani* 23, *VBarri* 7), *pater* (*VMochoemog* 26, *VMoluae* 25).<sup>56</sup> The life of Ciarán of Saigir puts particular emphasis on this relationship by stressing the unusual circumstances under which Ciarán read scripture with Finnian in his school (“in diuinis scripturis in sancta scola eius”):

*Inde uero beatissimus Kyranus alumpnus sancti Finniani, sicut alii sancti Hybernie, dicitur. Cum enim ipse senex sapiens et benedictus ac summus pontifex esset, dignatus est discere sub genu alterius propter humilitatem et amorem sapientie. (VCiarani de Saigir 36)*

For this reason the most blessed Ciarán is called the foster-son of saint Finnian, like the other saints of Ireland. Although he was himself a learned old man and blessed and a most high bishop, he deigned to learn at the knee of another because of his humility and love of learning.

Within the setting of the collection, moreover, these links between *discipuli* and their *magistri* form an elaborate and interrelated spiritual genealogy: Fínán Cam studies with Brendan, who had studied with Erc (*VFinani* 3; *VBrendani* 3).<sup>57</sup> Munnu also studies with Columba, who prophesies that he will be “the spiritual master of many and the best teacher from this whole school” (*VMunnu* 5).<sup>58</sup> Colmán Élo studied with

<sup>56</sup> On fosterage and education, see D. Ó CRÓININ, *Early Medieval Ireland 400-1200* (London and New York, 1995, p. 178.

<sup>57</sup> On the life of Brendan, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 390-391, who asserts that it is not much changed by the Dublin collector. See, however, PLUMMER, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. xxvi-xlii, who states that, whereas the Oxford collection (the basis for his edition) conflates the saint's *vita* with the a full version of *Navigatio Brendani*, the Dublin collector, while also conflating the two texts, excluded almost all the travel episodes from the *Navigatio*, thereby eliminating the “glaring inconsistencies of the [Oxford] text”. This kind of editing, as we have seen, is typical of the Dublin editor. I have used Plummer's edition with reference to textual notes explicating differences between his text and the Dublin collection.

<sup>58</sup> The account of the source life, *Vita S. Fintani seu Munnu* 5, ed. by Heist, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 199, is very similar.

Kevin, who had studied with Eogán, Lochán and Enna (*VColmani* 1, *VCoemgani* 4).<sup>59</sup> Mochoemóc, Dagán, Scanlán, Molua, and Munnu all study with Comgall, while Mochoemóc also studies with Íte, Munnu with Columba (as we have seen) and Molua with Finnian (*VMoechoemog* 8, 26, 31; *VMunnu* 4-5;<sup>60</sup> *VComgalli* 15, 25-27; *VMolua* 15-16, 25). Comgall in turn had studied with Fintán (*VComgalli* 3). Ciarán of Clonmacnois studies first with Diarmat, and later at the school of Finnian, where Molua, Ruadán, Ciarán of Saigir, Brendan and Columba also were educated (*VCiarani de Cluain mic Nois* 4, *VCiarani de Saigir* 36, *VRuadani* 1). This network is most emphasized in the life of Ciarán of Clonmacnois, in which we are told:

*In scola iam sanctissimi magistri Finniani plures sancti Hybernie erant; id est duo sancti Kiarani et duo sancti Brendani, et Columba, aliique multi. (VCiarani de Cluain mic Nois 4)*

In the school of the most holy teacher Finnian were many saints of Ireland, that is, the two saint Ciaráns, the two saint Brendans, Columba, and many others.

The repeated names forms a sort of cross-referencing throughout the collection, emphasizing the links between the

<sup>59</sup> The Dublin Collector's version of Colmán Elo's education, *VColmani* 1, "tradiderunt eum parentes sui sancto seniori Coemhano, ut doceret eum, et nutriret Deo. Et illuminatio diuina mores et intellectum sancti Colmani instruebat, ut admirarentur omnes de ingenio et sanctitate eius," is considerably fuller than that of his source, *Vita S. Colmani* 2, ed. by HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*: "puerulus traditus est a parentibus sancto viro Kannecho Coimano, ut ab ipso instrueretur in doctrina sacra et moribus sanctis". In the Dublin collector's source, this is only the introductory sentence to a longer episode involving one of Kevin's serving woman. The Dublin Collector, in contrast, separates the two incidents, making the education of the saint the culmination of his first chapter, and separating it clearly from the next episode (*VColmani* 2), which in his version uses the common formula, *Quadam die*, to introduce the episode with the woman (no longer linked directly to Kevin) as a new and separate incident.

<sup>60</sup> The source life in the Codex Salmanticensis, *Vita Fintani seu Munnu* 4, p. 199, has a similar account; however, where the source life says simply, "Puer autem voluit ire cum Comgallo ad legendum et exiit cum eo," the Dublin Collector expands upon this idea considerably, "et volens a puerili etate esse sub magisterio magnorum virorum, venit ad eum [Comgallum], et pius pater Comgallus suscepit illum gaudens."

Irish saints, their shared sanctity and the educational network on which it depends.<sup>61</sup>

The educational *topos* can highlight several themes. In the life of Cainnech, the saint's obedience to his *magister* is so great that when Docus calls the monks to work, he immediately ceases writing, breaking off halfway through an "o" (*VCainnichi* 3).<sup>62</sup> Finnbarr's education is intimately connected to his *sanctitas*. His parents entrust him to three anchorites, who have been impressed by the beauty of his faith. Distressed by thirst, the young Finnbarr weeps and asks for milk (*VBarri* 3-4). The anchorites send a servant to milk a hind, asserting that the boy's outstanding holiness (*sanctitas*) will make her tame. When this miracle comes to pass:

*dixit alter eorum commitibus suis: 'Modo aptum est, vt, vbi fecit Deus tale signum mirabile pro hoc sancto puero, illic ipse alphabetam legat, et tondetur coma eius in nomine Domini.' Et ibi legit alphabetum, et mirati sunt omnes, qui ibi erant, de ingenio eius. Et tonsus est secundum verbum sancti senioris. (VBarri, 4)*

one [of the anchorites] said to their companions, 'it is fitting that now, where God performed such a miraculous sign for this holy (sanctus) boy, that there he read the alphabet and his hair will be tonsured in the Lord's name.' And then he read the alphabet, and everyone who was there was amazed by his genius; and he was tonsured according to the words of the holy elder.

Sanctity and learning could not be more closely identified. If Gerald of Wales sees monkish spirituality and education as incompatible, the Dublin Collection presents them as intimately joined.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> For the effectiveness of the repetition of names throughout a collection, see A. BOUREAU, *Légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* († 1298), Paris, 1984, p. 239.

<sup>62</sup> This incident also appears in the source life, *Vita S. Cainnechi* 4, ed. by HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, in much the same terms.

<sup>63</sup> In his edition, *The Making of a Saint: Finbarr of Cork 600-1200*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 5, Dublin, 1997, p. 82-83, 87-89, P. Ó RIAIN links the description of Finnbarr's education to the requirement of the third Lateran Council of 1179 that every bishop provide a benefice for a *magister* to teach in his see.

The topos of the saint's education is also used to stress the Romanitas and orthodoxy of the Irish church. Many of the saints study in Rome, and so their Romanitas and links to the pope are emphasized. Thus Ciarán de Saigir studies at Rome for twenty years, reading the scriptures and ecclesiastical rules (*VCiarani* 3). Finnbarr studies with Mac Cuirb with whom he reads the Gospel of Mark and ecclesiastical rules, just as Mac Cuirb had studied them in Rome with Gregory the Great (*VBarri* 7, 10). Ailbe first learns about the Creator "from a certain Christian priest sent by the apostolic see to Ireland many years before Patrick to sow faith in Christ" ("quidam Christianus sacerdos missus a sede apostolica ad Hiberniam insulam multis annis ante Patricium, ut fidem Christi ibi seminaret," *VAlbei* 2). Ailbe then sets out to learn scripture at Rome, where he studies with Hilary (*VAlbei* 4, 8). After learning to read with Dimma, and studying the scriptures with him, Declán becomes known for his learning and sanctity, and attracts *discipuli* of his own. Afterwards, he decides to go to Rome, taking his *discipuli* with him,

*ut ibi mores ecclesiasticos disceret, et gradus acciperet, et licentiam predicandi a sede Romana haberet; et ordinem et regulas secundum institutionem Romanam secum duceret.* (*VDeclani* 9)

so that he might there learn ecclesiastical customs and accept advancement and get permission to preach from the seat of Rome; and bring back with him an order and rules according to the Roman institution.

Albeus is already there, studying with Hilary ("sub discipulatu Hilarii episcopi"), and he and Declán are both ordained by the pope, who gives Declán books and rules and sends him back to Ireland.<sup>64</sup> Other saints do not need to go to Rome. Thus, Cainnech studies in Britain with the learned Docus and later seeks to go to Rome to study, but, although he makes it as far as Italy where he founds a monastery, God sends him

<sup>64</sup> Hilary does not seem to be the pope in this life, however, for he sends Ailbe to the pope to be ordained bishop (*VAlbei* 13). Compare *VAbbani* 10-20, where the emphasis is on pilgrimage rather than study.

back to Ireland where he is needed (*VCainnichi* 5-6). A continental education is not, it seems, a prerequisite for sanctity.<sup>65</sup>

In these passages, we can begin to see how a *topos* in a collection functions differently than the same *topos* from an individual life. In the collection, the educational links between saints in the individual lives, probably originally intended to show connections between different Irish foundations, grow into a vast network covering all of Ireland. If we read in a single life that a saint studies in Rome, we take it as a feature of his individual sanctity. When many Irish saints study in Rome or have Roman connections, this becomes a comment on Irish sanctity and orthodoxy more generally.

Marc Van Uytfanghe, speaking of the methodology of modern scholars, has insisted that, *topoi* only have significance as part of a series, “le *topos* ne prend sa signification que dans une série, et il faut en étudier l’évolution, les variations et les transformations contextuelles.”<sup>66</sup> Here, he is thinking the way in which a *topos* in a particular life depends for its meaning on the prior usage of that *topos* in the genre as a whole. Putting lives into a collection, however, gives greater visibility to the interdependence of individual instances of a hagiographical *topos*. The sheer juxtaposition created by the collection expands the meaning of the *topos* both within the individual lives and in the collection as a whole. This expansion of meaning by juxtaposition operates regardless of whether or not the compiler or editor has actually intervened in text.

So far, we have explored the ways in which particular themes can be reinforced through the repetition and reformulation of a particular *topos*. What happens, however, when a collection contains materials at odds with one another? The Dublin Collection includes lives by “outsiders”, with differing styles and perspectives on Irish sanctity than the native lives. In the sections that follow, I will first explore the ways in which a collection of lives creates meaning differently than

<sup>65</sup> The Dublin collector’s version of this is, again, very close to that of his source in the Codex Salmanticensis, *Vita S. Caimnechi* 6-9, p. 183-184.

<sup>66</sup> M. VAN UYTFANGHE, “Le remploi dans l’hagiographie: Une ‘loi du genre’ qui étouffe l’originalité?” in *Ideologie e pratiche del riempiego nell’alto medioevo* (Spoleto, 16-21 aprile 1998), Spoleto, 1999, p. 398.

a life in isolation. I will then return to the Dublin Collection to use a recurrent theme of the *topos* of the saint's education, specifically the role of the liberal arts, to how collective whole creates meaning through an internal dialectic.

#### 4. *Reading Collections of Saints' Lives*

The nature of the collection complicates the already fraught issue of authorial intention. In the past, scholars who have worked with collections of saints' lives have often described the acts of collection and compilation as fundamentally mechanical and unoriginal, lacking in both independent authorial intention and unity.<sup>67</sup> In the aftermath of works such as Alastair Minnis's *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, however, such dismissals of the compiler's role have become untenable.<sup>68</sup> Scholars have increasingly argued that particular legendaries reflect the strong creative voice of a single individual. Anne Thompson, for example, argues against the mechanical compilation of the *South English Legendary*, asserting that it creates a single authorial voice with power to "astonish, disturb and delight". Indeed, hagiographical reworkings, including the collections of earlier lives, have become an important field for exploring the changing role of the author in the Middle Ages.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Thus, as recently as 1993, K.-E. GEITH, "Jacques de Voragine – auteur indépendant ou compilateur?," *Legenda aurea – La Légende dorée (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> s.) : Actes du Congrès international de Perpignan (Séances "Nouvelles recherches sur la Legenda aurea")*, ed. by B. DUNN-LARDEAU, Le moyen français, 32, Montreal: Ceres, 1993, p. 30, argued that, in the *Golden Legend*, Jacobus de Voragine relies so heavily on Jean de Mailly and other sources that he is "rien d'autre qu'un habile compilateur". His introduction, p. 17-18, provides an introduction to dissenting critiques of Jacobus' literary merits. See Alain Boureau's introduction to *La légende dorée*, trans. Alain BOUREAU *et al.*, Paris, 2004, p. xviii-xix, for Geith's challenge to Jacobus' originality.

<sup>68</sup> *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, London, 1984, particularly p. 94-103. See also A. J. MINNIS, "Late-Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and the Role of the *Compiler*," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 101 (1979), p. 385-421.

<sup>69</sup> A. B. THOMPSON, *Everyday Saints and the Art of Narrative in the South English Legendary*, Aldershot and Burlington, 2003, p. 12-16. Thompson dis-



Similarly, scholars have increasingly stressed the authorial role assumed, for example, by Jacobus de Voragine. Alain Boureau, in his magisterial study of the *Golden Legend* has argued that the legendary is a collective to be read as an ensemble rather than as a set of disparate components:

“c’est une légendier, un ensemble, qui a constamment été copié et édité en tant que tel. Il convient alors de tenter une poétique du recueil, bien différente d’une analyse des vitae ou des libelli séparé [...]”<sup>70</sup>

The poetic aesthetic of the collection is to be found, for Boureau, in the collection rather than its individual parts. Although a collective text, Boureau’s *Golden Legend* remains, emphatically, a unified whole:

L’hypothèse centrale sera la suivante: La Légende dorée est composée comme un univers de signification, achevé et complet, où chaque élément renvoie à la totalité, univers qui rend compte de tout, qui trace une origine et une fine, univers où tout est dit et où tout chrétien trouve sa place, univers génératif cependant puisque la Légende dorée peut s’étendre et se compléter, comme cela se produisit effectivement au xiv<sup>e</sup> et au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>71</sup>

More recently, Giovanni Paolo Maggioni has shown that Jacobus de Voragine revised the *Golden Legend* throughout his career, arguing that in his later revisions he aimed to produce

cusses the problem of hagiography and authorial intention on p. 14-16. On hagiography and the author, see J. DEPLOIGE, “Anonymat et paternité littéraire dans l’hagiographie des Pays-Bas méridionaux (ca. 920-ca. 1320): Autour du discours sur ‘l’original’ et la ‘copie’ hagiographique au Moyen Âge, in “*Scribere sanctorum gesta*”: *Recueil d’études d’hagiographie médiévale offert à Guy Philippart*, ed. by É. RENARD, M. TRIGALET, X. HERMAND and P. BERTRAND, Turnhout, 2005, p. 77-107, and M. ZIMMERMANN, “Ouverture du colloque,” *Auctor et auctoritas: Invention et conformisme dans l’écriture médiévale: Actes du colloque tenu à Versailles-Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines (14-16 juin 1999)*, ed. by M. ZIMMERMANN, Paris, 2001, p. 7-14, and DEPLOIGE, “Anonymat et paternité,” p. 85-91.

<sup>70</sup> *La légende dorée*, p. 11. For a recent explication of the *Golden Legend* and scholarship on it, see BOUREAU’s introduction to the translation of *Légende dorée*, p. xv-xlvi.

<sup>71</sup> BOUREAU, *Légende dorée: Le système narratif*, p. 14.

a *summa* of sanctity not unlike the *summa* of theology produced by another Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, at about the same time. Maggioni notes that, in these revisions, Jacobus added more contradictory citations from authorities. These contradictions are allowed, he asserts, by the increased unity of the author's intention and the authority of his production.<sup>72</sup>

In what follows, I wish to shift the emphasis of the critical debate about collective works. Rather than privileging authorial unity, the Dublin Collection depends on the co-existence of and tension between unity and independence: by its nature, that is, the collection has both the advantages of a literary unity reflecting the collector's intent, and the advantages of disunity achieved by the juxtaposition of diverse voices. In this way, we may compare it to a work like Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, which consists of a collection of quotations from patristic authorities organized around a series of theological questions. Often Lombard ends by adding his own conclusions, but he also regularly leaves the question unresolved, creating, in effect, a dialogue between competing voices.

Such collective texts are hard to categorize, as has been clear since Bonaventure wrote his commentary on the *Sentences*. There, Bonaventure feels the need to defend Lombard's status as an *auctor* in a famous passage distinguishing among the scribe, the compiler, the commentator and the author:

*quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur scriptor. Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste compilator dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur commentator, non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tamquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem; et talis debet dici auctor. (proem, quaestio 4, response).*

There are four ways of making a book. For one person writes out the words of others, adding or changing nothing; he is

<sup>72</sup> G. P. MAGGIONI, "Le molte Légende aurée: Modificazioni testuali e itinerari narrativi," in *De la sainteté à l'hagiographie: Genèse et usage de la Légende dorée*, ed. by B. FLEITH and F. MORENZONI, Geneva, 2001, p. 15-40, esp. p. 37.

simply called scribe. Another writes the words of others, but adding nothing of his own; and he is called a compiler (*compilator*). Someone else writes both the words of others and his own, but those of others serve as the main matter, and his own are added for clarification; and that one is called the commentator, not the author. Another writes both his own words and those of others, but his own serve as the main matter, while those of others are added for confirmation of his words; and such a one ought to be called the author (*auctor*).<sup>73</sup> (my trans.)

Clearly Bonaventure recognizes numerous means of “making a book”, which vary in their degree of authority, while reserving the name “author” for the person “who is responsible for what is actually said in a given text”.<sup>74</sup> This passage has been at the heart of much of the discussion of the medieval understanding of authorship, particularly the influential works of Alastair Minnis and Rita Copeland in the Anglophone world, and of the evolution of the *fonction auteur* as it is often called in continental scholarship.<sup>75</sup> On the one hand, Bonaventure seems to draw a sharp line between the author and the compiler. Bonaventure introduces the issue, however, because the distinction is in practice not so clear-cut. It is possible, he fears, to mistake an authoritative work like the *Sentences* for the work of a non-authorial compiler or commentator. As Jeroen Deploige points out, Bonaventure describes a spectrum moving from a complete lack of originality and creativity to its opposite applicable also to saints’ lives, which are often reworkings, even centos, of earlier material.<sup>76</sup> While the terms that he uses (*compiler*, *commentator*) are more appropri-

<sup>73</sup> The edition used is *Commentaria in quattuor libros Sententiarum*, vol. 1-4 of *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae*, ed. by PP. Collegium a Bonaventura, 10 vols., Quaracchi, 1882-1901.

<sup>74</sup> A. J. MINNIS and A. B. SCOTT in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism, c. 1100 - c. 1375*, Oxford and New York, 1988, p. 229, p. 94-95.

<sup>75</sup> MINNIS, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, particularly p. 94-103, and “Late-Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio*,” p. 385-421; R. COPELAND, in *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge and New York, 1991, esp. p. 81, 86. See also DEPLOIGE, “Anonymat et paternité,” p. 77-107, see esp. 106-107.

<sup>76</sup> DEPLOIGE, “Anonymat et paternité,” p. 106. For the description of

ate to the genres of scholastic theology than to hagiography, copies and reworkings of medieval saints' lives can fall anywhere within the spectrum that Bonaventure describes. The problem addressed by Bonaventure, however, arises specifically because the compilers and commentators of scholastic theological works are regularly named, and they also generally name the authorities they cite, thereby giving rise to the potential confusion about authority and authorship that Bonaventure addresses here: who gets to call himself "the author"? Medieval saints' lives pose quite different problems of authority and authorship.

First of all, many saints' lives are anonymous, and, thus, at least on the level of the text, implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) renounce the authority claimed by a named author, like Lombard: hagiographical texts primarily derive their authority from the saint, not the author.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, as Marc Van Uytenghe has pointed out, reuse of earlier materials is a characteristic feature of hagiography, and students of hagiographers have increasingly embraced each new version of a life as important in its own right.<sup>78</sup> In *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques* (2005), Monique Goullet has studied the numerous ways in which medieval writers justified a rewriting of an existing life and positioned themselves vis-à-vis the older versions, complex relationships that Bonaventure's brief passage does not begin to do justice to. Goullet, however, does not explore

saints' lives as creative centos, see p. 83-85, and VAN UYTFANGHE, "Le remploi dans l'hagiographie, p. 382-383.

<sup>77</sup> DEPLOIGE, "Anonymat et paternité," p. 77-107, explores the complex issue of anonymity in medieval hagiography. He cautions that just because a text is anonymous does not mean that its intended audience did not know who the author was. He points, p. 100-102, to Thomas of Cantimpré, for example, who in his prologues refuses to give his name, yet his authorship was well known to later readers. Thomas often dedicated his lives to named patrons, however, which would, on the one hand, displace some of the text's authority onto them, but might also help readers identify the author.

<sup>78</sup> VAN UYTFANGHE, "Le remploi dans l'hagiographie," p. 349-411. See also M. HEINZELMANN and J.-C. POULIN, *Les Vies anciennes de sainte Geneviève de Paris: Études critiques*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, iv<sup>e</sup> section: Sciences historiques et philologiques, 329, Paris: Champion, 1986, and the overview of scholarship by GOULLET, *Écriture et réécriture*, p. 1-27.

the consequences of the inclusion of a life in a collection, except to assert that reduction in length is a common practice when a life is reworked to be included in a legendary.<sup>79</sup>

In the transition from individual life to collection of lives, a new and quite different form evolves in which individual components resonate against one another, and so speak to one another in a way in which they would not in isolation. An individual life may be read quite differently in juxtaposition with others, as new layers of meaning are added to it that it would not otherwise have – and the collector himself may or may not have been conscious of all of the effects of that juxtaposition. On the one hand, as Boureau shows, the aesthetic of the legendary depends on the very repetition of banal detail for its singular impact: “presque tous les détails du texte légendaire en citent, en répètent, en modulent d’autres, dans une circularité indéfinie”.<sup>80</sup> This new aesthetic also delights, however, in the juxtaposition of differences. We can see this aesthetic at work in the *Golden Legend*, for example, in the chapter on Gregory the Great, in which Gregory rescues the soul of the “good pagan emperor” Trajan from hell. Jacobus interrupts his narrative to provide no fewer than eight authorities to provide variant versions or differing interpretations of this episode:

*Fertur quoque [...]*

*Damascenus autem in quodam suo sermone narrat quod [...]*

*Super hoc dixerunt quidam quod [...]*

*Alii quod [...]*

*Alii quod [...]*

*Alii, ut Iohannes diaconus qui hanc legendam compilavit, quod [...]*

*Alii quod [...]*

*Fertur quoque [...]*

<sup>79</sup> GOULLET, *Écriture et réécriture*, p. 118, 123-130, who notes that both wholesale excision and concision are common in legends.

<sup>80</sup> BOUREAU, *Légende dorée*, p. 239. See also p. 12, “La *Légende dorée* doit donc être lue à la fois dans sa banalité et dans sa singularité”. BOUREAU’s chapter on “Paradigmes”, p. 239-251, discusses the role of repetition and variation in various aspects of the *Golden Legend*.

*Item alibi [...]* (*Legenda aurea* 46, p. 296-98)<sup>81</sup>

It is also said that [...]

But John of Damascus in his own treatise says that [...]

About this certain people have said that [...]

Others that [...]

Others that [...]

Others, like John the Deacon who compiled this legend, that [...]

Others that [...]

It is also said that [...]

As Boureau has shown, Jacobus does not give equal weight to all the voices here, naming only two, John of Damascus and John the Deacon. On the one hand, John the Deacon, as the author of the life incorporated into the Roman Breviary, has “d’autorité presque officielle, celle du compilateur reconnu”.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, Jacobus has neither placed him definitively first or last, but rather has chosen to give us a plethora of voices, creating, in effect, a debate, or a *disputatio*, to use the scholastic term, among them, leaving it to the readers (like those of Lombard) to accept the named authorities or to choose the version of one of the “others”.

In the Dublin Collection, despite the fact that the collector writes “both his own words and those of others”, there is no *auctor* who takes responsibility for the collective work as a whole, despite his extensive reworkings of many of the lives.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>81</sup> The edition used here is that of G. P. MAGGIONI, *Legenda Aurea*, Florence, 1998.

<sup>82</sup> BOUREAU, *Légende dorée : Le système narratif*, p. 97-98.

<sup>83</sup> On this problem, see E. M. C. VAN HOUTS, “Medieval Latin and the Historical Narrative,” in *Media latinitas : A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, ed. by R. I. A. NIP, *et al.*, Turnhout, 1996, p. 86, who sees in the theories of both Minnis and Copeland a fundamental failure to recognize the complex originality and creativity of medieval authorship before the later Middle Ages. MINNIS’ definition of *auctores* as “authoritative Latin writers”, particularly those studied in the schools and universities of the later Middle Ages, does not account for a wide range of medieval Latin writing, particularly that largely written outside the scho-

The opening of the collection, with any prologue it may have had, does not survive, but with one possible exception the collector does not add prologues to the reworked lives, and he never names himself.<sup>84</sup> On the one hand, he extensively revises many of the anonymous lives, making additions and excisions, while imposing a relatively uniform style and diction, often clearer, more grammatically complex and slightly more rhetorical than his originals. He regularly comments on Irish genealogy, history, topography, and customs, and he explains Irish place names for a Latin-speaking audience. He also makes changes that create a consistent account of early Irish history. On the other hand, he includes the prefaces to Adomnán's life of Columba, Bernard's life of Malachy, and the life of Lawrence O'Toole, which make their heterogeneous origins clear.<sup>85</sup> Several of the lives are virtually untouched, most notably the ones written by "outsiders" – Bernard of Clairvaux's life of Malachy and the Norman life of Lawrence O'Toole, both written on the continent, and the Anglo-Norman verse life of Senán, all of which stand out from the other lives of the Dublin Collection in tone, content, style and thematic emphases.

The Dublin Collection, then, is in some sense both "authored" and "unauthored", while the main voice is anonymous, the other lives have distinct authorial voices. Paradoxically, to modern eyes, the most extensively reworked lives, the most original lives in the collection, remain anonymous, while the authored lives are left alone. The lack of any preexisting authorial claims seems to have given the collector permission to rework the lives. The result, however, is to create an effect similar to that which we saw in Jacobus de Voragine,

lastic milieu on which his arguments largely rest. See also DEPLOIGE, "Anonymat et paternité," p. 77-107.

<sup>84</sup> The possible exception is the life of Brigit, which includes a prologue. It is possible, however, that this prologue belongs to an earlier stage of revision (see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints Lives*, p. 125-26; but also p. 212, where he argues that there was no intermediate stage of revision between the *Vita I* and that found in the Dublin collection). It names neither an author, nor a patron, although it is addressed to "fratres".

<sup>85</sup> SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 125-126, and 208-215.

a multitude of voices to choose among.<sup>86</sup> In the collection, moreover, each individual element has become part of a whole: the most creative act of collecting is the invitation to a new way of reading the individual lives, one life now can and must be read against the others. New comparisons and contrasts emerge, of all of which the collector may not have been conscious. For example, a repeated *topos* (whether or not it has been reworked by the collector) will now invite the readers to compare its manifestation in one life to that in the others. Here, the relative uniformity of the collector's voice in many of the lives calls attention to the disparity with others. The collector's consistent reworking of the Latin of the native lives for suggests that he is conscious of Anglo-Norman criticisms of Irish education, literacy and Latinity. I will argue below that in the Dublin Collection the changing role of the liberal arts within the *topos* of the saint's education amongst the different lives constitutes a dialogue between the different voices of the collective.

##### 5. *The Secular Arts and Education in the Dublin Collection*

On the continent, the rejection of the liberal arts for the monastic life is a *topos* of hagiography since at least Gregory the Great's biography of Benedict.<sup>87</sup> In contrast, terms alluding to the liberal arts appear for the first time in Hiberno-Latin hagiography only after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans (see the Appendix). Certainly, the early medieval Irish were not unaware of the liberal arts or uninterested in them: the Irish were devoted from very early times to the study of the first of the liberal arts, grammar, and eloquence seems to have been

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, E. MARTIN, "Away from Self-Authorship: Multiplying the 'Author' in Jean De Meun's *Roman de la Rose*," *Modern Philology*, 96 (1998), p. 1-2.

<sup>87</sup> *Dialogi*, prol, PL 66, col. 166, "Romae liberalibus litterarum studiis traditus fuerat. Sed cum in eis multos ire per abrupta vitiorum cerneret, eum quem quasi in ingressu mundi posuerat, retraxit pedem: ne si quid de scientia ejus attingeret, ipse quoque postmodum in immane praecipitium totus iret. Despectis itaque litterarum studiis, relicta domo rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sanctae conversationis habitum quaesivit."



part of the training of Columbanus in the sixth century and of other Irish writers. The secular arts, however, were not as central to the largely monastic education available in Ireland as in continental and English schools and universities, nor were they as taught as systematically.<sup>88</sup>

In fact, all of the references to the liberal arts in Latin lives written in Ireland are found in the Dublin Collection, which alludes to them nine times in eight different lives, a fact suggesting a special interest on the collector's part.<sup>89</sup> The lives of the Dublin Collection, read together, however, reveal an ambivalence towards the arts, an ambivalence enhanced by the juxtaposition of the lives written in Ireland and the lives of Malachy and Lawrence and Senán, written respectively by a Burgundian Cistercian, a Norman canon, and an Anglo-Norman poet. References to the liberal arts are scattered throughout the lives of the Dublin Collection; however, the lives are noticeably inconsistent in how they present the role of the liberal arts in the saint's education. The liberal arts are first introduced in the third life, the life of Columba, where we are told that Fintén, who came to Iona to make a pilgrimage to see Columba, was learned in dialectic ("studiis dialecticalis sophie deditus," *V Columbae* 1.2). Fintén learns that Columba has recently died and decides to accept Columba's successor, the *sapiens* Baithéne, as his abbot. Adómnán's original phrase, "devoted to studies of divine wisdom" ("studiis dialis sofias deditus"), was reworked by the continental editor. In the context of the Dublin Collection, the new phrasing has the function of subordinating scholastic learning to traditional Irish ecclesiastical learning.

<sup>88</sup> Ó CRÓINÍN, *Early Medieval Ireland*, p. 177; for the Irish interest in grammar, p. 183-186. For a much fuller account of the breadth of Irish Latin learning in the early Middle Ages, see D. Ó CRÓINÍN, "Hiberno-Latin Literature to 1169," in *A New History of Ireland*, ed. by F. BYRNE *et al.*, Oxford, 1976-2005), 1:370-404. See T. M. CHARLES-EDWARDS, "The Context and Uses of Literacy in Early Christian Ireland," in *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 67-68, for the importance of eloquence.

<sup>89</sup> For the liberal arts in the Dublin collection, as well as a more detailed discussion regarding the role and chronology of the liberal arts in Irish hagiography, see the Appendix.

In the fourth life, we are told that Maedóc's parents sent him to holy men for liberal study ("tradiderunt eum viris sanctis ad studium liberale," *VMaedoc* 5) after they saw him perform a miracle. Although this story is reported in the earlier life, there the episode ended with the successful miracle.<sup>90</sup> The life in the Dublin Collection adds a new conclusion, that the miracle led his parents to recognize God's grace in Maedóc and that, in consequence, they sent him to acquire a liberal education. This brief mention, however, prepares for an unusual number of book miracles: Maedóc saves a stag from the hounds pursuing him by using him as a book stand for his wax tablet (*VMaedoc* 7); rain fails to damage the book that Maedóc left open out of doors (*VMaedoc* 12); after writing a psalm down for a boy, he ascends to heaven carrying the wax-tablet with him (*VMaedoc* 39). The Dublin collector has accomplished two things through his addition to the miracle of *VMaedoc* 5: he has laid the groundwork for the book miracles that follow, but he also endows Maedóc, his patron saint, with a liberal education.

The life of Molua, however, is openly critical of the liberal arts in a passage which plays on the double meaning of *intellectus* as both "intellect/intellectual ability" and "understanding":

*Ipse iam sanctus pater Comgallus iussit ei alphabetum scribi, et cepit docere eum. Quadam quoque die invenit sanctus Comgallus angelum Dei sanctum Moluam docentem, et explanabat ei literas, et consolabatur eum omni pietate. Et postea sanctus Molua acutus multum intellectus erat et ingeniosus in liberali arte. Dixitque ei sanctus Comgallus quodam die, colloquentes invicem: 'Postulasti, fili mi, rem periculosam a Deo; multi enim intellectu et arte liberali decepti sunt, et inde causam habuerunt ruine.' Respondit ei sanctus Molua, et dixit, 'Si ego haberem intellectum Domini semper, non offenderem, et dyabolo non consentirem. Qui enim sunt sine intellectu, de uoluntate Dei agenda non curant, et dyabolo non resistunt, set vitam suam cum viciis perdunt.'* (*VMoluae* 16)

<sup>90</sup> *Vita sancti Aidui sive Maedoc episcopi ex Codice Cottoniano* 5, ed. by PLUMMER, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 296. For this life from British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv as the source for the Dublin collection, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 395.

The holy Father Comgall himself had the alphabet written out for him and began to instruct him. On a certain day, St. Comgall found an angel of God teaching St. Molua and he [the angel] was teaching him letters and consoling him with all mercy [or strengthening him with all piety?]. And afterwards St. Molua was very sharp in mind [intellectus] and clever in liberal studies. One day, St. Comgall said to him, as they were engaged in conversation, "You asked, my son, for a dangerous thing from God; for many have been deceived by their intellect [intellectus] and by the liberal arts, and thence have come to ruin." St. Molua answered him, saying, "If I always have understanding [intellectus] of God, I would not offend and I would not consent to the devil. For those who are without understanding have no concern about doing God's will, and they do not resist the devil, but they lose their lives through their sins.

Comgall accepts this reply as recognizing the proper relationship between faith and *intellectus*, and tells him, "Through good understanding, you will enter eternal life by the straight way" ("per bonum intellectum via recta intrabis ad vitam eternam").

In the *VMoluae*, too, we can see the Dublin collector's redaction of his source's account of the saint's elementary education. This life survives in two versions, an earlier one in the O'Donohue group in the Codex Salmanticensis and the other a reworked version of it found in the Dublin compilation of the early thirteenth century.<sup>91</sup> In the earlier version, which can be traced to a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, Comgall asks his parents for permission to foster the budding saint:<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> For the relationship between the two lives, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 395.

<sup>92</sup> The text from the codex Salmanticensis is edited by Heist, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 131-145. SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 334, has dated the O'Donohue group in the Codex Salmanticensis "earlier than about 800" on linguistic grounds. While this dating has been contested, the consensus still accepts this group of lives as pre-Norman period. See n. 7 above.

*‘Vultis ut puer iste mecum pergat, ut alatur, ut legat et disciplinam discat?’ Cum hoc parentibus placuisset, puer profectus est cum Comgallo [...] et alphabetum scriptum est ei. Quadam autem die invenit Comgallus angelum iuxta puerum, qui litteras explanabat puero et docebat eum et leniter consolabatur illum. (VMoluae 15)*

‘Do you want this boy to go with me to be fostered, so that he may read and learn monastic discipline?’ Since this idea pleased his parents, the boy went forth with Comgall [...] and the alphabet was written down for him. And one day Comgall found an angel next to the boy, explaining letters to the boy and teaching him and gently consoling him.

This life follows the model which we have seen elsewhere in the collection, in which the young saint receives literacy as a symbol of his introduction into the monastic life and literate Latin culture, and expands it with the addition of an angelic instructor.

This episode seems to appeal to the collector of the Dublin life, whose version is fuller, more rhetorical and more pious, changes typical of his work.<sup>93</sup> In addition to the greater emphasis on the role of God, the Dublin collector has introduced the secular liberal arts, adding Comgall’s moralizing speech warning his student about the dangers of excessive cleverness and of studying the liberal arts. While the story is essentially the same as in the earlier life, the editor has added a new issue, the fear that liberal studies will interfere with the saint’s ability to live the monastic life. Here, we can see the collector as redactor framing the education of the saint within a context familiar to his Anglo-Norman audience, the tension between the seductive secular liberal arts and monastic discipline.

The life of Aed, in contrast, introduces the liberal arts to describe a gap in the saint’s education:

*Beatus puer Edus a nullo magistro est doctus in puericia sua in liberali arti, nec in literis eruditus, neque in regulis ecclesiasticis limatus est, usque ad tempus adolescencie sue; set [...] inter plebeos homines integer corpore et anima Dei gratia nutritus [...] (VAedi 3)*

<sup>93</sup> For the Dublin redactor’s changes, both in style and in piety, see above.

The blessed Aed was taught by no master in his boyhood in the liberal arts, nor was he taught letters, nor was he steeped in ecclesiastical rules, until the time of his adolescence, but [...] among common folk he was nurtured, sound in body and soul, by God's grace.

Only when Aed enters the monastery (after a failed attempt to acquire his earthly inheritance through kidnapping and extortion), does he study "letters and scriptures" ("literas et scripturas," *VAedi* 3) with Ilundus. The passage implies, without explicitly stating it, that the saint's literary studies included the liberal arts. In this life, then, the liberal arts are not an obstacle, but are consistent with the pursuit of a monastic life.

The life of Abbán, Ó Riain has argued, was written sometime before 1218 by that same Albinus O'Mulloy against whom Geoffrey spoke in 1186. This life is as strongly pro-Irish as Geoffrey's sermon at Dublin was anti-Irish. The life begins with praise of Ireland:

*In occidentali plaga totius orbis est insula possita, cuius nomen Hybernia dicitur. Eadem uero insula est magna atque amena terra [...] in qua etiam nulla bestia uenenosa, nec genus ullum serpentinum; set terra sana est, morbis carens, habitabilis valde, fructifera in diuersis fructibus, tam in aquis, quam in terris et lignis. (VAbbani 1).*

In the western part of the world is located an island, whose name is Ireland. This same Ireland truly is a great and pleasant land [...] in which there are no poisonous beasts nor any kind of serpent; but it is a healthy land, without disease, very livable, fertile in various fruits, both in its waters as in its lands and woods.

Albinus concludes his praise of Ireland by praising the orthodoxy and learning of its inhabitants "Those who dwell in Ireland have proven to be strong in their catholic faith and ecclesiastical teachings" ("Cultores uero Hybernicae probati sunt in fide catholica, et in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis"). As Ó Riain has shown, the life also has a strongly anti-English slant and impugn the English clergy.<sup>94</sup> Given Albinus' earlier confron-

<sup>94</sup> For the author and date of this life, see Ó RIAIN, "St. Abbán," p. 164-165. For the life's anti-English stance, that makes "nonsense of the Norman allegation – backed by the authority of the papal bull *Laudabiliter* – that

tation with Gerald of Wales it is perhaps not surprising that he takes special pains to describe the learning of his subject, not only in the scriptures, but also in the liberal arts. Abbán is truly learned in the scripture (“vere erat peritus scripturis”), taught directly by the Holy Spirit and able to teach without ever having had a human teacher (*VAbbani* 4-5). God nevertheless arranges to have him sent to the church to learn ecclesiastical ways, “as it is fitting that the one destined by God to be the father and master of many in the future might first be subject to teaching” (“ut, sicut dignum est, esset prius sub magisterio, qui a Deo predestinatus est pater et magister multorum futurus,” *VAbbani* 7).

When Abbán’s parents perceive their son’s miraculous grace, they give him permission to serve God and send him to study with bishop Íbar. In his studies with Bishop Íbar, Abbán:

*Cepit namquam statim in scripturis proficere, non solum in diuinis, set ceterarum artium, sicut mos est iuuenum in iuuentute aliquid gustare de dulcedine et astucia disciplinarum auctorum; ita ut mirarentur ceteri de profunditate scientie, sapientie, atque eloquiorum eius.* (*VAbbani* 9)

began to excel straightaway in literature, not only in the scriptures, but in the writings of the other arts, as is the custom of the young to taste something of the sweetness and cleverness of the teachings of the (secular) authors, so that others might be amazed at the depth of his knowledge, learning, and eloquence.

This passage could stand as evidence against Gerald’s charge that the Irish lack the eloquence bestowed by scholastic training in grammar and rhetoric. The seductive pleasures of the arts, however, only serve to impress people. God had long before given the saint the ability to discourse on the scriptures:

their main business in Ireland was to ‘spread the faith and root out evils,’” see p. 165-166. See also SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 355-363. Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 362, suggests the possibility that this passage could be the “work of the redactor” and compares the description of Ireland in the life of Patrick.

*set tunc ipsi non deberent de sapientia eius mirari, quia in domo patris sui puerrulus et indoctus, disputans cum omnibus, de divinis scripturis testimonia proferebat, docente se Spiritu Sancto.*

they shouldn't have been surprised at his sapientia, because as a small untutored boy in his father's house, he disputed with all, bringing forth evidence from the divine scriptures, taught by the Holy Spirit.

While these passages clearly draw on the gospel accounts of the boy Jesus preaching to learned men in the Temple (Lk 2: 42-50), Albinus adds a nice touch with the verb *disputare*, for *disputatio* had become the major method of university education. Here, Abbán's superiority in theological disputation, the highest of university disciplines, is acquired not in school, let alone through the study of the liberal arts, but through divine grace. This passage thus values the boy's *sapientia*, his training in the traditional Irish style in scriptural and ecclesiastical learning, which he acquires directly from the Holy Spirit, over the *scientia* of human *auctores*, such as those read in the universities of England and the continent.

Taken together, the lives in the Dublin Collection by native Irish hagiographers constitute a dialogue about the nature of education in the Irish church and the relative importance of the secular arts. On the rare occasions when a hagiographer mentions the liberal arts, they are an asset to the saint, but they are kept clearly in their place: they have a limited role in the religious life, which they potentially undermine, and they are always subordinated to scriptural and ecclesiastical studies.

## 6. *The Non-Native Lives*

How do the three lives by non-native hagiographers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Anglo-Norman author of the life of Senán, the Burgundian Bernard of Clairvaux, and Norman author of the life of Lawrence O'Toole, fit into this dialogue about Irish education? The Anglo-Norman life of Senán, as the only poetic life in the collection, is among the most self-consciously literary. This also suggests that its author received training on the continental model in Latin

composition, not only in prose, but also verse.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, then, Senán's life is also the most insistent on the saint's education in the secular arts. When Senán leaves a soldier's life for the monastery, his abbot Cassidus instills in him the disciplines (*disciplinae*) necessary to the monastic life (*VSenani*, lines 273-74):

*per cuius et industriam litterarum noticiam  
tantam in brevi percipit ut nihil subterfugerit  
eius capax ingenium litterarum vel artium  
quas magistri ecclesie vel secularis scientie  
ministrant auditoribus, nam doctor erat omnibus.* (*VSenani* 9.275-79)

Through [Cassidus'] industry, [Senán] gained so great a knowledge of letters that nothing of the letters or the arts, which teachers of the church or of secular knowledge serve to those listening, escaped his capacious mind, for he [Cassidus] was teacher for all.

Despite his capacious knowledge, however, Senán's education is not yet complete, for in the next section Cassidus has a vision in which God commands him to send Senán to abbot Natalus "so that under his guidance he might be more fully instructed in the disciplines and arts" ("ut sub eius regimine / disciplinis et artibus instruetur plenius," 10.291-92). The Anglo-Norman author seems not to be able to conceive of sanctity without extensive study in the secular arts as taught in the schools of England and France.

Far more antagonistic toward Irish learning and culture are the Norman life of Lawrence O'Toole and the life of Malachy by the Burgundian Bernard: both lives present the Irish as an

<sup>95</sup> The edition of the *VSenani* used is that of HEIST, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae*, p. 301-324. HEIST based his text mainly on the version found in the Codex Salmanticensis, adding to them large sections preserved only in the Dublin collection, as found in *M*. In what follows, I have used Heist's edition, with attention to the readings of *M*. The section on the saints' education (and a considerable portion of the text after it) survives only in the Dublin collection. For the Anglo-Norman authorship of the life, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 241, and n. 43, for the linguistic evidence: it is also the only Hiberno-Latin composition to use octosyllabic Latin verse.



alien “other”. Both begin by locating their subjects as civilized beings in an otherwise barbarian context.<sup>96</sup> Thus, Bernard opens his narrative of the life of Malachy by asserting:

*Malachias noster, ortus Hibernia de populo barbaro, ibi educatus, ibi litteras edoctus est. Ceterum de natali barbarie traxit nihil, non magis quam pisces maris de sale materno. Quam vero suave, quod inculta nobis barbaries tam urbanum protulit civem Sanctorum et domesticum Dei.* (VMalachiae 1.1)

Our Malachy, was born in Ireland of a barbarian people, was reared there and learned his letters there. Otherwise he took nothing from the barbarism of his birth, no more than the fish from the maternal salt of the sea. How sweet it is that barbarism, uncultivated / uneducated / unpolished in our view, produced so urbane/polished a citizen of the saints and servant of God!:

Indeed, as Watt has asserted, the main theme of the *Vita* is “the taming of Irish ‘barbarism’ by the apostolicity of the saint”.<sup>97</sup> The anonymous author of the life of Lawrence O’Toole, writing more than seventy years later, echoes much the same sentiment in even harsher terms:

*Quem [Laurentium] Dominus in terra barbara sicut lilium inter spinas, uel sicut Iob in terra Hus inuenit, qui non plus traxit de terre sue barbarie quam piscis de maris salsugine.* (VLaurentii 1.1)<sup>98</sup>

The Lord found him [Lawrence] in a barbarian land, like a lily among thorns, or just as he found Job in the land of Uz,

<sup>96</sup> The edition is that of P.-Y. EMERY, “Vita sancti Malachiae episcopi,” in *Oeuvres complètes* 31, Sources chrétiennes, 367, Paris, 1990, p. 135-377. This edition does not consult the manuscripts of the Dublin collection. SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 126, however, asserts that the collector “scarcely tampered with” this work. The translations are my own. On the barbarism of the Irish in the life of Malachy and its historical context, see D. SCULLY, “The Portrayal of Ireland and the Irish in Bernard’s Life of Malachy,” in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal*, ed. by D. BRACKEN and D. Ó RIAIN-RAEDEL, Dublin, 2006, p. 241-242.

<sup>97</sup> *Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, p. 20.

<sup>98</sup> The life of Lawrence O’Toole (hereafter *VLaurentii*) is cited from the edition of C. PLUMMER, “Vie et miracles of S. Laurent, archevêque de Dublin,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, 33 (1914), p. 121-186. The translations are my own.

who took no more from the barbarism of his land than does a fish from the salt of the sea.

Not surprisingly, the canon describes the education available to the saint in Ireland in bleak terms. Although Lawrence is brought up at Kildare, it is only after he is taken as hostage by an enemy of his father and entrusted to the bishop of Glendalough, that he receives even the most rudimentary Christian education and learns the Lord's Prayer and the Apostolic Creed ("ad eius spiritum confouendum per illius brevis temporis spacium in oratione dominica et primis fidei rudimentis, hoc est in symbalo apostolorum, sicut decebat, paruulum Laurencium erudiuit", *VLaurentii* 3).

When his father decides to give one of his sons to the church, Lawrence willingly volunteers and returns to Glendalough to study with the bishop there:

*Datus igitur sancte ecclesie perpetuo seruiturus, uelut alter Samuel ab Helcana patre suo, sub episcopi tanquam sub Hely magisterio fuit; qui enim quamdiu uixit eum docuit uerbo pariter et exemplo. Sed qui elegit Dominus ipsum in scola Sancti Spiritus plenius edocuit, et multiplici uarietate uirtutum ornatuit. Profecit proinde etate et sapientia et gratia apud Deum et homine. [...] Concurrabant in ipso morum honestas et scientia litterarum et ex adiuncta scientia uite sanctitas splendidius rutilabat et ipsam scientiam honestas uirtutum sociata Domino consecrabat.* (*Vita Laurentii* 4)

Given to the church to serve it perpetually, like a second Samuel given by his father Elkanah, he was under the teaching of the bishop as if under the teaching of Eli. And for as long as he lived, he taught him by word and example equally. But the Lord who chose him, taught him more fully in the school of the Holy Spirit, and adorned him with a large variety of virtues. He advanced thus in age and wisdom and grace before God and men. [...] Honorable character and knowledge of letters were conjoined in him, the sanctity of his life shone more splendidly because of the knowledge joined to it, and the allied honor of his virtues was consecrating that knowledge to God.

Given the emphasis on Irish barbarism at the opening of his text, it is perhaps not surprising that the canon of Eu should stress God's schooling and the saint's virtue over his studies

with the bishop of Glendalough. Irish education, it seems, does not suffice.

The dissonance created by the canon of Eu's hostility to Irish education is cleverly resolved by the inclusion and placement of the final life of the collection, Bernard's life of Malachy. Aubrey Gwynn has argued that Bernard sees Malachy's education, along with other aspects of Ireland, through French eyes. Malachy's education, we know from other sources, began under his father who was the *fer léiginn* (*sapiens*) of Armagh, which for centuries had been a center of ecclesiastical learning.<sup>99</sup> Bernard misunderstands the circumstances of Malachy's education and formulates them in terms that reflect his own situation and choices. According to William of Saint Thierry, his friend and fellow Cistercian, Bernard's mother had been the primary instigator in his acquisition of an education, one that seems to have been grounded in the study of grammar. William depicts Bernard as rejecting the temptation of further secular (scholastic) studies in favor of the monastic life:

*Ubi vero de conversione tractantem fratres ejus, et qui carnaliter eum diligebant, persenserunt; omnimodis agere coeperunt, ut animum ejus ad studium possent divertere litterarum, et amore scientiae saecularis saeculo arctius implicare. Qua nimirum suggestionem, sicut fateri solet, propemodum retardati fuerant gressus ejus: sed matris sanctae memoria importune animo ejus instabat, ita ut saepius sibi occurrentem videre videretur, conquerentem et improperantem, quia non ad hujusmodi nugacitatem tam tenere educaverat, non in hac spe erudierat eum. (Vita Prima S. Bernardi 3.9 [PL 185: 231-32])*

<sup>99</sup> GWYNN, *Twelfth-Century Reform*, p. 27-28, explicates this passage with reference to the Irish context. The secular learning that Malachy rejects is more likely to be that of "the more secular literature and traditions which are still to be found in some of the Old Irish manuscripts which have come down to us from this period", such as that found in the Book of the Dun Cow or the Book of Leinster, while the sacred learning Malachy prefers can be seen in manuscripts such as London, British Library, Harley MS 1802, a Gospel copied in Armagh in 1138 with a commentary drawn largely from the church fathers. GWYNN, p. 28, emphasizes that Armagh was so well known for its learning that the synod of Clane in 1162 required that anyone appointed *fer léiginn* in Ireland have received his education at Armagh.

When his brothers and those who loved him as kin perceived that he was thinking about entering the monastic life; they began to strive in every way to divert his mind to the study of letters and to involve him more closely to the world by his love of secular learning. As he regularly admits, his steps had almost been halted by this suggestion, but the memory of his saintly mother pressed upon his mind insistently in such a way that he seemed to see her quite regularly, coming towards him, lamenting and rebuking him, because she had not brought him up to cling to such trifles, she had not had him educated with this expectation.

William describes the new monk's immersion in intensive study of the Scriptures (*Vita prima* 4.24 [PL 185: 240-41]), that is, the traditional continental monastic *lectio divina*. William of Thierry thus explicitly depicts Bernard as choosing between two very different forms of learning. While scholasticism and the *lectio divina* both had roots in the study of the seven liberal arts, scholasticism's emphasis on dialectic, philosophy, and active debate, *disputatio*, was quite different from the contemplative study of the Scriptures that was at the heart of traditional monastic education.

Bernard describes the conversion of Malachy in exactly these terms.<sup>100</sup> Ignoring the role of Malachy's father, he depicts Malachy's mother as the major impetus in her son's education. She sees to it that he receives an education in the secular literature ("ventosa scientia litteraturae saecularis, *VMalachiae* 1.1), although she valued religious instruction more. Although the boy excelled in school learning, at home he learned to fear God ("in scholis litteras, domi timorem Domini docebatur"). Bernard describes how Malachy, despite his skill, rejected advanced studies in the liberal arts in favor of the ascetic life and *lectio divina* as he himself had done. Initially, in *VMalachiae* 1.2, Bernard describes how Malachy, desirous of further study in secular letters ("discendi cupiditate, ad eas litteras anhelabat"), seeks out a teacher famous for his learning in the liberal arts ("cuiusdam magistri – erat enim fa-

<sup>100</sup> See SCULLY, "Ireland and the Irish," p. 1, n. 2 for further studies of Bernard's presentation of Malachy.

mosus in disciplinis quas dicunt liberales”). He is horrified to find the teacher engaged in throwing his pen (his main scholarly instrument) at the wall in a game (like darts?), and despite his desire for secular studies, spurns them in favor of virtue (“Ita cum studiosissimus litterarum, prae honesto tamen sprexit eas virtutis amator”). The liberal arts now seem as trifling as the master.

In the following passage, although Malachy has God as his teacher, he nevertheless seeks out an ascetic to study with. In an apostrophe to the readers, Bernard exclaims:

*Et vide humilitatem : a primaeva aetate in sancta arte magistrum, quod dubium non est, habuerat Deum ; et ecce factus est denuo discipulus hominis, homo mitis humilis corde [...] Legant hoc qui docere quae non didicere conantur, discipulos sibi coacervantes, qui numquam discipuli exstitere, caeci duces caecarum. Malachias doctus a Deo, doctorem nihilominus quisivit hominem, et quidem caute, et sapienter. (VMalachiae 2.4)*

See his humility! From an early age he had God as his teacher in sacred learning, which cannot be doubted; and see! a mild man and humble of heart, he is made again a student of a human being [...] Let those read this who strive to teach what they do not strive to learn, as they accumulate students, although they were never students themselves, the blind leading the blind. Although Malachy was taught by God, he nevertheless sought a human teacher, both carefully and wisely.

Bernard uses the topos of the saints' education to show how Malachy shared his own (continental and reforming) monastic values.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>101</sup> GWYNN, *Twelfth-Century Reform*, p. 26-28. For Bernard's anti-Irish prejudices, which are similar to those of Gerald of Wales and Stephen of Lexington, see WATT, *The Church and the Two Nations*, p. 19-20, and Aubrey GWYNN, "St. Malachy of Armagh," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 70 (1948), p. 968. On the influence of his mother on Bernard of Clairvaux's education, see EVANS, *The Mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, p. 37; on his education in the *trivium*, with its emphasis on Latin grammar, secular literature, composition, and dialectic, p. 37-44; on his rejection of the liberal arts and secular literature for the *lectio divina*, see p. 44-49, esp. 47, "When he entered Cîteaux [...], he was consciously putting beyond him a career in the schools, and giving up 'secular' learning for 'holy' learning."

Why does the Dublin Collection add these non-native Irish voices, particularly the overtly hostile voice of the canon of Eu? Why does he allow them to stand without revision? And why does he allow Bernard of Clairvaux to have the last word? Our examination of the *topos* of the saint's education points to some conclusions. As we have seen, the Dublin collector is writing for an Anglo-Norman audience that would expect to see the lives of Ireland's two most recent saints, who were already well known on the continent. Although Sharpe suggests in passing that the Dublin collector simply hesitated to interfere in lives with authorial prefaces, this does not account for other lives that are left unrevised, or almost so, such as the verse life of Senán. Moreover, if the Dublin collector had wanted a completely uniform product, he could simply have left out such lives. The Dublin collector enjoyed the diversity of the collection and the voices it contained. He seems, moreover, to have carefully placed the foreign lives in such a way that they might be the most effective: the life of Lawrence, with its hostility to things Irish, is buried deep within the collection. Before we arrive at the canon of Eu's description of the Irish as barbarians, we have already encountered descriptions of the education of seventeen male saints. Moreover, the life immediately preceding that of Lawrence, the life of Molua, had insisted on Molua's excellence in the (civilizing) liberal arts. Furthermore, many of the references to the liberal arts follow the life of Lawrence, falling in the last third of the collection (in the life of Aed at the twenty-fifth place, of Abbán in the twenty-seventh, and of Malachy in the twenty-ninth), as if to counterbalance the Norman canon's hostile words. Moreover, as we have seen, Albinus O'Mulloy, whose life of Abbán is the most explicitly pro-Irish of all the lives, insists on the learning of the saint, who is taught the scriptures directly by God, but acquires an education in the secular arts as a further adornment, since the knowledge and eloquence acquired thereby are necessary to impress men.

Why, then, does the collector give Bernard the last word? For two reasons. First, Bernard presents a saint who is both acceptable in Anglo-Norman and continental terms and a

product of the training available in Ireland. Bernard attributes to Malachy some education at Armagh in secular literature, a term by which Bernard means to signify training in the trivium. The term, however, is rather ambiguous and could also stand for vernacular Irish learning, if the reader were so disposed to understand it thus. Armagh, as we know from the first life in the collection, had been a center of learning since its foundation by Patrick. Strongly attracted by the liberal arts, Malachy seeks a master with whom to study further. Repelled by the frivolity of the master (and by implication by the arts he represents), Malachy takes the traditional Irish path of seeking out a learned ascetic to be his master. The remainder of the text presents Malachy as a persuasive reformer, a clear rebuttal of the Anglo-Norman charge that the Irish lack civilized language and have failed in their duties to preach and teach. Malachy, and by implication, the Irish church, studied the liberal arts, and could have chosen advanced study in them; both, however, made a better choice.

Second, and perhaps more important, Bernard is an *auctor*, a Latin authority, who has the *auctoritas* to refute the arguments of people like Gerald of Wales. Here, the collector concludes his collection, an extended debate on the merits of Irish culture, by meeting such opponents on their own ground. Both in his life of Malachy and in his own life, Bernard presents a model for a life that puts learning and spirituality into their proper relationship, with spirituality first and learning in its service. In the anonymous lives, the saints themselves provide the authority, demonstrating through their lives the miraculous power, learning and orthodoxy of the Irish church. The saints, however, in turn derive their authority from the ultimate *Auctor*, God himself, to whom the Dublin collector regularly attributes the power fueling the saints' miraculous powers and learning. Irish history itself, as presented by the collector, demonstrates how much the power and sanctity God has granted to the Irish church. The Dublin Collection, then, becomes a *disputatio* which serves to refute those who place too much emphasis on learned debate for its own sake, and too little emphasis on the older traditions of learning and sanctity embodied by the Irish church.

## CONCLUSION

In the Dublin Collection, we have an original work of art demanding to be read as a coherent, if composite, whole. As a highly interventionist compiler, the Dublin collector is both a receptive reader and a creative composer. Both the changes he makes and the material he has left unchanged reflect the assumptions and expectations of his own period. Indeed, the competition between the individual voices is an important part of the collection's aesthetics and function as a composite work. As with the *Sentences* and the *Golden Legend*, the various voices of the Dublin Collection still clamor to be heard, some more clearly than others. The result is a prolonged conversation among differing voices about the nature of Irish sanctity that serves to make Irish practices both comprehensible and admirable to a potentially hostile Anglo-Norman audience. While the Dublin collector seeks to guide his readers' understanding of Irish sanctity and identity in some places, at others he leaves contradictions in the texts to be resolved by his readers. At the same time, the collector, although he is close to being an "author" in the modern sense, as the creator of an original work, nevertheless rejects *auctoritas*, refusing to accept responsibility (and thereby praise or blame) for his production. In the Dublin Collection, then, even more than with the *Sentences*, we are left with a truly Bakhtinesque set of competing voices and forms.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See MARTIN, "Away from Self-Authorship," p. 1-15, on the *Romance de la Rose*'s renunciation of authorial responsibility. She sees this renunciation, primarily, p. 1, as a vernacular strategy, contrasting it with the *auctoritas* automatically granted to Latin texts. For M. M. Bakhtin's classical description of literary polyglossia, see *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. EMERSON and M. HOLQUIST, University of Texas Press Slavic Series, 1 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981). While I find Bakhtin's teleological view of literary polyglossia as linked primarily to the evolution of the novel unpalatable, his notion of the text as composed of a multiplicity of competing voices is useful.



## APPENDIX

## LIBERAL ARTS IN HIBERNO-LATIN LITERATURE

A search in the (unfortunately still preliminary) *Archive of Celtic Latin Literature (ACLL)*,<sup>103</sup> supplemented by my own reading, turns up very few clear references to the liberal arts in Hiberno-Latin hagiography, all of them from the Anglo-Norman period, and most of those in the Dublin Collection:

*studium liberale*: *VMaedoc* 5 (Dublin Collection)

*liberalis ars*: *VAedi* 3 (Dublin Collection); *VMolua* 16 (Dublin Collection)

*liberales disciplinae*: *VMalachiae* 1.2 (Dublin Collection); *VSecundini* 1<sup>104</sup>

*studia dialecticalis sophie*: *VColumbae* 1.2 (Dublin Collection).<sup>105</sup>

See also:

*ceterae artes* (opposed to *scripturae divinae*): *VAbbani* (Dublin Collection) 9

*disciplinae auctorum* (opposed to *scripturae divinae*): *VAbbani* 9 (Dublin Collection)

*litterarum vel artium* | *quas magistri ecclesie vel secularis scientie* | *ministrant*: *VSenani* 9, lines 277-79 (Dublin Collection; this section omitted in version in the Codex Salmanticensis).

In contrast, the continental hagiographer Jonas tells us that Columbanus had received an education the liberal arts:

*Peractis itaque infantiae annis, in pueritiae aetate pubescens, liberalium litterarum doctrinis et grammaticorum studiis ingenio capaci dare coepit laborem [...] contra immanes cuneos hostium pugnaturus paratur pergere, ne frustrato labore, quem potissimo ingenio desudaverat in*

<sup>103</sup> Compiled by A. HARVEY *et al.*, [CD-Rom], Turnhout, 1994, hereafter *ACLL*.

<sup>104</sup> “Une vie de S. Secundinus, disciple de S. Patrice,” ed. by P. GROSJEAN, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 60 (1942), p. 29. For the dating of this brief life to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, see Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints’ Lives*, p. 375.

<sup>105</sup> I have excluded phrases such as “studium literale”.

*grammaticam, rethoricam, geometricam vel divinarum scripturarum seriem, in saeculi inlecebris occuparet.* (Jonas, *VColumbani* 1.3)<sup>106</sup>

Between these two passages, where I have put an ellipsis, Jonas inserts a quotation to Livy, and he seems eager to identify his own liberal learning with that of his subject. Jonas describes the education of the Burgundian Attala, Columbanus' successor at Bobbio, in similar terms: "Itaque dum patre nobili liberalibus litteris imbutus fuisset, Arigii quondam pontificis a genitore commendatus est" (*VColumbani* 2.1). While Columbanus is demonstrably familiar with the pagan Latin classics, this fact in itself cannot be taken as proof that his early education in Bangor was centered on their study.<sup>107</sup> Similarly, when reworking the description of Fintén's education, the continental editor of the shorter recension of Adomnán's *Life of Columba* (the version used in the Dublin Collection) changes the text's original reading from "studiis dialis sofias deditus" to "studiis dialecticalis sophie deditus", apparently finding a reference to dialectic more comprehensible than the rare word *dialis*.<sup>108</sup>

Charles-Edwards has taken Jonas' account of Columbanus' liberal arts education at face value.<sup>109</sup> The role of the liberal arts in Hiberno-Latin literature, however, deserves more study. A search for terms referring liberal arts more generally in the *ACLL*, although it cannot be conclusive, reveals the suggestive fact that there is a similar divide between those writing in Ireland and those writing on the continent. Of those works covered by the *ACLL*, only three authors writing in Ireland mention the liberal arts explicitly, all in technical works.

These include Virgilius Grammaticus:

<sup>106</sup> *Vita Columbani*, ed. by Bruno KRUSCH in *Vitae sanctorum Columbani, Vedastis, Iohannis*, MGH.SS rer. merov. 4, Hanover and Leipzig, 1905.

<sup>107</sup> See McGRATH, *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*, p. 76-77, for Columbanus' familiarity with the classics. Columbanus is the only example that McGrath offers for evidence of knowledge of the Latin classics in Ireland.

<sup>108</sup> For the continental origins of the "shorter recension" of Adomnán, see SHARPE, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives*, p. 37.

<sup>109</sup> "Context and Uses of Literacy," p. 66-67.

*liberalia studia*: *Epitoma* 2

*liberalia saecularis litteraturae studia*: *Epistola* 3 (p. 44)

*artes*: *Epitoma* 1 (p. 101), *Epistola* 2 (p. 29), *Epitoma* 7 (p. 172)

*artes philosophiae*: *Epitoma* 1 (p. 105)

*omnes artes*: *Epistola* 5 (p. 79)

*gramma*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 123, 126)

*ars grammatica*: *Epitoma* 12 (p. 245), *Epistola* 3 (p. 41)

*dialectica*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 123, 127, p. 131)

*ars rethorica*: *Epistola* 4 (p. 41)

*rethorica*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 123)

*geometria*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 123)

*geometrica*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 131)

*astronomia*: *Epitoma* 4 (p. 131)<sup>110</sup>

Virgilius' *artes* are unsurprisingly not coextensive with the *artes septem* that will become canonical on the continent by the ninth century:

*Nostrae autem philosophiae artes sunt mul[t]ae, quarum studia principalia sunt: poema, rethorica, gramma, leporia, dialecta, geometria, et cetera, quae non tam emulitatem quam curiositatem praetendunt.* (see *Epitoma* 1, p. 123)

Moreover, Virgilius' place of origin is still debated: recently Cizek has argued for Gaul and Bischoff for Spain, while Herren has defended and expanded upon his earlier arguments for Ireland.<sup>111</sup> The other works written in Ireland before the twelfth century referring to the arts have only brief mentions

<sup>110</sup> Ed. by B. LÖFSTEDT, *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (Leipzig: Teubner, 2003), p. 109.

<sup>111</sup> A. CIZEK, "Virgile le Grammairien: Un auteur hiberno-aquitain?" in *Aquitaine and Ireland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. M. PICARD, Blackrock, 1995, p. 127-136; B. BISCHOFF, "Die 'zweite Latinität' des Virgilius Maro Grammaticus und seine jüdische Herkunft," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 23 (1988 [1991]), p. 11-16, while M. W. HERREN, "Virgil the Grammarian: A Spanish Jew in Ireland?", *Peritia*, 9 (1995), p. 51-71, has expanded his arguments for Virgilius' Irish origins.

and cannot be taken as evidence for the liberal arts as the center of Irish education:

*De ratione computandi*: “grammatica, in qua scientia uerborum intellegitur”<sup>112</sup>

*Tractatus de declinationibus*: lists *grammatica*, *dialectica* and *rhethorica* as examples of feminine nouns of the first declension. Here, however, rhetoric, according to Stokes’ commentary, *ad loc.*, is mistranslated, *dlighi* must stand for O.Ir. *dliged*, *lex*, *regula* [...]” Canon law, of course, was of great importance in Ireland.<sup>113</sup>

In contrast, the liberal arts are a very important topic for many of the Irish *peregrini* on the continent, particularly from the ninth century, appearing as the now canonical seven, for example, in repeatedly Clemens’ *Ars grammatica* and Eriugena’s *Annotationes in Marcianum*.

### *Summary*

This article argues the Dublin Collection of Irish saints’ lives, an early thirteenth-century collection of Latin lives of Irish saints, highlights the erudition and education of Irish saints and so defends them against the Anglo-Norman disparagement of Irish learning. At the same time, it uses the collection’s use of the *topos* of the saint’s education to explore the aesthetics of the collection and the ways in which this particular collection furthers our understanding of collective authorship in this period.

<sup>112</sup> P. 6 (unprinted, reference is that of the *ACLL*).

<sup>113</sup> Ed. by W. STOKES, *Irish Glosses: A Mediaeval Tract on Latin Declension*, Dublin, 1860, p. 5-6, lines 80, 83 and 87.

# L'œuvre scientifique d'Yves-Marie Duval (1934-2007)

par

Benoît GAIN

avec la collaboration de

Aline CANELLIS, Michel COZIC, François DOLBEAU, Jacques FONTAINE,  
Pierre JAY, Benoît JEANJEAN, Patrick LAURENCE, Hervé SAVON et  
Françoise THELAMON

Benoît GAIN, *Aperçu de la carrière d'Yves-Marie Duval*

Jacques FONTAINE, *L'apport original d'Yves-Marie Duval à l'histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*

François DOLBEAU, *La codicologie et l'histoire des textes dans l'œuvre d'Yves-Marie Duval*

Aline CANELLIS et Pierre JAY, *Jérôme exégète*

Benoît JEANJEAN, *L'apport d'Yves-Marie Duval à la connaissance des polémiques et controverses antipélagiques des IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles*

Patrick LAURENCE, *Yves-Marie Duval et l'ascétisme chrétien*

Hervé SAVON, *Yves-Marie Duval et les études ambrosiennes*

Françoise THELAMON, *Yves-Marie Duval, Aquilée et Rufin*

Benoît GAIN, *Bibliographie d'Yves-Marie Duval*

Michel COZIC, *Recensions d'ouvrages effectuées par Yves-Marie Duval : Une sélection*

Benoît GAIN, *Index à la bibliographie et aux recensions d'Yves-Marie Duval*



# Aperçu de la carrière d'Yves-Marie Duval

par

Benoît GAIN

(Grenoble)

Le 8 janvier 2005, les disciples, collègues et amis étaient réunis en Sorbonne pour offrir à Yves-Marie Duval un volume de *Mélanges*<sup>1</sup> à l'occasion de la cessation de son enseignement à l'Université de Paris X Nanterre. Qui d'entre-nous pouvait alors imaginer que deux ans plus tard (12 mars 2007) Yves-Marie Duval nous quitterait au terme d'une douloureuse maladie? Nous étions alors pleinement conscients de l'importance de son œuvre, nous l'étions moins de la diversité et de l'étendue des travaux qu'il avait en chantier, mais ce fut un ensemble de découvertes que m'ont réservées l'examen et le tri de ses dossiers depuis un an. Aussi ai-je estimé utile de les porter à la connaissance de la communauté scientifique internationale, avec l'aide de plusieurs chercheurs. Ceux-ci vont, chacun dans leur domaine, dresser un bilan de l'apport d'Yves-Marie Duval. Mais les notices nécrologiques qui sont parues peu après son décès<sup>2</sup>, ou qui vont paraître, ne retraçant que suc-

<sup>1</sup> *Chartae caritatis*, Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval, éditées par Benoît GAIN, Pierre JAY, et Gérard NAUROY, Paris 2004 (Études Augustiniennes, série Antiquité, 173), 529 p.

<sup>2</sup> Sous ma signature, dans le *Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de Sources chrétiennes*, 96 (juillet 2007), p. 13-14, et dans la *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, sous presse; Patrick LAURENCE, dans la *Revue des Études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 53 (2007), p. iii-iv; Charles GUITTARD, dans la *Revue des Études Latines*, 85 (2007), p. 14-16; Françoise THELAMON, « In memoriam », dans *Scritti su Rufino di Aquileia. Atti della XXXIX Settimana di Studi Aquileiesi* (Antichità alto adriatiche, 55), s/d. de Giuseppe CUSCITO, trad. en italien par Enrico FUSCO, Trieste, sous presse; Agnès BASTIT-KALINOWSKA, « L'apport d'Yves-Marie Duval à l'histoire de l'exégèse, ou Origène, Jérôme et les autres... », dans *Adamantius*, 14 (2008), p. 426-440.

cinctement sa formation, je vais m'étendre davantage sur sa carrière.

Yves-Marie Duval naquit le 5 septembre 1934 à Gravelines en Artois, quatrième d'une famille de cinq enfants. Dans cette contrée balayée par le vent de la mer du Nord toute proche et qu'illustrera Georges Bernanos, Yves-Marie Duval passera sa petite enfance jusqu'en 1942, date à laquelle sa famille se déplace à L'Arbret, petit village au sud-ouest d'Arras. Il y prend le goût de la terre et de ses travaux (ce qui enrichira ses explications des auteurs anciens). Il entre alors au petit séminaire de Bouvignies, en bordure de la forêt de Marchiennes : il s'y distingue rapidement et c'est tout naturellement que ses professeurs l'orientent vers le grand séminaire d'Arras (où son frère aîné, Étienne, l'avait précédé), puis vers Lille, où il mène de front une licence de lettres classiques et une licence de théologie (1956-1959). Il se rend compte au bout de quelque temps que la vie ecclésiastique n'est pas sa voie, et cependant soutient le 30 juin 1959 une thèse de théologie sous la direction du chanoine Jean-Charles Didier : *Sacramentum et Mysterium chez saint Léon le Grand*. Dans le jury siégeait le R.P. Henri de Lubac. Docteur à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans à peine, il lui faut cependant accomplir son service militaire (1.XI.1959-7.III.1962). Il passe ainsi quinze mois en Algérie et huit mois à l'hôpital du Val de Grâce à la suite d'une sérieuse intervention à l'abdomen, tout en rédigeant « au beau milieu de la petite Kabylie », un « diplôme d'études supérieures » sur *La Piété chez Platon*. Pour rester proche des hommes du rang, il avait fait silence sur ses diplômes, mais son chef de corps faisait appel à sa plume quand il fallait annoncer aux familles la disparition d'un appelé. En octobre 1960, il présenta son D.E.S. à Lille devant le Professeur Jean Defradas.

Sitôt démobilisé, il épouse Ginette, médecin à l'hôpital Raymond Poincaré de Garches, bientôt Directeur de recherches à l'I.N.S.E.R.M., qui lui donnera trois enfants, puis il prépare l'agrégation de lettres classiques, qu'il obtient dès l'année suivante en 1963. Il a la chance d'obtenir aussitôt un poste au Collège Stanislas à Paris, où il exercera trois ans (1963-1966). Le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1966, il est assistant à la Faculté des Lettres de Tours, et il y gravira tous les échelons jusqu'à la soutenance, à

Paris IV en 1971, de sa thèse d'État dirigée par Henri-Irénée Marrou : *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*. Dans cet ouvrage magistral, publié en 1973<sup>3</sup>, il élabore tout un chapitre de l'histoire de l'exégèse juive et chrétienne, en Orient et en Occident, durant le premier millénaire, ce qui lui vaut dès lors l'estime à la fois de biblistes et des spécialistes d'Origène, et même des historiens de l'art paléo-chrétien. En janvier 1975, il est nommé « professeur sans chaire », poste qu'il occupera jusqu'à sa nomination à l'Université de Poitiers en octobre 1979. Il restera dix ans dans la métropole illustrée par saint Hilaire, jusqu'à sa mutation à Paris X Nanterre, où il se dépensera jusqu'à la retraite, qu'il prend en octobre 2000. Retiré de l'enseignement en licence et master, Yves-Marie Duval continuera cependant d'assurer à Paris IV (dans le cadre du Centre Le Nain de Tillemont<sup>4</sup>, fondé en 1966 par Henri-Irénée Marrou) le séminaire mensuel de recherches qu'il avait commencé en octobre 1991 et qu'il poursuivra jusqu'à la limite de ses forces en décembre 2006. Ami du Père Georges Folliet A.A., Yves-Marie Duval suivait de près les activités et les publications de l'Institut des Études Augustiniennes, et cela dès les années 60, quand ses locaux étaient encore situés rue François I<sup>er</sup> ; il devint par la suite membre du Conseil scientifique et collaborait au « Bulletin augustinien » de la revue.

Parallèlement, en 1982, un séminaire de théologie patristique étant devenu vacant à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, Yves-Marie Duval, lui-même docteur en théologie, comme on l'a vu, est invité à le diriger<sup>5</sup>, fonction qu'il remplira, béné-

<sup>3</sup> Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1973, 2 vol., 748 pages.

<sup>4</sup> Sur ce Centre, voir M.-L. GUILLAUMIN, « Le Centre Le Nain de Tillemont : origines d'une dénomination », dans *Le Nain de Tillemont et l'historiographie de l'Antiquité romaine* (Colloque pour le troisième centenaire de la mort de S. Le Nain de Tillemont, Paris, 19-21 novembre 1998), Paris 2002, p. 225-229. Yves-Marie était très attaché à ce Centre, au rayonnement duquel il consacra beaucoup de temps et d'énergie.

<sup>5</sup> Ses séminaires portent notamment (certains deux années consécutives) sur La création chez les Pères, Raison et foi durant la seconde phase de la crise arienne, Augustin et la transcendance de Dieu, Histoire et royaume



volement, jusqu'en 1999. Mais ces enseignements en littérature chrétienne et tardive ne lui faisaient nullement négliger la période « classique » : sans parler de la formation au thème latin, la liste des cours qu'il assura montre que non seulement il assura des cours d'agrégation sur Salluste, Cicéron, Suétone, mais qu'il affectionnait, au niveau de la licence ou de la maîtrise, de montrer la continuité ou l'évolution des préoccupations des Anciens du second siècle avant notre ère jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire romain, avec une attention particulière à l'histoire des Juifs d'Antiochus Épiphane à Hadrien et aux parallélismes entre les textes et les monuments figurés païens et chrétiens, démarche à laquelle sa thèse sur Jonas l'avait particulièrement bien préparé<sup>6</sup>.

Ne briguant nullement les honneurs, il ne se déroba pas cependant quand on le pria d'accepter certaines responsabilités. C'est ainsi qu'il fut, en 1974-1976, l'un des premiers présidents de l'A.P.L.A.E.S. (Association des Professeurs de Langues Anciennes de l'Enseignement Supérieur). Il aimait à rappeler comment, à cette époque, il était encore possible, lors d'une audience au Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, de limiter la portée d'un arrêté peu favorable aux études classiques en obtenant in extremis une correction sur les épreuves du *Journal Officiel*. A ma demande, Yves-Marie Duval a également assumé la présidence de l'A.I.E.P. (Association Internationale d'Études Patristiques) de 1995 à 1999 : il y a encouragé les initiatives d'entraide envers les institutions dont les bibliothèques sont moins bien pourvues qu'en Occident.

chez saint Augustin : problèmes d'exégèse, La tradition au II<sup>e</sup> siècle, La résurrection des corps, L'initiation baptismale chez Jean Diacre, Universalité et particularité du christianisme aux II<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles, Le « traité du Saint-Esprit » de Didyme l'aveugle et son influence en Occident, L'appel à Pierre dans la définition du rôle de l'évêque de Rome aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles, Saint Augustin et l'unicité de la médiation du Christ, *L'Explication du Symbole* de Rufin d'Aquilée.

<sup>6</sup> Il a consacré plusieurs séminaires à l'histoire des monuments de Rome depuis Auguste jusqu'à l'époque de Théodose, commentant à ses étudiants un nombre considérable de plans et de reproductions. Selon la même méthode, il a ensuite poursuivi son enquête avec les églises de Milan, Constantinople et Jérusalem.

La multiplicité des sujets, des auteurs, des approches et des méthodes abordées par Yves-Marie Duval pourrait donner à un esprit superficiel l'impression d'éparpillement. C'est tout le contraire. Yves-Marie Duval s'exprime très nettement sur ce point dans un document de synthèse de huit pages tout à fait remarquable, rédigées (en 1994?) pour quelque instance universitaire. J'en donne ci-après l'essentiel.

« En poursuivant une série de recherches sur la Rome du milieu du v<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, je me suis rendu compte, voici plus de trente ans, que la clé de leurs problèmes se trouvait dans la Cisalpine du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, à une époque où celle-ci avait intellectuellement et politiquement évincé Rome ». Le séjour des empereurs, à Milan, puis à Ravenne a donné à cette province « une importance politique qu'elle n'avait jamais connue ». C'est ce qui l'a amené à étudier les oraisons funèbres et panégyriques de Valentinien II et de Théodose I<sup>er</sup> par Ambroise et Pacatus et la figure de Théodose chez Rufin, Augustin et Claudien, « à un moment où chrétiens et païens s'interrogent sur la fin éventuelle de l'Empire Romain ».

« La Cisalpine m'a conduit à Augustin et Jérôme ». Entrant dans la recherche scientifique « au moment où Pierre Courcelle révolutionnait les études sur Augustin », j'ai été amené à étudier le néoplatonisme, montrant (en 1965-1974) sur des points particuliers que le travail d'Ambroise et d'Augustin « ne se réduisait pas à une transcription plus ou moins lointaine de leurs modèles ou de leurs partenaires, néoplatoniciens ou autres. »

« Le XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire de l'élection d'Ambroise au siège épiscopal de Milan m'a aussi donné l'occasion de revenir sur les circonstances religieuses et politiques de cette élection d'un gouverneur de province. » [...]. « A l'époque j'avais déjà eu la chance d'être associé, en raison de mon intérêt pour l'Italie du Nord, à la redécouverte de l'œuvre de Chromace d'Aquilée (388-408) » [...]. « De 1973 à 1988, j'ai été invité une dizaine de fois à venir parler à Aquilée [...] des rapports entre Aquilée et les régions plus ou moins voisines » [...] à travers les œuvres de Chromace, Rufin et Jérôme. « Cette résurrection de Chromace a entraîné un renouvellement des études sur Rufin, auquel j'ai participé », en modifiant l'angle de lecture de son *Histoire de l'Église* et de son différend avec Jérôme.

« J'ai également été amené à quitter l'Italie du Nord, en suivant vers l'Orient Jérôme aussi bien que Rufin. D'où mon intérêt pour Constantinople », où Jérôme a résidé, « pour Alexandrie et l'Égypte, où Rufin a vécu et dont il importera plus tard les œuvres en Occident ; au grand dépit de Jérôme qui les trouvait dangereuses ». Ce dernier « est un trait d'union entre le monde grec et le monde latin », offrant « un terrain de choix pour l'étude des questions linguistiques et littéraires à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, de l'évolution de la société plus ou moins lettrée, de l'extension à la Bible d'une exégèse scolaire qui trouve alors justement ses meilleurs représentants pour la littérature classique, de l'adoption de genres littéraires traditionnels ou nouveaux par les chrétiens ».

Avec l'organisation d'un colloque en 1986, *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*<sup>7</sup>, « Jérôme est donc devenu pôle majeur de mes recherches ». Tout en essayant de le situer sur le plan intellectuel et de préciser son information orientale et en particulier origénienne, deux autres centres d'intérêt me sont apparus : « l'édition critique de textes plus sûrs et le retentissement des œuvres de l'auteur ascétique sur la société romaine de son temps ». Ces deux textes sont d'une part la *Lettre à Eustochium*<sup>8</sup> (200 manuscrits), dont le commentaire et la traduction sont achevés, mais l'examen de la tradition manuscrite requerrait « un temps de liberté intellectuelle et de mouvement qu'il ne m'a pas encore été possible de dégager » ; d'autre part le *Contre Jovinien*<sup>9</sup>, « énorme traité <qui> pose la question du mariage dans la société romaine de la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle ». Rédigé aux trois-quarts en 1994, l'ouvrage est heureusement paru en 2003.

« Sur ce milieu romain, j'ai été amené, en reprenant plusieurs fois les choses à partir des manuscrits, à préciser le sens et la valeur d'un certain nombre de documents de premier ordre, et cependant jusqu'ici mal établis ou mal compris » : la *Décré-*

<sup>7</sup> *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient. xvi<sup>e</sup> centenaire du départ de saint Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem*, Actes du Colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986) publiés par Yves-Marie DUVAL, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1988, 508 p.

<sup>8</sup> Voir plus loin la bibliographie sous le numéro 182.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, numéro 111 (2003).

*tale Ad Gallos episcopos* (parue en 2005) ; plusieurs œuvres de Pélage, mal transmises et mal identifiées, notamment une lettre à une mère de famille, ainsi que l'étude de leur utilisation durant le Haut Moyen Âge « avant que le nom de l'hérétique ne soit éliminé des manuscrits de ses œuvres. »

Ces travaux d'édition avaient été différés par la refonte<sup>10</sup> – à la demande du premier éditeur – du *Commentaire sur Jonas* de Jérôme paru dans *Sources chrétiennes* par les soins de dom Paul Antin (1956) et transmis par 150 manuscrits : tâche redoutable de collation devant laquelle avaient successivement reculé ce dernier ainsi que Marc Adriaen dans le *CCL* (t. 76-76A, 1964-1969), éditeur de l'ensemble des *Commentaires sur les douze petits prophètes*. Le classement de 90 témoins de l'*In Ionam*, parmi les plus anciens, ainsi que plusieurs études<sup>11</sup> sur la composition ou les sources de ces commentaires, le choix, des années de suite, de plusieurs d'entre eux comme sujets de séminaires à Nanterre et au Centre Lenain de Tillemont, lui laissaient espérer (en 1994) terminer l'*In Malachiam* avant d'aborder « l'inventaire et l'histoire du texte de l'ensemble de ces commentaires » (950 p. serrées dans le *CCL*!).

Mais il en coûtait beaucoup à Yves-Marie Duval d'avancer si peu, à ses yeux, dans cette voie. « L'énorme entreprise, continue-t-il, à laquelle je participe depuis plus de dix ans » [...] absorbe « une partie considérable de mon temps de recherche » : il s'agit de « l'organisation, de la rédaction et la révision de l'énorme t. VI de la *Nouvelle histoire de la Littérature latine* dirigée par Jacques Fontaine », ouvrage destiné à remplacer le célèbre *Handbuch der lateinischer Literatur* (HLL) de Martin Schanz, Carl Hosius et Gustav Krüger pour les années 374-430. Yves-Marie Duval évalue alors à 950 p. l'ensemble – encore inachevé à cette date – de ses contributions, sur trois auteurs majeurs : Jérôme, Rufin d'Aquilée et Pélage, ainsi que sur leurs « nébuleuses » respectives. Pour avoir reçu à plusieurs reprises ses confidences et avoir eu accès aux trois quarts des notices et à l'échange des correspondances, je puis témoigner

<sup>10</sup> La première édition du traité (*SCbr*, 43), publié en 1956, comptait 145 p., la seconde, 460 p.

<sup>11</sup> Voir *infra* dans la bibliographie les numéros 49, 54 et 58.

non seulement du labeur accompli – c’est une évidence – mais aussi de son découragement devant les retards de l’entreprise du côté germanique. Ils ne sont pas dus seulement à la disparition tragique de l’un des deux maîtres d’œuvre, mais à une mauvaise évaluation des difficultés de l’entreprise. Yves-Marie Duval déplorait les libertés prises, sans son aval, avec son texte, les modifications de l’ordonnance des paragraphes, voire de sections entières ! Et ce sans parler des mises à jour réitérées des bibliographies, dues à ces retards successifs. Yves-Marie Duval, qui n’était pas homme à « faire des histoires », a été pendant deux décennies profondément blessé par tant d’impéritie et de désinvolture. Mais happé par d’autres tâches, il n’avait pas cru pouvoir transposer en autant de monographies toute la science accumulée, de première main, en ces vastes notices (on en verra plus loin le détail).

Après être passé en quelques lignes sur le « fardeau » du *HLL*, Yves-Marie Duval ne faisait que mentionner sa participation à l’édition des *Hymnes d’Ambroise*<sup>12</sup> et à la publication des *Nouvelles Lettres de saint Augustin*<sup>13</sup>, avant de conclure ce rapport en ces termes : « Si j’avais à définir en quelques lignes l’unité de toutes ces recherches, j’insisterais, de fait, sur la circulation des hommes et des idées dans l’espace [...] et dans le temps : vers l’amont chronologique, du v<sup>e</sup> et du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, vers le iii<sup>e</sup> et vers l’époque classique : vers l’aval, du iv<sup>e</sup>-v<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu’au xiii<sup>e</sup>-xiv<sup>e</sup> avec des remontées et (ou) des descentes dans les siècles pour mieux situer sources et influences ou diffusion ».

On reste stupéfait devant une telle activité scientifique, et peut-être encore davantage devant le jugement de l’auteur : « Semblera-t-il paradoxal que je n’aie jamais publié que des travaux partiels et annexes, dont je ne pouvais embrasser le programme en sa totalité, faute de temps libre d’une certaine durée ? Je n’ai jamais bénéficié du moindre détachement ou congé sabbatique : mes fonctions dans mes départements successifs m’interdisaient de solliciter un tel congé qui aurait placé mes collègues dans une situation difficile ».

<sup>12</sup> Voir *infra* la bibliographie, numéro 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, numéro 68.

Tout l'homme est dans cette conclusion, avec sa modestie et son abnégation. On pourrait s'arrêter là, si précisément ces qualités ne risquaient d'effacer ou d'atténuer d'autres dons dont la communauté scientifique prendra connaissance avec profit. Je ne répéterai pas ce qu'ont dit les signataires de l'avant-propos à *Chartae caritatis*, mais tiens à faire part de quelques réflexions qui me sont venues en triant ses dossiers. Sa mémoire était connue pour être exceptionnelle. C'est peut-être ce don remarquable qui lui permettait de se contenter de peu pour la préparation de ses cours, même d'un niveau élevé : un plan détaillé lui suffisait. En revanche, il avait à cœur, pour rédiger ses articles, de réunir *toute* la documentation disponible, y compris les recensions d'ouvrages importants.

Lui-même consacrait d'ailleurs une part importante de son activité à rédiger des comptes rendus<sup>14</sup> destinés les uns aux patristiciens – ce sont notamment les « Bulletins de patristique latine » qu'il donne pendant des années aux *Recherches de Science religieuse*, mais qu'il publie aussi en grand nombre dans la *Revue d'Études augustinienes*, *Gnomon*, etc. – les autres à un public moins spécialisé. Il s'agissait notamment de la présentation d'éditions (*Sources chrétiennes*, *Pères dans la foi*) qu'il assura longtemps dans *Esprit et Vie*. Il y consacrait beaucoup de temps, attentif à signaler des erreurs ou soucieux de faire part de ses découvertes. Bon nombre de ses recensions ont été estimées par de bons juges, avoir le même poids que des articles. Pourtant Yves-Marie Duval se désolait, jusque dans les dernières semaines de sa maladie, que les recensions fussent si peu lues, ou du moins si peu suivies d'effet, les mêmes affirmations inexactes ou hasardeuses continuant, disait-il, d'être répandues comme si de rien n'était.

Or d'après les confidences recueillies auprès des siens, Yves-Marie Duval s'était fixé, entre autres objectifs, de corriger – avec tout l'arsenal scientifique voulu – les erreurs ou approximations qui, selon lui, foisonnaient dans les dictionnaires, les encyclopédies ou les ouvrages généraux. Lui-même en revanche n'a pas dirigé d'entreprises de vulgarisation et s'est fait instamment prier pour donner quelques contributions à

<sup>14</sup> Voir *infra* la section qui leur est consacrée.

des revues ou des dictionnaires « grand public ». Il est par exemple significatif que de la bibliographie qui figure dans *Chartae caritatis* et dont s'est chargé Pierre Jay, soient absentes les notices qu'il avait données au *Dictionnaire de l'Antiquité* : il ne les avait sans doute pas jugées dignes de figurer dans l'hommage qui lui était rendu. Je regrette, même si j'en comprends les raisons, qu'Yves-Marie Duval n'ait pas accepté de publier une présentation de son « époque de prédilection » (370-450). Il avait de grandes qualités d'exposition, et l'art de démêler les écheveaux. Je garde le souvenir d'un exposé, presque impromptu – et sans notes ! – sur les différentes phases du conflit relatif à l'Autel de la Victoire, lors d'un séminaire de 2005.

Il excellait en effet à reconstituer la chronologie des événements, politiques, religieux ou littéraires, se constituant des dossiers pour certaines années de la période 380-410, ce qui lui permettait de découvrir des synchronismes oubliés, négligés ou ignorés, mais aussi des apories, par exemple en fonction des lieux de résidence de l'empereur. Ah ! s'il avait pu corriger, et surtout compléter, la *Chronologie de l'Empire romain* (1891) de Georges Goyau !

Yves-Marie Duval montrait tout autant d'acribie en géographie. S'étant spécialisé dans l'étude de la Cisalpine et, à partir de là, de l'Illyricum, il s'était soigneusement documenté sur la topographie alpestre, attentif à repérer, d'après de multiples cartes et même des plans en relief, les voies de passage par lesquelles armées, particuliers, et manuscrits pouvaient passer. Françoise Thelamon relate plus loin une anecdote bien significative.

Une telle compétence, reconnue internationalement, l'a exposé à bien des sollicitations. J'ai été frappé non pas tellement par la multitude de tirés à part qu'il recevait, mais par le nombre de chercheurs jeunes ou tout à fait chevronnés qui demandaient son avis. Les uns lui envoyaient le texte dactylographié d'un article avant de l'envoyer à la revue choisie – voire avant toute proposition de publication – afin de recueillir ses conseils ou ses critiques. Les autres, sur le point de faire une découverte, lui soumettaient leurs arguments. Mais jamais je n'ai entendu le maître se plaindre de ces multiples requêtes.

Naturellement, d'un tel dévouement bénéficiaient tous ses thésards, et spécialement ceux dont la situation familiale ou professionnelle rendait malaisée la poursuite de recherches loin des grandes bibliothèques ou des centres de recherches parisiens. Des « thésards », il souhaitait en accueillir davantage, afin de confier à chacun l'un de ces sujets accumulés, complétés au fil des temps et en attente de développement. D'une élection à la Sorbonne, il espérait un nombre plus important d'étudiants doctorants potentiels, que la proximité de l'École Normale Supérieure pouvait lui laisser escompter, et avec lesquels il aurait partagé ses trésors. Tous ceux auxquels il a prodigué, sans compter, son temps et ses conseils lui ont manifesté leur fidélité et leur attachement. Sans avoir été l'un de ses « thésards », je puis témoigner de la qualité des rapports qui régnaient dans ses séminaires, auxquels j'ai participé pendant une quinzaine d'années. Yves-Marie Duval manifestait une grande attention aux personnes, distinguant toujours les opinions, scientifiques ou d'un autre ordre, et ceux qui les exprimaient. Même en cas de désaccord total – et ce n'était pas rare ! – nul ne se sentait exclu ou méprisé. Sa discrétion sur ses difficultés dans les tâches universitaires, son absence totale de familiarité, tout comme sa très grande simplicité ont maintenu dans le groupe un climat singulier, presque familial, de respect, d'admiration, de bonne humeur et de coopération.

Les disciples, collègues et amis présents aux obsèques en l'église Notre-Dame de l'Assomption de Meudon le 15 mars 2007 ont été frappés par le témoignage de foi et d'unité rendu par les siens, parmi lesquels ses treize petits-enfants. Les habitués de son enseignement, qui continuent après sa disparition de se retrouver un samedi par mois autour de saint Jérôme, peuvent, eux aussi, témoigner de tout ce qu'ils ont reçu d'Yves-Marie Duval, pas seulement dans le domaine strictement scientifique. Pour un universitaire, quel plus grand accomplissement que cette transmission ?



# L'apport original d'Yves-Marie Duval à l'histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne

par  
Jacques FONTAINE  
(Paris)

La richesse et la diversité des travaux publiés par Yves-Marie Duval au cours du dernier demi-siècle gagent d'emblée la valeur de leur apport original à l'histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne. Très tôt affirmée au cours de brillantes études secondaires, puis d'une licence acquise aux Facultés catholiques de Lille, sa vocation patristique y est couronnée par un doctorat en théologie, dont le titre annonce dès 1959 l'orientation et la méthode de ses recherches ultérieures : *Sacramentum et mysterium chez saint Léon le Grand* manifeste déjà son goût des grands sujets touchant au contenu essentiel de la foi chrétienne, abordés avec une méthode philologique exigeante, visant à l'exploration des choses à travers les mots et les filières de leurs emplois successifs. Soucieux de bien marquer, d'autre part, l'importance qu'il accordera toujours aux sources grecques antiques, il présente l'année suivante un mémoire de diplôme sur *La piété chez Platon* dirigé par Jean Defradas, et présenté à la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Lille.

Dès lors, il va consacrer le meilleur de ses efforts à une vaste enquête sur l'exégèse chrétienne du Livre de Jonas. Elle aboutira en 1971 à la soutenance en Sorbonne de sa thèse de doctorat d'État sur *Sources et influence du commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*, et en 1985 à une magistrale édition critique de ce *Commentaire*, dans la collection des *Sources chrétiennes*. Mais il

montre rapidement qu'il ne sera jamais l'homme d'un seul livre. En 1966, en effet, il publie deux analyses de la lecture du Commentaire de Jérôme chez saint Augustin et Zénon de Vérone, mais aussi deux études historiques, à partir de deux pages de la *Cité de Dieu*, sur l'éloge de l'empereur Théodose et sur les persécutions des chrétiens au iv<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Une telle diversité de curiosités demeure sensible dans les décennies suivantes. Mais elle y est compensée par une attention suivie à de grandes figures de l'Église occidentale, et aux controverses doctrinales majeures dans lesquelles l'âge de Théodose les trouve successivement affrontées – et, à leur suite, la patristique du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle. Attentif à ce mouvement général des études sur l'Antiquité chrétienne, Yves-Marie Duval s'y engage en participant activement aux colloques et aux publications suscités alors par les grands anniversaires qui jalonnent la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle.

D'abord le XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire de la mort de saint Hilaire, célébré en 1968 par le colloque de Poitiers sur *Hilaire et son temps*. C'est l'occasion, pour Yves-Marie Duval, de réviser la biographie d'Hilaire pour les années 360-363, et de retrouver les traces d'un ouvrage hilarien perdu : le Livre contre Ursace et Valens. Ces travaux marquent ainsi les débuts d'une longue exploration de ce qu'il appellera un jour « l'extirpation de l'arianisme occidental ». Elle sera prolongée et relancée par le XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire de l'élection épiscopale d'Ambroise de Milan en 374. Il consacre alors à celui-ci divers travaux, qui feront date dans les études ambrosiennes. Il rassemble, préface et publie dès 1974 dix études à l'occasion de cet anniversaire, et révisé cette même année l'histoire des débuts de cet épiscopat dans les Actes du Congrès de Milan, *Ambrosius episcopus*. Il présente aux Entretiens de la Fondation Hardt, en 1976, une étude très neuve sur l'esthétique de la prose ambrosienne : il y montre la combinaison originale de « formes antiques et formes bibliques dans les *Oraisons funèbres de saint Ambroise* ». Enfin, il collabore régulièrement au séminaire parisien qui élabore une édition critique, traduite et commentée, de treize *Hymnes* d'Ambroise ; publiée à Paris en 1992, elle inclut une édition de l'Hymne 11 rédigée par lui.

L'importance des relations étroites et parfois orageuses entre les sièges épiscopaux de Milan et d'Aquilée explique l'intérêt qu'il a porté à ce dernier pendant et après l'épiscopat d'Ambroise. D'où une composante nouvelle dans ses travaux centrés sur ce que l'on pourrait appeler une géographie culturelle et doctrinale de la Cisalpine du nord-est. Dès 1973, le thème est posé dans le titre de l'article sur « Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle ». Cet article paraît, significativement, dans la revue *Antichità altoadriatiche*. Yves-Marie Duval y collaborera durant une large décennie. L'histoire doctrinale y tient une place importante : ainsi les réflexions d'ensemble sur Aquilée et Sirmium durant la crise arienne ; ou sur le sens des débats du Concile d'Aquilée pour les Nicéens. Mais on y observe aussi un intérêt croissant pour les relations culturelles des *Aquileienses* avec l'Afrique, la Gaule, la Palestine, et pour des études proprement historiques : ce dossier montre la fécondité des interférences entre des points de vue géographiques et historiques, littéraires et théologiques.

A partir de 1990 apparaît un dernier grand nom dans les publications d'Yves-Marie Duval. Cette année là, la *Revue des études augustiniennes* pose en effet clairement ce double sujet, à la fois chronologique et doctrinal : « La date du *De natura* de Pélage. Les premières étapes de la controverse sur la nature de la grâce ». Le bouleversement de la vision traditionnelle du pélagianisme par une critique pertinente de sa chronologie trouve son aboutissement logique dans l'exposé présenté par Yves-Marie Duval en 1999 à la XIII<sup>e</sup> Conference on Patristic Studies d'Oxford, sur « Pélage en son temps. Données chronologiques nouvelles pour une présentation nouvelle ». Cette « nouveauté » n'a été conquise par lui qu'au terme de patientes recherches intermédiaires, que laissent entrevoir, un quart de siècle auparavant (en 1979 et 1980) ses deux articles sur Julien d'Eclane et son œuvre (perdue), et surtout ses commentaires détaillés de trois « nouvelles lettres » de saint Augustin où il est question de Pélage (*ép.* 4\*, 12\*, 19\*).

Il reste à évoquer enfin l'apport le plus considérable d'Yves-Marie Duval au renouvellement de la littérature latine chrétienne : ses très nombreuses collaborations – malheureuse-

ment encore inédites – aux chapitres chrétiens du t. VI (*Le siècle de Théodose*) d'une *Nouvelle Histoire de la littérature latine*, – à paraître en allemand à Munich et en français à Turnhout. Organisée en 1985 par le colloque franco-allemand de Bad Homburg, qui fut suivi de nouvelles rencontres à Paris en 1986 et 1989, cette entreprise fut ralentie, avant même le début de l'impression, par les difficultés des diverses traductions, et des corrections et contrôles dans les deux langues. Vinrent s'ajouter – avant 2007 – de nouveaux obstacles imprévisibles : les disparitions irréparables de l'un des directeurs allemands de ce tome (le professeur Reinhart Herzog de Göttingen), puis de notre responsable français du secrétariat de la commission de Paris (Stanislas Pellistrandi, ingénieur de recherche au CNRS).

La valeur exceptionnelle de l'apport scientifique d'Yves-Marie Duval, dont je n'ai pu donner ici qu'une idée très incomplète (plus d'une centaine de titres avaient été dénombrés en 2004, dans une bibliographie encore provisoire de ses travaux publiés) impose encore davantage, à tous ceux qui furent ses élèves ou ses compagnons de recherche, et qui devinrent ses amis, le devoir d'achever et de publier au plus tôt le manuscrit du t. VI, dans la préparation duquel ils ont tous investi déjà avec lui tant d'heures et de jours de travail. L'heureuse publication successive, au cours des dernières années (chez Beck et Brepols – en allemand et en français), de chacun des t. IV et V de l'ouvrage, doit nous y encourager. Car ce sera le plus bel hommage que nous puissions rendre à sa mémoire.

# La codicologie et l'histoire des textes dans l'œuvre d'Yves-Marie Duval

par  
François DOLBEAU  
(Paris)

Durant ses années d'études, Yves-Marie Duval reçut une formation solide, aussi bien en théologie qu'en philologie et en histoire anciennes. Ses premiers articles manifestaient une grande aptitude à démêler l'écheveau des querelles doctrinales ou à enquêter sur les sources des Pères, mais les manuscrits n'y étaient invoqués qu'à titre exceptionnel. En revanche, sous sa signature, les enquêtes codicologiques se multiplièrent à partir de 1981, y compris dans les revues les plus spécialisées comme la *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* ou *Scriptorium*. Cette évolution est rendue manifeste par la comparaison entre deux articles, datés de 1973 et 1986. Le premier, qui traite de « La lecture de l'*Octavius* de Minucius Felix à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup> », reste lié à des techniques d'histoire littéraire (« Quellengeschichte », « Rezeptionsgeschichte »); le second, intitulé « Sur la biographie et les manuscrits d'Arnobé de Sicca. Les informations de Jérôme, leur sens et leurs sources possibles<sup>2</sup> », ressemble sous divers aspects à l'article précédent, mais la recherche y est, cette fois, complétée par un remarquable volet codicologique. Rappelons que la tradition manuscrite d'Arnobé coïncide avec celle de Minucius Felix, dont l'*Octavius* s'est transmis comme huitième livre de l'*Adversus Nationes*, et qu'elle se limite à deux copies de la fin du ix<sup>e</sup> (Paris, BnF, lat.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 19 (1973), p. 56-68.

<sup>2</sup> *Latomus*, 45 (1986), p. 69-99.

1661 = *P*) et du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bruxelles, B.R. 10846-47 = *B*). Les acquis de l'étude de 1986, dans le domaine des manuscrits, peuvent être résumés ainsi : 1. Une lacune de *B* coïncide avec une ligne de *P*, et les changements de cahier se font, dans les deux témoins, aux mêmes endroits du texte ; *B*, qui provient de l'abbaye Saint-Michel de Lüneburg, est donc une copie directe de *P*, qui devait ainsi se trouver en Allemagne au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. En conséquence, les derniers éditeurs d'Arnobé et de Minucius Felix ont eu tort de tenir le témoignage de *B* pour indépendant. 2. En tête de l'ouvrage, *P* est dépourvu de titre, et son cahier initial a perdu son premier feuillet. Le rapprochement des deux faits suggère que l'*Adversus Nationes*, dans son état primitif, comportait une rubrique et peut-être une préface, ce qui pourrait expliquer les renseignements sur Arnobé qui furent ensuite transmis par Jérôme. Un tel exemple montre comment un examen minutieux des manuscrits peut contribuer aux progrès de l'ecdotique et de l'histoire littéraire.

L'intérêt croissant d'Yves-Marie Duval pour la codicologie ou l'histoire des textes a dépendu, semble-t-il, de deux facteurs. Dès 1972, la trouvaille d'un inédit, relatif au concile de Rimini<sup>3</sup>, l'ancra dans la conviction que les manuscrits recélaient encore nombre d'ouvrages inconnus, susceptibles d'éclairer l'histoire des disputes théologiques. Par la suite, il chercha sans cesse à élargir le territoire des patristiciens, en s'occupant de textes oubliés ou récemment découverts, dont il proposait toujours des interprétations originales : extraits de chaînes exégétiques en grec (1973), *Liber Hieronymi ad Gaudentium* (1987), Lettres Divjak d'Augustin (1987), Fragment pélagien de Milan (1993), Sermon d'Augustin contre Pélage (1999, 2001), Réponse d'Ambroise à Gratien (2004), Décrétale damasienne *ad Gallos* (2005). Un deuxième facteur, le principal sans aucun doute, fut la commande, par les responsables de la collection Sources Chrétiennes, d'une édition révisée du *Commentaire* de Jérôme *sur Jonas*. Depuis 1956, la collection possédait pour ce texte, sous le n° 43, une édition procurée

<sup>3</sup> « Une traduction latine inédite du Symbole de Nicée et une condamnation d'Arius à Rimini. Nouveau fragment historique d'Hilaire ou pièces des Actes du concile ? », *Revue bénédictine*, 82 (1972), p. 7-25.

par dom Paul Antin. Comme Yves-Marie Duval avait consacré sa thèse (imprimée en 1973) aux sources et à l'influence de ce traité, il était naturel de lui confier la révision du volume. Dom Antin, un excellent spécialiste de saint Jérôme, avait dû, faute de temps et de moyens, se contenter de sondages dans la tradition manuscrite, qui livraient déjà un matériel précieux pour l'étude affinée des sources de Jérôme<sup>4</sup>. Certes, une édition complète des Commentaires hiéronymiens sur les petits prophètes était parue en 1969-1970 dans le *Corpus Christianorum*, mais il suffisait de la confronter aux sondages d'Antin pour en constater l'insuffisance. Yves-Marie Duval entreprit donc – avec courage, et sans mesurer peut-être les difficultés qui l'attendaient – une édition critique sur nouveaux frais de l'*In Ionam*. La recherche des témoins était facilitée par la publication, alors récente, de la *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta* de dom Bernard Lambert, mais les autres étapes du travail éditorial restaient semées d'embûches. Jérôme avait publié ses commentaires au fur et à mesure de leur rédaction, sans prendre jamais le temps de les recueillir en une série complète et autorisée, ce qui explique à la fois la diversité infinie des copies médiévales, alignées graduellement sur l'ordre de la Vulgate, et leur degré élevé de contamination. Sept ans furent employés aux travaux de collation et d'appareillement des témoins, ainsi qu'à l'établissement du texte. Le résultat est d'une qualité exceptionnelle<sup>5</sup>. Ce volume de Sources Chrétiennes est assurément l'un des meilleurs de la collection<sup>6</sup> ; son introduction fournit un classement en huit familles de quelque 90 manuscrits des Commentaires de Jérôme, élaboré d'après divers accidents textuels et un relevé soigneux des rubriques. Trois articles complémentaires de 1981, 1984 et 1985 précisent les relations entre les représentants de certaines de ces familles<sup>7</sup> :

<sup>4</sup> Yves-Marie-Duval avait constaté la chose dès son premier article sur Jérôme, dans *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 12 (1966), p. 25, n. 83 et p. 40, n. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Jérôme, *Commentaire sur Jonas. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire* par Yves-Marie DUVAL, Paris, 1985 (*SC* 323).

<sup>6</sup> Voir les appréciations d'H. DE SAINTE-MARIE, dans *Revue bénédictine*, 99 (1989), p. 221-236.

<sup>7</sup> « Origine et diffusion de la recension de l'*In prophetas minores* hiérony-

ils illustrent en particulier la nécessité de relever avec soin les additions, corrections et traces de grattage ; l'importance des collations effectuées, tant au ix<sup>e</sup> qu'au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour améliorer le texte ; le nombre étonnant de *codices descripti*, dû aux échanges entre abbayes voisines (comme Saint-Denis et Saint-Victor de Paris) ou appartenant au même ordre (comme Clairvaux et Alcobaça) ; l'intérêt des titres, en ce qui concerne le classement, aussi bien que des gloses marginales, souvent insérées dans l'ouvrage au niveau des copies. Dans une note du volume de Sources Chrétiennes<sup>8</sup>, l'auteur exprimait son intention de poursuivre l'enquête. Il a sûrement rempli une partie de ce programme : Patrick Laurence vient, en effet, d'annoncer la prochaine publication de travaux de son maître relatifs aux Commentaires sur Malachie, Michée et Sophonie, qui devraient combler, au moins partiellement, notre attente<sup>9</sup>.

Depuis la publication de l'*In Ionam*, beaucoup de recherches d'Yves-Marie Duval ont comporté un versant codicologique, traité le plus souvent dans la perspective d'une édition renouvelée des œuvres étudiées. Il effectua ainsi des progrès notables dans l'établissement de textes latins des iv<sup>e</sup> et v<sup>e</sup> siècles, notamment Jérôme, *In Esaia paruula adbreuiatio* (CPL 585), dont il défendit brillamment l'authenticité<sup>10</sup>, ou encore Pélage, *Fragmenta Vindobonensia et Mediolanensia* (CPL 755), une lettre

mien de Clairvaux », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 11 (1981), p. 277-302 ; « Un triple travail de copie effectué à Saint-Denis au ix<sup>e</sup> siècle et sa diffusion à travers l'Europe carolingienne et médiévale. À propos de quelques *Commentaires sur les petits prophètes* de saint Jérôme », *Scriptorium*, 38 (1984), p. 3-49 et 181-210 ; « Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Clairvaux de l'*In prophetas minores* de Jérôme : le manuscrit 338 de Lisbonne (Alcobaça XIV) », *Euphrosyne*, 13 (1985), p. 51-77.

<sup>8</sup> Éd. cit., p. 125 n. 11 : « On ne trouvera ici qu'une liste et un classement. Je compte justifier le tout par un travail d'ensemble qui rendra peut-être un peu plus aisée l'édition d'autres commentaires de Jérôme ».

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques*, 53 (2007), p. iv.

<sup>10</sup> « L'*In Esaia paruula adbreuiatio de capitulis paucis* de Jérôme. Une homélie (tronquée) et une leçon de méthode aux moines de Bethléem », dans R. GRYSON (dir.), *Philologia sacra. Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, t. 2, Freiburg i.Br., 1993 (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel, 24), p. 422-482.



de direction qu'il fut le premier à remettre en ordre<sup>11</sup>. Les remerciements insérés en introduction ou en note montrent qu'il avait su nouer un dialogue fructueux avec certains des meilleurs historiens des textes, paléographes ou codicologues de son époque, comme Bernhard Bischoff, Mirella Ferrari, Roger Gryson, Pierre Petitmengin, Jean Vezin, Michaela Zelzer, etc. Il savait aussi reconnaître tout ce qu'il devait au personnel scientifique et aux services de l'Institut parisien de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, sans l'appui desquels une tradition aussi ample que celle des Commentaires de Jérôme sur les petits prophètes n'aurait jamais pu être explorée.

<sup>11</sup> « La Lettre de direction (acéphale) à une mère de famille du Ms 954 de Vienne (CPL 755). Édition des divers fragments dans leur ordre original », dans *Valeurs dans le Stoïcisme, du Portique à nos jours. Textes rassemblés en hommage à Michel Spanneut*, Lille, 1993, p. 203-243 ; édition complétée ensuite par une étude intitulée : « Sur quelques citations et emprunts profanes dans la Lettre de direction à une Mère de famille (CPL 755) », dans *Munera amicitiae. Studi di storia e cultura sulla Tarda Antichità offerti a Salvatore Pricoco*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro), 2003, p. 151-162.

# Jérôme exégète

par

Aline CANELLIS (*Saint-Étienne*)  
et Pierre JAY (*Rouen*)

Le prophète Jonas, dont l'aventure merveilleuse, épique même, intemporelle et universelle, préfigurant la vie, la mort et la résurrection du Christ – de tout homme peut-être –, ne pouvait que toucher la sensibilité de l'homme de lettres et de foi qu'était Yves-Marie Duval. Dans sa thèse de doctorat ès lettres, *Le Livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1973, Yves-Marie Duval aborde, avec la rigueur et l'acribie d'un enquêteur passionné, tous les avatars, méandres et filiations, de l'exégèse du petit prophète, synchronique et diachronique, occidentale et orientale, grecque et latine, à travers des domaines et des auteurs aussi variés que l'apologétique et l'iconographie antiques, les traditions juives, toute la littérature chrétienne de Clément de Rome à Théodoret de Cyr, sans oublier l'homilétique et les commentaires médiévaux.

Mais, comme l'annonce le titre, c'est à l'*In Ionam* hiéronymien que s'attache tout particulièrement Yves-Marie Duval. Si Jérôme n'a pas attendu l'année 396 pour s'intéresser à l'image et à l'interprétation que véhicule Jonas<sup>1</sup>, c'est dans son *Éloge funèbre de Népotien*, écrit juste avant l'*In Ionam*, qu'« apparaissent les thèmes de l'*In Ionam*, qui viennent amplifier la simple notation de l'*In Habacuc*<sup>2</sup> » (1, 1, 14) : « À la Mort qu'il interpelle, Jérôme, en une très belle page, déclare tout

<sup>1</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, *Le Livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme* (thèse pour le doctorat ès lettres, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1971), Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1973, I, p. 273-283.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 283.

d'abord : 'Tu as dévoré Jonas, c'est vrai, mais il s'est retrouvé vivant dans tes entrailles'<sup>3</sup> [...] Mais voici qu'en Jonas Jérôme aperçoit le Christ, selon le même mouvement qui, dès l'*In Habacuc*, tendait à faire du monstre la figure de Satan et de la Mort<sup>4</sup> ». C'est là « l'essentiel de l'interprétation christologique qui sera développée dans l'*In Ionam*<sup>5</sup> ».

L'idée, quoique pas très originale, semble-t-il, est traitée par Jérôme selon une démarche scientifique très moderne : de fait le moine de Bethléem fait preuve de « prudence exégétique » en utilisant peu ou prou ses sources juives ou chrétiennes, comme Tertullien ou Origène, de « rigueur doctrinale » dans un contexte antiorigénien, mais surtout il révèle son talent de « philologue » et d'« écrivain »<sup>6</sup>. Ces qualités font de son *In Ionam*, comme de tous ses commentaires exégétiques d'ailleurs, une œuvre accomplie, à la méthode novatrice. Novateur, Yves-Marie Duval l'a lui-même été dans l'édition qu'il a donnée de l'*In Ionam* ; travaillant en effet sur l'édition qu'un pionnier des études hiéronymiennes en France, Paul ANTIN, en avait publiée<sup>7</sup>, Yves-Marie Duval s'est rendu compte que, dans les prestigieuses Collections des Sources Chrétiennes et du *Corpus Christianorum*<sup>8</sup>, la structure organique et les différents fils conducteurs du Commentaire n'étaient pas mis en valeur. Pour en faciliter la lecture et surtout la compréhension, il a eu l'idée d'une « présentation du texte » sans précédent :

« La traduction latine du lemme hébreu est en petites capitales. Celle du lemme des LXX est en italique. Dans le commentaire de Jérôme, les citations du lemme commenté sont en petites capitales s'il s'agit de la traduction de l'hébreu, en italiques s'il s'agit de celle des LXX, en petites capitales itali-

<sup>3</sup> Hieronymus, *Ep.* 60, 2 : *Devorasti quidem Ionam, sed et in utero tuo uiuus fuit*, éd. J. LABOURT, Paris, 1953 (CUF, 3), p. 91, l. 15-16.

<sup>4</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, *Le Livre de Jonas*, I, p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, *Le Livre de Jonas*, II, p. 614-618.

<sup>7</sup> Jérôme, *Sur Jonas*, éd. P. ANTIN, Paris, 1956 (SCBr, 43).

<sup>8</sup> Hieronymus, *In Prophetas Minores*, éd. M. ADRIAEN, Turnhout, 1969 et 1970 (CCL, 76-76A). Voir en part. *In Ionam* (CCL, 76), p. 377-419.

ques si les deux traductions sont semblables. Les autres citations du livre de *Jonas* sont placées entre guillemets<sup>9</sup> ».

Cette initiative remarquable, que nous appellerons désormais le « Système Duval », a amené Yves-Marie Duval à refaire entièrement l'édition de l'*In Ionam* pour la Collection des Sources Chrétiennes, avec le seul regret que la Collection n'ait pu, à l'époque, présenter la traduction française, en regard, de la même manière que le texte latin. Son édition (*SCBr*, 323) et sa méthode font toujours autorité : son texte édité et mis en forme dans la Collection des Sources Chrétiennes a été repris récemment dans la Collection *Fontes Christiani*<sup>10</sup> qui, par une heureuse avancée, met aussi en pratique le « Système Duval » dans la traduction allemande. Aussi, le 13 octobre 2007, à l'occasion d'une journée d'étude organisée à l'Institut des Sources Chrétiennes (Lyon)<sup>11</sup>, dédiée à la mémoire d'Yves-Marie Duval, il a été convenu, à la demande générale et avec l'accord du directeur de la Collection, Bernard Meunier, que le « Système Duval », amélioré et peaufiné par son inventeur depuis l'*In Ionam*, serait désormais appliqué à la traduction française comme au texte latin. En effet, en vue de nouveaux volumes pour la Collection lyonnaise, Yves-Marie Duval a œuvré à la mise en forme et à la traduction de trois autres commentaires hiéronymiens : l'*In Malachiam*, l'*In Sophoniam* et l'*In Michaeam* – que nous reprenons pour achever le travail jusqu'à la publication –. Il s'y est employé, entre autres textes de Paulin de Milan, Pélage ou Ambroise, lors du séminaire mensuel qu'il a animé à la Sorbonne (Paris IV) d'octobre 1991 à décembre 2006, avec érudition, dynamisme et passion, créant ainsi au-

<sup>9</sup> Jérôme, *Sur Jonas*, éd. Y.-M. DUVAL, 1985 (*SCBr*, 323), 1985, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup> Hieronymus, *Commentarius in Ionam prophetam*, *Kommentar zu dem Propheten Jona*, éd. Y.-M. DUVAL, introd. et trad. S. RISSE, Brepols, 2003 (*Fontes Christiani*, 60).

<sup>11</sup> *Éditer et traduire saint Jérôme aujourd'hui dans la Collection des Sources Chrétiennes*, Journée d'étude organisée par A. Canellis (Université de Saint-Étienne) et R. Courtray (Université Toulouse 2-Le Mirail) dont les actes sont actuellement *on line* sur le site Internet des Sources Chrétiennes. Voir en particulier A. CANELLIS, « Le dossier Malachie. En vue du volume dans la Collection des 'Sources Chrétiennes' » et « Fiche récapitulative sur le 'Système Duval' de mise en forme du texte latin (d'après l'*In Malachiam* de saint Jérôme) ».

tour de lui une petite communauté scientifique et amicale qui n'était pas sans rappeler celles de Jérôme à Rome et à Beth-léem.

En outre, son édition de l'*In Ionam* est une leçon d'ecdotique : par une série de sondages sur de nombreux manuscrits, pour l'ensemble des petits prophètes<sup>12</sup>, Yves-Marie Duval a pu classer les manuscrits anciens de l'*In Ionam* en huit groupes<sup>13</sup> et repérer les plus intéressants, non seulement pour son édition propre mais aussi pour l'édition critique d'autres Commentaires. D'après ces résultats, il est déjà possible de dresser une liste des manuscrits à collationner pour l'édition de l'*In Malachiam*, la première qui, selon son vœu, paraîtra dans la Collection des Sources Chrétiennes, et d'en retenir une petite vingtaine<sup>14</sup>.

Leçon d'ecdotique, le travail d'Yves-Marie Duval est aussi une leçon d'exégèse : plus qu'une introduction à l'*In Ionam*, les longues pages consacrées aux « commentaires de Jérôme »<sup>15</sup> sont une introduction générale à l'œuvre exégétique de Jérôme, située dans la tradition du commentaire antique et vue dans toute sa nouveauté : au double lemme biblique, correspondant aux traductions latines de l'hébreu (de Jérôme) et du texte grec des Septante (traduction personnelle du *Vir trilinguis* plutôt que Vieille Latine), répond d'ordinaire une double explication (littérale/historique et spirituelle – allégorique/typologique...) dont Yves-Marie Duval étudie toutes les nuances et les subtilités. Mais ce qui l'intéresse avant tout, c'est de montrer, avec Jérôme, la *consequentia* du texte biblique, et, par la suite, de son commentaire, en allant toujours « du poin-

<sup>12</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Origine et diffusion de la recension de l'*In Prophetas minores* hiéronymien de Clairvaux », *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 11, 1981, p. 277-302 ; Id., « Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Clairvaux de l'*In Prophetas Minores* de Jérôme : le Manuscrit 338 de Lisbonne (Alcobaça XIV) », *Euphrosyne*, 13 (1985), p. 51-77. ; Id., « Un triple travail de copie effectué à Saint-Denis au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle et sa diffusion à travers l'Europe carolingienne et médiévale. A propos de quelques *commentaires sur les petits prophètes* de saint Jérôme », *Scriptorium*, 38, 1-2 (1984), p. 3-49 et p. 181-210.

<sup>13</sup> Voir Y.-M. DUVAL, *Sur Jonas* (SCBr, 323), p. 122-139.

<sup>14</sup> Voir A. CANELLIS, « Le dossier Malachie », cité supra, n. 11.

<sup>15</sup> Voir Y.-M. DUVAL, *Sur Jonas* (SCBr, 323), p. 25-104.

tillé... au fil continu»<sup>16</sup>. Et toutes les études qu'il a consacrées aux petits prophètes suivent le tracé de cette ligne directrice, quelquefois ténue, parfois presque invisible. S'il s'est davantage attaché à « l'histoire, la prophétie, l'actualité et l'actualisation dans les *Commentaires de Nabum, Michée* (393), *Abdias* (396) et *Joël* (406)<sup>17</sup> », il s'est surtout, et toujours, intéressé aux rapports entre Jérôme et Origène, à la dette – lourde et difficile à porter par moments<sup>18</sup> – du Latin vis-à-vis du grand exégète alexandrin, taxé d'hérésie. Avec constance, Yves-Marie Duval a ainsi passé à ce crible bon nombre des *Commentaires de Jérôme sur les petits prophètes*: *Nabum*<sup>19</sup>, *Aggée*<sup>20</sup>, *Joël*<sup>21</sup>, *Malachie*<sup>22</sup>, *Habacuc*<sup>23</sup> et *Sophonie*<sup>24</sup>. C'est encore à ces petits prophètes que fait curieusement référence – dans une autre perspective, celle du *contenu* de l'exégèse des prophètes – le prologue d'une brève 'homélie tronquée' de Jérôme sur le

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>17</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Jérôme et les prophètes. Histoire, prophétie, actualité et actualisation dans les *Commentaires de Nabum, Michée, Abdias et Joël* », dans *Congress Volume, Salamanca, 1983* (XI Congress IOSOT), Leiden, 1985 (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 36), p. 108-131.

<sup>18</sup> Voir Y.-M. DUVAL, « Gerolamo tra Tertulliano e Origene », dans *Atti del Convegno Motivi letterari ed esegetici in Gerolamo* (Trento, 5-7 dicembre 1995), a cura di Cl. MORESCHINI e G. MENESTRINA, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1997, p. 107-135.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*, « Jérôme et Origène avant la querelle origéniste. La cure et la guérison ultime du monde et du diable dans l'*In Nabum* », *Augustinianum* 24, 1984, p. 471-494.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, « Vers le *Commentaire sur Aggée* d'Origène », dans *Origeniana Quarta* (Innsbruck, septembre 1985), *Innsbrucker Theologische Studien* 19, Innsbruck, 1987, p. 7-15.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.*, « Vers le *Commentaire sur Joël* d'Origène », dans *Origeniana Sexta*, Actes du *Colloquium Origenianum Sextum* (Chantilly, 30 août-3 septembre 1993), éd. G. DORIVAL et A. LE BOULLUEC, Louvain 1995, p. 393-410.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.*, « Vers le *Commentaire sur Malachie* d'Origène. Jérôme et Origène en 406 », dans *Origeniana Septima* (Marburg 1997), Leuven, 1999, p. 233-259.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, « Jérôme et le 'sens' des prophètes: nécessité et difficultés de la *consequentia* », dans *L'esegesi dei Padri latini* (XXVIII Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità cristiana, Roma, 6-8 maggio 1999), Roma, 2000 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 68), p. 411-438.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*, « Vers l'*In Sophoniam* d'Origène: l'annonce de la disparition finale du mal et du retour dans la Jérusalem céleste », dans *Origeniana Octava* (Pise, 27-31 août 2001), éd. L. PERRONE, Leuven, 2003, p. 625-639.

tout début d'Isaïe, dont notre ami a refait l'édition<sup>25</sup> : « Dans les Douze prophètes, y lit-on, on a la description pour ainsi dire d'un malade qui a refusé de soigner son mal jusqu'à en mourir, puis le récit de sa guérison, après cette mort, par le Christ, qui est le médecin véritable. Ce que font donc les Douze prophètes chacun pour une part [...], les grands prophètes le font de manière globale »<sup>26</sup>. Au terme de l'explication détaillée qu'il fournit des huit pages de ce sermon inachevé, Yves-Marie Duval peut reconnaître, formulé dans ce prologue, « un abrégé de la méthode de lecture chrétienne des prophètes et de l'histoire d'Israël, mais aussi de la pédagogie divine appliquée à chaque âme. Ainsi ce préambule peut-il être considéré comme une espèce de *Préface* à l'ensemble des Commentaires <de Jérôme> sur les prophètes »<sup>27</sup>. Ajoutons que, au fil des explications qu'il donne lui-même de cette homélie tronquée, les nombreux rapprochements non seulement avec les Commentaires de Jérôme sur les petits prophètes mais aussi avec divers de ses *Tractatus* sur les psaumes ou l'évangile de Marc montrent bien que, par delà les différences d'accent qui tiennent pour une part à la différence des genres, entre la pratique du commentateur et celle du prédicateur, c'est à ses yeux la même lecture de l'Écriture qui se dégage.

Pour reprendre encore une de ses formules, « les commentaires de Jérôme sont donc une œuvre complexe et, par bien des côtés, imparfaite ou insuffisamment unifiée. Ces disparates tiennent à l'étalement dans le temps, avec tous ses aléas [...], à la juxtaposition et compénétration d'entreprises qui reposent

<sup>25</sup> ID., « *L'In Esaia paruula adbreniatio de capitulis paucis* de Jérôme. Une homélie (tronquée) et une leçon de méthode aux moines de Bethléem », dans *Philologia Sacra* (Biblische und patristische Studien für H. J. Frede und W. Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag), Freiburg i.Br., Beuron, 1993 (Vetus Latina. Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel, 24), p. 422-482.

<sup>26</sup> Hieronymus, *In Esaia paruula adbreniatio : In duodecim prophetis, quasi aegrotans, qui uitio suo curari noluerit, ad mortem usque describitur et postea, per Christum, qui uerus est medicus, sanatus post mortem esse narratur. Quod ergo duodecim prophetae per partes faciunt [...], hoc latissime maiores prophetae facere consueverunt*. Voir Y.-M. DUVAL, « *L'In Esaia paruula adbreniatio de capitulis paucis* de Jérôme », p. 439, l. 4-10.

<sup>27</sup> Voir Y.-M. DUVAL, « *L'In Esaia paruula adbreniatio* », p. 482.

sur deux textes différents au moins»<sup>28</sup>. Or, par ses travaux, Yves-Marie Duval a su non seulement clarifier cette complexité mais aussi valoriser le savoir-faire et la science de l'érudit latin. On aurait aimé qu'il pût continuer longtemps à démêler les fils de cet écheveau. Fondamentaux sur l'exégèse des petits prophètes, tous les articles d'Yves-Marie Duval paraîtront bientôt dans un recueil intitulé *Jérôme, patron des exégètes*<sup>29</sup>.

Avec reconnaissance et affection pour Yves-Marie Duval, un des plus grands hiéronymiens de notre époque, nous laissons le dernier mot à saint Jérôme, dans son *Éloge funèbre de Népotien*: *Vincitur sermo rei magnitudine et minus est omne quod dicimus*<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> ID., « Jérôme et les prophètes. Histoire, prophétie, actualité et actualisation », p. 131.

<sup>29</sup> Aux articles que nous venons de mentionner s'ajouteront : « Saint Augustin et le *Commentaire sur Jonas* de saint Jérôme », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 12 (1966), p. 9-40 ; « Saint Cyprien et le roi de Ninive dans l'*In Ionam* de Jérôme : la conversion des lettrés à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle », dans *Epektasis* (Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou), publié par J. FONTAINE et Ch. KANNENGIESSER, Paris, Beauchesne, 1972, p. 551-570 ; « Jonas à Aquilée : de la mosaïque de la Basilique de Théodore aux textes de Jérôme, Rufin et Chromace ? », dans *Aquileia romana e cristiana fra II e V secolo, Antichità Altoadriatiche* 47 (Omaggio a Mario Mirabella Roberti), Trieste 2000, p. 273-296. Y.-M. Duval avait pris contact avec l'*Augustinianum* et avait obtenu un accord de principe pour ce volume. Ce recueil sera réalisé par R. Courtray et A. Canellis.

<sup>30</sup> Hieronymus, *Epistula* 60, 18, éd. J. LABOURT, Paris, 1953 (CUF, 3), p. 109, l. 4-5.



# L'apport d'Yves-Marie Duval à la connaissance des polémiques et controverses antihérétiques des IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles

par  
Benoît JEANJEAN  
(Brest)

Yves-Marie Duval n'a ignoré aucune des controverses hérésiologiques qui ont traversé les IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles, voire au-delà, mais il s'est surtout attaché à quelques dossiers particulièrement épineux<sup>1</sup>. Comme on l'imagine, la personne et l'œuvre de Jérôme constituent souvent le point de rencontre de ces divers dossiers, mais pas exclusivement, et nombre de ses articles portant sur la crise arienne ou le pélagianisme présentent un tout autre angle d'attaque que la stricte perspective hiéronymienne. La grande force de ses travaux réside sans aucun doute dans le fait qu'il ne se cantonne pas au point de vue de quelques grands auteurs, mais multiplie les approches autour d'une même question, au point de désarçonner parfois le lecteur trop pressé<sup>2</sup>. Trois dossiers méritent particulièrement de retenir l'attention : la crise arienne en Occident, le développement et la réfutation du pélagianisme, la réfutation de Jovinien. Mais avant de présenter les apports d'Yves-Marie Duval

<sup>1</sup> Le dossier dont il s'est le moins approché est sans conteste celui du donatisme auquel aucun de ses travaux n'est directement consacré.

<sup>2</sup> Y.-M. Duval, à la suite de Jérôme, écrit en pensant au « *prudens lector* » ou au « *diligens lector* ».

sur ces trois dossiers, je voudrais m'arrêter sur la leçon de méthode qu'il offre à ses lecteurs.

L'université est, par définition même, lieu de rencontres, de partage de compétences et d'une certaine universalité. Sans attribuer à Yves-Marie Duval une science universelle ou un savoir encyclopédique qu'il se serait empressé de décliner, celui-ci possédait conjointement les qualités du littéraire et celles de l'historien<sup>3</sup> si bien que, dans la plupart des dossiers auxquels il s'est attelé, on constate que l'approche littéraire se double d'une perspective historique, ou vice versa. Conscient de cette double approche, il n'hésitait pas à en avertir le lecteur, comme dans l'introduction de son étude sur la 'manœuvre frauduleuse' de Rimini :

Si je prends toutefois l'audace d'aborder cette question de la manœuvre 'frauduleuse', d'examiner comment est posée et se pose la question, c'est que je crois pouvoir m'appuyer sur un certain nombre de textes que n'utilisent ou que ne rapprochent pas les historiens. D'autre part, si l'on veut, d'un problème littéraire, déboucher sur un problème historique, ce recours à d'autres textes que ceux d'Hilaire, Jérôme et Sulpice Sévère, sur lesquels on se fonde d'ordinaire, apparaît absolument indispensable, sous peine de tomber dans un cercle vicieux<sup>4</sup>.

Ce souci de prendre en compte toute la complexité d'un dossier se double d'une défiance à l'égard des démonstrations trop rapides et des conclusions hâtives. Ainsi, dans le long article qu'il consacre à l'étude des sources de l'*Altercatio Lucifè-*

<sup>3</sup> Le littéraire apparaît en permanence derrière l'attention portée aux textes et la mise en lumière des sources multiples auxquels puise tel ou tel écrivain ecclésiastique. Pour la démarche historique, outre le nombre de sources sollicitées pour établir – ou renoncer à établir – le cours des événements, il est particulièrement révélateur d'entendre parfois Y.-M. Duval se présenter lui-même en historien, comme il le fait dans l'introduction de son étude sur « Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle ; Chromace d'Aquilée et Ambroise de Milan », Udine, 1973 (*Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 4), p. 171 (art. p. 171-234).

<sup>4</sup> « La 'manœuvre frauduleuse' de Rimini – A la recherche du *Liber aduersus Vrsacium et Valentem* », dans *Hilaire et son temps*, Paris, 1969, p. 53-103 (p. 53).

*riani et Orthodoxi* de Jérôme, il signale au lecteur les multiples détours qu'il est contraint de faire pour serrer son sujet au plus près<sup>5</sup>. La démarche d'Yves-Marie Duval a donc toujours été marquée du double sceau de la prudence et de la vigilance contre la facilité, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché d'aboutir à des conclusions qui ont considérablement fait progresser la connaissance des dossiers sur lesquels il s'est penché, et tout particulièrement des trois signalés ci-dessus.

### 1. *La crise arienne en Occident : le traumatisme de Rimini*

Que ce soit à travers l'œuvre d'Hilaire, de Jérôme, d'Ambroise, de Rufin, de Chromace d'Aquilée ou d'autres encore, la question de l'arianisme est au cœur des polémiques de la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il était donc inévitable qu'Yves-Marie Duval y portât une attention particulière. Mais parmi les multiples rebondissements de la crise arienne, c'est le concile de Rimini qui lui a fourni son principal angle d'attaque. Il semble bien que ce soit en grande partie sa lecture de l'*Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* de Jérôme, qui l'ait lancé sur cette piste, car, dans l'article qu'il a consacré aux sources de cette *Altercatio*<sup>6</sup>, il ne fait que survoler les chapitres 17 à 19 qui touchent à ce concile, comme s'il les avait gardés en réserve pour mieux y revenir ensuite. De fait, comme il l'a clairement démontré un an plus tard dans l'article consacré à la 'manœuvre frauduleuse' de Rimini<sup>7</sup>, ces chapitres constituent

<sup>5</sup> « Saint Jérôme devant le baptême des hérétiques; d'autres sources de l'*Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 14 (1968), p. 145-180; voir p. 145: « Qu'on me pardonne quelque peu si, m'avançant à la suite de Jérôme et essayant de comprendre sa démarche, je piétine parfois ou j'entraîne le lecteur dans de multiples détours. Peut-être découvrira-t-il quelques-unes des causes de l'embarras de Jérôme... ».

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note précédente. Complétant les recherches antérieures de P. Batifol, l'article fait apparaître combien Jérôme est tributaire, fût-ce paradoxalement, du dossier baptismal de Cyprien et du *De Baptismo* de Tertullien dans sa propre réponse aux Lucifériens.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 4. Comme le suggère le sous-titre de l'article, celui-ci se proposait de rattacher différents fragments historiques d'Hilaire de Poitiers à son *Liber aduersus Vrsacium et Valentem* perdu, mais signalé par Jérôme et Rufin comme contenant le récit des conciles de Rimini et Séleucie. C'est effectivement ce à quoi il aboutit, mais au terme d'une démonstration qui dé-

un témoignage totalement recevable sur la seconde session du concile de Rimini et ses anathématismes – et en particulier celui sur *‘le Fils qui n’est pas une créature comme les autres créatures’* –, mais aussi sur l’unique texte latin du *Protocole de Niké* qui nous soit parvenu. La confrontation des textes de Jérôme, Sulpice Sévère et Hilaire avec les très nombreux autres témoignages réunis par Yves-Marie Duval, lui permettent également de soutenir l’existence effective d’*Actes du concile de Rimini* dont se sont servis, soit directement, soit le second par l’intermédiaire du premier, Hilaire et Jérôme.

L’étude dont je viens de rappeler les conclusions rayonne sur les travaux d’Yves-Marie Duval des quinze années suivantes et l’on peut dire qu’elle en constitue en quelque sorte la matrice<sup>8</sup>. *Brenitatis causa*, je ne ferai que les effleurer. S’il s’est très vite intéressé aux insinuations de Jérôme sur l’arianisme latent de Jean de Jérusalem, c’est que le traité du moine de Bethléem contre son évêque fait allusion au concile de Rimini et à son rejet du terme *homousios*<sup>9</sup>. Plus même, et c’est là une mise au point capitale, c’est en démarquant le *Contra Auxentium* d’Hilaire que Jérôme a composé son *Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum*, montrant par là combien il voyait de similitudes entre la polémique où il s’engageait et celle qui, trente ans plus tôt, opposait l’évêque nicéen de Poitiers à l’évêque arien de Milan<sup>10</sup>. Mais l’œuvre d’Hilaire n’est pas la seule que Jérôme ait utilisée pour composer la réfutation de l’origénisme supposé de Jean de Jérusalem. En effet, l’un des points reprochés à ce dernier portait sur le refus de confesser la résurrection de la chair. Yves-Marie Duval a montré combien Jérôme est tributaire du *De Resurrectione carnis* de Tertullien dans sa ré-

passage largement ce seul objet et jette une lumière nouvelle sur le concile de Rimini lui-même.

<sup>8</sup> Pour ce qui est, bien sûr, des travaux portant sur la polémique antihérétique, car c’est dans le même temps qu’Y.-M. Duval menait à bien ses travaux sur le livre de Jonas aboutissant en 1973 à la publication de sa thèse aux Études Augustiniennes, et en 1985 à l’édition aux *Sources Chrétiennes* du *Commentaire sur Jonas* de Jérôme.

<sup>9</sup> « Sur les insinuations de Jérôme contre Jean de Jérusalem: de l’arianisme à l’origénisme », *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, 65 (1970), p. 353-474. Voir notamment les p. 364-365.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 366-370.

futation, au risque d'infléchir la teneur de la polémique du moment en lui appliquant des schémas adaptés à une polémique dépassée<sup>11</sup>.

Rimini constitue aussi la toile de fond des questions posées par le retour d'exil d'Hilaire de Poitiers et son action en Italie en 360-363<sup>12</sup>, car, si Hilaire n'a pas participé à ce concile, il a assisté au concile parallèle de Séleucie et pu déplorer la rouerie avec laquelle les évêques homéens, soutenus par l'autorité impériale, ont imposé leur formule de foi aux deux parties de l'Empire. De retour d'exil dès l'année suivante, il n'a eu de cesse, par son action et ses écrits de ramener l'Occident à la foi de Nicée en dénonçant la 'fraude' des homéens. C'est encore Rimini qui apparaît en arrière-plan de l'étude consacrée à une traduction latine inédite du symbole de Nicée présente dans les fragments historiques d'Hilaire. Yves-Marie Duval a proposé de rattacher cette traduction et la condamnation d'Arius qui lui fait suite à la première session de ce concile<sup>13</sup>.

L'étude consacrée aux relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle touche moins directement au concile de 359, et explore davantage la prédication de Chromace d'Aquilée dans ses rapports avec l'œuvre d'Ambroise<sup>14</sup>. Elle s'y rattache néanmoins par le biais des développements sur la mise en place du concile d'Aquilée de 381 devenu provincial, alors qu'il devait être universel<sup>15</sup>. Les

<sup>11</sup> « Tertullien contre Origène sur la résurrection de la chair dans le *Contra Iobannem Hierosolymitanum*, 23-36 de saint Jérôme », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 17 (1971), p. 227-278.

<sup>12</sup> « Vrais et faux problèmes concernant le retour d'exil d'Hilaire de Poitiers et son action en Italie en 360-363 », *Athenaeum*, 48 (1970), p. 251-275.

<sup>13</sup> « Une traduction latine inédite du symbole de Nicée et une condamnation d'Arius à Rimini : nouveau fragment historique d'Hilaire ou Actes du concile ? », *Revue bénédictine*, 82 (1972), p. 7-25. Cette étude pose la question de l'identité des textes sur l'édition desquels Y.-M. Duval apporte plusieurs améliorations, sans pouvoir la trancher véritablement. Mais l'essentiel est moins dans leur identité précise que dans leur valeur documentaire.

<sup>14</sup> « Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, Chromace d'Aquilée et Ambroise de Milan », Udine, 1973 (*Antichità altoadriatiche*, 4), p. 171-234.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186 : « [Ambroise] craignait peut-être qu'un concile trop populaire et auquel les Orientaux prendraient part ne connût les malheurs du concile de Rimini et ne se prêtât aux mêmes manœuvres ».

liens de ce concile avec celui de Rimini se dégagent en revanche clairement de l'étude des scolies ariennes sur le concile d'Aquilée de 381, dans laquelle Yves-Marie Duval a démontré combien ce concile, visant à extirper les foyers d'arianisme encore nombreux dans l'épiscopat de l'Illyricum, s'inscrit en miroir de celui de Rimini dont il entend corriger définitivement les errements<sup>16</sup>. Je passe très rapidement sur une synthèse impressionnante des rebondissements de la crise arienne en Italie du Nord et dans l'Illyricum, où Rimini apparaît une fois encore comme un nœud qui ne se dénoue vraiment qu'avec le concile d'Aquilée<sup>17</sup>, pour m'arrêter sur une étude qui semble marquer l'entrée de la question pélagienne dans les préoccupations de recherche d'Yves-Marie Duval, mais qui n'en est pas moins en rapport avec le concile de Rimini. Julien d'Éclane, en effet, apporte sur ce concile un témoignage tardif et inattendu qui a intrigué les historiens depuis plusieurs générations. Or celui-ci s'explique dès lors qu'on remarque que l'évêque pélagien s'identifie, à soixante ans de distance, aux évêques qui ont résisté à l'intimidation impériale exercée par Constance II sur le clergé occidental entre 351 et 360, et qu'il emprunte à l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin d'Aquilée une présentation des faits qui amalgame en un seul l'ensemble des conciles occidentaux de 351 à 359<sup>18</sup>.

## 2. La crise pélagienne

Avec le pélagianisme, nous abordons le second gros dossier consacré à la polémique antihérétique. Outre l'étude sur Julien d'Éclane signalée à l'instant, mais qui n'aborde qu'en passant les questions proprement pélagiennes, Yves-Marie Duval s'est intéressé à la personne même de Pélagie, pour réfuter une identification abusive du moine « breton » avec le censeur in-

<sup>16</sup> « La présentation arienne du concile d'Aquilée de 381 », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 66 (1981), p. 317-331, notamment p. 328-331.

<sup>17</sup> « Aquilée et Sirmium durant la crise arienne (325-400) », Udine, 1985 (*Antichità altoadriatiche*, 26), p. 331-379.

<sup>18</sup> « Julien d'Éclane et Rufin d'Aquilée. Du concile de Rimini à la répression pélagienne. L'intervention impériale en matière religieuse », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 24 (1978), p. 243-271.

connu de l'*Aduersus Iovinianum* de Jérôme à Rome vers 393<sup>19</sup>. A la suite de Georges de Plinval, nombre de chercheurs voyaient dans cette identification l'origine d'une inimitié entre Pélage et Jérôme qui n'aurait fait que resurgir à l'occasion de l'arrivée du premier en Palestine, en 411<sup>20</sup>. Prenant en compte non seulement l'ensemble des lieux communs dont Jérôme use, en bon polémiste, à l'égard de la plupart de ses adversaires, mais aussi de nombreux textes de Jérôme, d'Augustin, de Pélage et de Julien d'Éclane qui semblent peu compatibles avec cette identification, Yves-Marie Duval l'a écartée à juste raison. Cependant, ses arguments n'ont pas été suivis – ou seulement vus – par un certain nombre de critiques, et il a jugé nécessaire d'y revenir, vingt ans plus tard en 1999, dans la synthèse qu'il a présentée à l'occasion de la XIII<sup>e</sup> International Conference on Patristic Studies<sup>21</sup>. Cette synthèse est capitale pour qui veut comprendre l'évolution de la recherche sur Pélage des vingt dernières années et prendre en compte les avancées permises par la découverte de deux nouveaux textes d'Augustin liés à la crise pélagienne<sup>22</sup>. Yves-Marie Duval y rappelle en particulier les conclusions de ses études sur la date du *De natura* de Pélage<sup>23</sup> – qu'il convient de situer entre 406 et

<sup>19</sup> «Pélage est-il le censeur inconnu de l'*Aduersus Iovinianum* à Rome vers 393? ou du “portrait robot” de l'hérétique chez saint Jérôme», *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 75 (1980), p. 525-557.

<sup>20</sup> G. DE PLINVAL, *Pélage, ses écrits, sa réforme*, Lausanne, 1943, p. 50-56; R. F. EVANS, *Pelagius, Inquiries and reappraisals*, Londres, 1968, p. 26-38.

<sup>21</sup> «Pélage en son temps: données chronologiques nouvelles pour une présentation nouvelle», Leuven, 2001 (*Studia Patristica*, 38), p. 95-118. Cf. les p. 105-111. Aux arguments antérieurs, Yves-Marie Duval en ajoute de nouveaux, tirés des *Commentaires sur les Épîtres de Paul* de Pélage qui ne font aucune allusion à une éventuelle condamnation du mariage par Jérôme, mais se servent, au contraire, à plusieurs reprises de l'*Aduersus Iovinianum*, notamment pour justifier le libre-arbitre!

<sup>22</sup> Respectivement l'*Ep.* 19\* d'Augustin à Jérôme (*Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, 46B), p. 286-291 et 507-516, traduction et annotation par Y.-M. DUVAL et le *Sermon 348B* d'Augustin (édité par Fr. DOLBEAU, «Le Sermon 348B d'Augustin contre Pélage, Édition du texte intégral», *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 28 [1995], p. 37-63).

<sup>23</sup> «La date du *De Natura* de Pélage. Les premières étapes de la controverse sur la nature de la grâce», *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 36 (1990), p. 257-283.

410 et non au-delà, comme on le faisait d'ordinaire –, et sur la correspondance entre Augustin et Pélage qui s'est vue enrichie d'au moins deux lettres disparues certes, mais dont on ignorait auparavant totalement l'existence<sup>24</sup>.

Les principaux apports de ces divers travaux concernent l'évolution de l'attitude d'Augustin à l'égard de Pélage qu'il a cherché à ménager, dans ses écrits, jusqu'en 416, tant qu'il n'avait pas sous les yeux un ouvrage émanant de lui et prouvant les égarements qu'on lui prêtait alors sur la conception de la grâce. Dès avant 410, en effet, Augustin avait eu vent, 'par la rumeur', des propos de Pélage contre la grâce de Dieu, mais sans en avoir la confirmation incontestable. C'est donc dans un esprit de conciliation qu'il confia en 415 à Orose la mission de porter une lettre à Pélage en Palestine; c'est dans le même esprit qu'il ménagea encore l'auteur du *De natura*, en composant, à la même époque et en réponse à cet ouvrage, le *De natura et gratia*. Les choses changent en 416, comme le montre la *Lettre* 19\* à Jérôme, où Augustin signale le ton plus acerbe d'une lettre qu'il a adressée à Pélage dans l'espoir de le voir revenir sur sa conception de la grâce. Le torchon ne brûle définitivement qu'avec la réception des *Actes* du synode de Diospolis qui servent de point de départ à la composition par Augustin du *De gestis Pelagii*. Le nouveau regard porté par Yves-Marie Duval sur la crise pélagienne invite ainsi à ne pas sous-estimer, derrière les questions de personnes, les débats doctrinaux autour desquels elle s'est développée.

### 3. La réfutation de Jovinien

Il n'échappera pas à l'observateur attentif des travaux d'Yves-Marie Duval que, s'il n'a publié aucun article concernant spécifiquement la polémique contre Jovinien, c'est elle qui l'a cependant conduit à s'intéresser de plus près à Pélage. En effet, c'est parce que le censeur de l'*Adversus Iovinianum* en 393 avait été identifié par certains à Pélage, qu'il a été amené à examiner et à réfuter cette thèse. On sait, par ailleurs, le rôle

<sup>24</sup> « La correspondance entre Augustin et Pélage », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 45 (1999), p. 363-384.



que la seconde thèse de Jovinien, concernant l'efficacité du baptême joue dans la polémique avec Pélage, notamment dans la réfutation que lui oppose Jérôme. On n'avait cependant peut-être pas suffisamment mesuré combien l'accusation de manichéisme que se renvoient tour à tour Pélage et ses adversaires plonge ses racines dans les débats antérieurs sur la valeur respective du mariage et de la virginité, qui se sont cristallisés lors de la polémique avec Jovinien. Yves-Marie Duval, qui en avait pleinement conscience, n'a jamais voulu séparer ces deux épisodes successifs de ce qui peut apparaître comme une seule et unique crise, où s'entremêlent les questions sur la nature humaine, sa vocation à parvenir à la perfection, la nécessité et l'efficacité du baptême et de la grâce divine. S'il n'a pas publié d'articles sur Jovinien, c'est parce que, depuis les premiers temps de sa vie de chercheur, il avait entrepris d'apporter un éclairage nouveau sur cette polémique, en refusant de l'isoler de son cadre socio-historique et de ses conséquences dans le long terme. De multiples contraintes l'ont obligé à différer longtemps la publication de l'ouvrage capital où il a livré au public le fruit de son travail sur ce dossier<sup>25</sup>.

Après une mise au point indispensable sur la chronologie de l'affaire Jovinien entre 393 et 395 et notamment sur l'articulation des condamnations romaine et milanaise avec la réfutation de Jérôme, Yves-Marie Duval s'attache à dégager les lignes de force de l'enseignement de Jovinien, en lien avec le milieu romain de la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il développe ensuite la réfutation de Jérôme en en dégageant les sources multiples, et en mettant en lumière sa dette envers Tertullien<sup>26</sup> et Origène<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *L'affaire Jovinien. D'une crise de la société romaine à une crise de la pensée chrétienne à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> et au début du v<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Rome, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2003 (Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum, 83). Le délai entre la mise en forme de cet ouvrage et sa mise à la disposition du public est rappelé dans l'avant-propos : « L'essentiel de l'étude qui suit a été écrit durant les étés des années 1977 et 1978, du moins pour ce qui constitue le texte supérieur. J'espérais pouvoir composer rapidement l'ensemble des notes, mais j'ai eu l'imprudence d'accepter de reprendre l'édition du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme... » (p. 5).

<sup>26</sup> Notamment, mais pas uniquement, le *De monogamia* et l'*Exhortatio castitatis*.

<sup>27</sup> En particulier son *Commentaire de la 1<sup>ère</sup> Épître aux Corinthiens*.

dont on n'avait encore jamais pris la mesure. La réfutation de Jérôme, dont Pélage n'aurait pas démenti l'affirmation finale<sup>28</sup>, provoque à Rome un scandale autour de la question matrimoniale et Jérôme est obligé de se justifier dans une *Apologie* dont Yves-Marie Duval examine les attendus, les sous-entendus et les silences. La dernière partie de l'ouvrage, sans doute la plus novatrice, examine les nombreuses implications de la thèse (ou des thèses) de Jovinien dans les polémiques des trente années suivantes, et en particulier dans la polémique antipélagienne. Qu'il s'agisse de l'impeccabilité du baptisé, du péché originel ou de la bonté du mariage, toutes ces questions font écho, de près ou de loin, à la crise déclenchée à Rome par l'enseignement de Jovinien.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. p. 266 ; la formule qui refferme l'*Aduersus Iovinianum* insiste sur la liberté de choix de l'homme entre le bien et le mal, entre le sort final de Lazare ou du riche.

# Yves-Marie Duval et l'ascétisme chrétien

par

Patrick LAURENCE

(Tours)

Le spécialiste de Jérôme qu'était Yves-Marie Duval ne pouvait pas travailler sur le moine de Bethléem sans se pencher très régulièrement sur la question de l'ascétisme, cet idéal monastique issu de l'Orient qui marqua profondément l'époque de Jérôme, et dont ce dernier fut l'un des porte-parole en Occident. La question concerne la très grande majorité des auteurs du christianisme primitif, parmi lesquels Origène, Chrysostome, Ambroise, Augustin, pour ne citer que quelques noms qui reviennent constamment dans les travaux d'Yves-Marie Duval.

L'ensemble des écrits de notre savant hiéronymien contient un nombre impressionnant de notes sur le sujet – ses lectures dans ce domaine ont été multiples, à en juger simplement par nombre d'ouvrages dont il fit la recension ; mais je ne retiendrai ici que les articles, communications et autres écrits les plus étroitement liés à la question. Si nous respectons l'ordre chronologique, dès 1968 l'article sur Bellérophon (« Bellérophon et les ascètes chrétiens ») traite ouvertement le sujet : une recherche de la récurrence du personnage à la fin de l'Antiquité permet de voir comment les moines et leur mode de vie peuvent être considérés par certains comme les héritiers de l'*otium* philosophique et aristocrate classique, à condition, comme le fait Jérôme, de tenir compte de leur proximité avec Dieu et de leur refus du monde, refus que les païens leur reprochent. C'est l'un de ces moines qui est le sujet de la *Vita Martini*, dont l'édition, la traduction et le commentaire de Jacques Fontaine aux Sources Chrétiennes donnent lieu en 1969

à un article rapide mais élogieux de la plume d'Yves-Marie Duval (« De Sulpice Sévère à Martin de Tours »).

Dès cette époque également, il avait tenu à souligner l'influence de Cyprien et de Tertullien sur les œuvres ascétiques chrétiennes de la fin de l'Empire : dans son article « Sur une page de saint Cyprien chez saint Ambroise », il retrouve dans l'*Hexameron* 6, 8, 47 les traces du *De habitu virginum* 15-17, avant de remonter au *De cultu feminarum* de Tertullien : deux auteurs et deux écrits sans lesquels on ne peut comprendre les propos des Pères de l'époque de Jérôme sur l'idéal de la virginité chrétienne. Et c'est bien ainsi que l'entend Yves-Marie Duval : en 1974, il propose un article nourri sur « L'originalité du *De virginibus* dans le mouvement ascétique occidental ». Il y cherche « à mieux voir le rôle qu'a tenu Ambroise dans le mouvement ascétique de la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme les sources auxquelles s'est nourrie sa pensée », ce qui lui permet de dégager comment l'évêque de Milan se démarque de Cyprien, mais aussi de cet autre prédécesseur qu'est Athanase d'Alexandrie et ses *Lettres aux vierges*. Tout cela débouche sur un riche tableau de la vie ascétique en Cisalpine. Plus largement, une étude de la même année (« L'influence des écrivains africains ») puise dans l'œuvre des Africains Cyprien et Tertullien les thèmes (dont celui de la vie ascétique) qui ont pu marquer les écrivains chrétiens de l'Italie du Nord dans la deuxième moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle : Chromace d'Aquilée, Zénon de Vérone, Ambroise, Gaudence, Rufin d'Aquilée, Maximin. Athanase n'est pas abandonné pour autant : sa *Lettre aux vierges* donne lieu à une analyse du contenu et de la composition de cet ouvrage, fondamental pour comprendre le phénomène de la virginité perpétuelle ainsi que le développement de la mariologie, en tenant compte des hérésies liées à l'histoire du mouvement ascétique, en l'occurrence celle de Hiéracas et de son refus du mariage ; une étude très serrée invite à ne pas reproduire le plan de cette lettre lacunaire à partir du *De virginibus* d'Ambroise.

Nous avons déjà pu constater qu'Yves-Marie Duval avait beaucoup travaillé sur les relations entre Jérôme et d'autres Pères inséparables de l'histoire de l'ascétisme chrétien. Un article de 1989 (« Les premiers rapports ») en est l'éclatante illustration : il essaie de préciser la nature des premiers contacts en-

tre Jérôme et Paulin de Nole ; il met clairement en valeur l'influence de Jérôme dans les derniers mois de la conversion de Paulin à la vie ascétique, en s'appuyant sur le *Carmen* 10 et son évocation des solitaires chrétiens, rapprochés des philosophes les plus illustres. On y retrouve sans doute possible la trace d'une lecture attentive du *Contre Jovinien* (lui-même redevable entre autres au *De abstinencia* de Porphyre), qui met en scène un Jean Baptiste ascète et contemplatif. Cette même année, Yves-Marie Duval suit cette fois les traces des relations entre « Chromace et Jérôme » : il s'attarde notamment sur la période qui précède l'arrivée à Rome du jeune Jérôme, époque où celui-ci « baigne » en plein ascétisme, qu'il s'agisse de ses liens avec les vierges d'Hémona ou avec la communauté monastique que forment Chromace, sa mère et ses sœurs à Aquilée (où Athanase a propagé l'idéal d'Antoine) – outre l'évocation de l'installation de Bonose dans la retraite d'une île de l'Adriatique. De nouveau, dans ce cadre, nous retrouvons l'influence de Cyprien et de Tertullien. Ce dernier réapparaîtra dans une communication de 1997 (« Gerolamo tra Tertulliano e Origene »), où se voit démontrée, grâce à de pertinents rapprochements entre les textes (ce à quoi excelle notre auteur), la profonde connaissance que Jérôme a de Tertullien et de ses écrits (le *De exhortatione castitatis*, le *De cultu feminarum* et autres) dans des œuvres hiéronymiennes telles que le *Contre Helvidius*, l'*Épître* 22 et surtout le *Contre Jovinien* (il est aussi fait appel à Origène, autre source incontournable des écrits sur la virginité chrétienne – ce qui explique en partie [l'autre étant l'exégèse origénienne] l'intérêt d'Yves-Marie Duval pour son œuvre).

Les recherches d'Yves-Marie Duval vont ensuite mettre à profit ses nombreux acquis dans le domaine de l'ascétisme pour en aborder des éléments précis : en 1993 (« La lettre de direction »), il s'attelle à la tâche délicate consistant à reconstituer un opuscule anonyme d'essence pélagienne, un texte parénétique envoyé à une mère chrétienne, à laquelle sont adressés un certain nombre de préceptes, dont l'un (le jeûne) concerne directement l'ascèse. Cette exhortation dans le sens d'une vertu et d'une vie supérieures à celles du grand nombre rejoint parfaitement celles que reçoivent des veuves chrétiennes.

nes telles que Furia, ou l'éloge des vertus louées chez Laeta, mère de Paula la Jeune, petite-fille de la grande dame du même nom. Plus récemment (en 2005), l'éditeur exigeant qu'était Yves-Marie Duval publie *La décrétale Ad Gallos episcopos*, qui aborde des thèmes chers à l'ascèse : les vierges chrétiennes qui ont failli à leurs vœux, ainsi que la chasteté et la continence des évêques (il présente également une série d'indices qui invitent fortement à attribuer cet ouvrage à Jérôme, ce qui, grâce à lui, ne fait plus guère de doute aujourd'hui).

J'ai laissé pour la fin, bien qu'elle soit légèrement antérieure (2003), la grosse étude sur *L'affaire Jovinien*, qui restera la référence majeure sur la question. L'ascétisme est au centre de cette affaire. Yves-Marie Duval en parle longuement, qu'il s'agisse de l'enseignement de Jovinien sur l'égalité entre le mariage et la virginité ou de la réfutation de Jérôme, qui défend la supériorité de la virginité à partir du commentaire de *1 Cor. 7* : il analyse les thèmes de la chasteté et du mariage dans les deux Testaments, puis il traite la question du jeûne, avant d'exposer la survie de l'hérésie entre 395 et 430. Les nombreuses notes (c'était l'une des qualités des écrits d'Yves-Marie Duval) fournissent de très riches informations sur ces aspects de l'ascétisme.

A tout cela il faut ajouter l'étude de l'*Épître 22 à Eustochium*, qu'Yves-Marie Duval avait entreprise depuis très longtemps, qu'il avait presque menée à son terme, et que j'ai reprise et modestement complétée pour une prochaine parution aux éditions de l'Abbaye de Bellefontaine. Le commentaire de cette lettre intitulée *De uirginitate seruanda* fourmille de références permettant d'élargir les lectures, et surtout de remonter aux sources (très souvent origéniennes) des préceptes ascétiques. Cette publication posthume sera une pièce complémentaire, ainsi que le couronnement, de tout un pan des recherches d'Yves-Marie Duval.

# Yves-Marie Duval et les études ambrosiennes

par  
Hervé SAVON  
(Paris)

Depuis longtemps, Yves-Marie Duval désirait écrire une vie de saint Ambroise. Ses autres recherches, ses charges d'enseignement et le temps malheureusement trop limité qui lui a été imparti l'ont empêché de composer cet ouvrage. Il nous a, du moins, laissé une grande quantité de matériaux – établissement des faits, analyses et interprétations – qui seront des points de départ indispensables pour l'étude de tel moment de la carrière ou de tel aspect de la personnalité et de l'œuvre de l'évêque de Milan. Ne pouvant mentionner ici chacun de ses travaux qui concernent directement ou indirectement Ambroise, je m'en tiendrai à ce qui me semble le plus nouveau et le plus significatif.

Les travaux d'Yves-Marie Duval prennent place dans une période où les recherches sur Ambroise connaissent une vitalité nouvelle. Avant 1950, c'est le rôle politique d'Ambroise – à l'intérieur de l'Église et dans ses rapports avec les empereurs – qui avait surtout retenu l'attention – avec deux ouvrages de référence *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker* (1929) de Hans von Campenhausen, et *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain* de Jean-Rémy Palanque (1933). À partir de 1950, grâce notamment aux découvertes de Pierre Courcelle, on s'intéresse davantage au contenu même des œuvres de l'évêque de Milan, à leurs sources et à leur forme littéraire. L'idée que les traités d'Ambroise sont le simple reflet de modèles mécaniquement imités fait place à la constatation d'une originalité vraie, d'une utilisation renouvelée et créatrice des

sources répertoriées par la *Quellenforschung*. Deux études publiées par Yves-Marie Duval répondent à ces nouveaux questionnements. En 1970, c'est un article sur le remploi d'une page de Cyprien dans l'*Exameron* d'Ambroise<sup>1</sup>. Sept ans après, Yves-Marie Duval montre comment, chez l'évêque de Milan, le cadre liturgique et le support biblique renouvellent la *laudatio funebris*<sup>2</sup>.

Mais, très vite, s'opère un retour au thème esquissé par Hans von Campenhausen : Ambroise, personnalité autoritaire et dominatrice, maniant tantôt la force, tantôt la ruse dans ses rapports avec le pouvoir impérial ou avec les différentes factions qui déchirent l'Église. C'est ce que l'on trouve dans trois ouvrages qui ont marqué, de différents points de vue, un demi-siècle de recherches ambrosiennes : en 1967, *Les Ariens d'Occident* de Michel Meslin ; en 1980, les *Scolies ariennes sur le concile de Nicée* de Roger Gryson ; en 1994, *Ambrose of Milan* de Neil B. McLynn. La contribution d'Yves-Marie Duval aux études ambrosiennes apparaît, pour une large part, comme une réaction mesurée mais résolue à ces interventions successives.

La thèse de Michel Meslin<sup>3</sup> visait à montrer que, bien avant la déferlante germanique et arienne du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, il existait un arianisme authentiquement latin dès les années 355-375. Michel Meslin distingue deux périodes dans l'évolution doctrinale de ce groupe. Jusque vers 376, il est dirigé par des conservateurs, soucieux de s'en tenir à l'enseignement et au vocabulaire des Écritures, en se gardant de tout excès, notamment des dangers d'un *consubstantiel* affirmé sans nuances. C'est plus tard seulement que ces modérés, notamment les évêques homéens déposés sur l'intervention d'Ambroise, vont radicaliser leur position et passer d'un certain subordinationisme conservateur à un anoméisme caractérisé. L'évêque

<sup>1</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Sur une page de saint Cyprien chez saint Ambroise », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 16 (1970), p. 25-34.

<sup>2</sup> ID. « Formes profanes et formes bibliques dans les oraisons funèbres de saint Ambroise », dans *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité tardive en Occident*, éd. M. FUHRMANN, Vandœuvres-Genève, 1977 (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, 23), p. 235-291.

<sup>3</sup> M. MESLIN, *Les Ariens d'Occident. 335-430*, Paris, 1967.



de Milan, qui, selon Michel Meslin, transforma le concile œcuménique que l'on avait prévu à Aquilée pour en faire « une simple opération de police », apparaît alors, avec Damase de Rome, comme le principal responsable de cette mutation doctrinale.

Yves-Marie Duval a fait l'examen de cette thèse dans un article qui se distingue par la connaissance détaillée du contexte, la précision des analyses et la netteté mesurée des conclusions<sup>4</sup>. L'idée d'une mutation doctrinale provoquée chez les homéens par leur expulsion de la grande Église, idée essentielle pour l'appréciation du rôle d'Ambroise, lui inspire les plus sérieuses réserves. Il juge beaucoup plus probable que les thèses qui apparaissent ouvertement vers 379-384 chez les porte-parole de ce groupe ont été diffusées, sinon confessées, par eux bien auparavant, et que les nicéens ont eu « quelques raisons de les subodorer dans les déclarations et *credos* officiels subtilement rédigés pour réunir dans l'unité de l'Empire une population unanime ». La même année, Yves-Marie Duval montre à quel point les soupçons des nicéens étaient fondés, dans une étude très fouillée sur les intrigues qui ont marqué le concile de Rimini<sup>5</sup>.

Roger Gryson publie en 1980 une édition des *Scolies ariennes sur le concile de Nicée*, qui renouvelle magistralement notre connaissance de ces fragments, conservés dans le ms. Paris, BN, lat. 8907<sup>6</sup>. En même temps, cette attention nouvelle accordée à la lecture que les homéens faisaient des événements remet en cause, une fois de plus, la vision des choses qu'avaient imposée les sources favorables à Ambroise. On

<sup>4</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Sur l'arianisme des Ariens d'Occident », *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, 26 (1969), p. 145-153.

<sup>5</sup> Id., « La 'manœuvre frauduleuse' de Rimini », dans *Hilaire et son temps. Actes du Colloque de Poitiers. 29 septembre-3 octobre 1968*, Paris, 1969, p. 51-103. – Dans les années qui suivent, Yves-Marie Duval donne deux études importantes concernant Ambroise : « Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle : Chromace d'Aquilée et Ambroise de Milan », *Aquileia e Milano*, Udine, 1973 (Antichità altoadriatiche, 4), p. 171-234 ; « Ambroise de son élection à sa consécration », dans *Ambrosius Episcopus. Atti del congresso di Studi ambrosiani, Milano 2-7 dicembre 1974*, éd. G. LAZZATI, II, Milan, 1976, p. 243-283.

<sup>6</sup> R. GRYSOY, *Scolies ariennes sur le concile de Nicée*, Paris, 1980 (*SCBr*, 267).

tend à réduire le concile d'Aquilée – le « brigandage d'Aquilée » – à un procès où l'on a condamné des accusés pour des opinions qui n'étaient pas vraiment les leurs. À ce renversement des perspectives, Yves-Marie Duval répond par deux études symétriques sur la manière dont ariens et nicéens se représentaient le concile d'Aquilée de 381<sup>7</sup>. Sans pouvoir les suivre ici dans le détail, j'en retiens deux résultats essentiels. La transformation du concile d'Aquilée en un simple concile provincial, alors qu'il devait initialement être un concile général rassemblant orientaux et occidentaux, est attribuée couramment aujourd'hui aux intrigues d'Ambroise, qui entendait bien disposer d'une assemblée qui lui fût acquise. C'est oublier, fait remarquer Yves-Marie Duval, que la convocation par Théodose d'un concile rassemblant tous les orientaux à Constantinople au mois de mai 381 enlevait du même coup son caractère de concile général à l'assemblée qui devait se tenir à Aquilée quelques mois plus tard. Quant à la doctrine elle-même – le fond du problème –, Yves-Marie montre que l'opposition entre les thèses d'Ambroise et celles que défend Palladius n'a rien de factice ni de secondaire. La mise en relation avec les événements du concile de Rimini et la « manœuvre frauduleuse » dénoncée par les orthodoxes est ici indispensable et décisive.

Près de quinze ans après la publication des *Scolies ariennes du concile d'Aquilée* paraît un autre ouvrage qui va marquer une césure dans les études ambrosiennes : *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, de Neil B. McLynn<sup>8</sup>. Celui-ci part d'une observation qui n'est pas contestable. Sur la plupart des points (à l'exception de ce qui concerne le concile d'Aquilée et son contexte), la bibliographie d'Ambroise ne nous est connue que par des documents dus à l'évêque lui-

<sup>7</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « La présentation arienne du concile d'Aquilée de 381 : à propos des 'Scolies ariennes sur le concile d'Aquilée' par R. GRYSON », *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 76 (1981), p. 317-331 ; Id., « Le sens des débats d'Aquilée pour les Nicéens : Nicée – Rimini – Aquilée », dans *Atti del colloquio internazionale sul Concilio di Aquileia del 381*, Udine, 1982 (*Antichità altoadriatiche*, 21), p. 69-97.

<sup>8</sup> Neil B. McLYNN, *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital*, Berkeley, 1994.

même ou inspirés par lui, directement ou indirectement. Il convient donc, pense Neil B. McLynn, de mettre au jour tout ce que les pièces de ce dossier ont pour fonction d'occulter ou de gauchir. Cette suspicion systématique aboutit à l'image d'un Ambroise grand metteur en scène sur le théâtre de l'Empire tardif, voire illusionniste et manipulateur. Yves-Marie Duval n'a pas manqué de soumettre à un examen minutieux ces conclusions spectaculaires et les analyses qui y conduisaient. On trouve l'essentiel de cet examen dans une importante mise au point sur des travaux récents qu'il publie en 1998<sup>9</sup>. Il est intéressant de relever notamment quelques principes de méthode. Le premier est le refus de l'esprit de système. S'il est non seulement légitime mais nécessaire de ne pas se contenter du point de vue d'Ambroise et de chercher à reconstruire les arguments de ses adversaires, cela n'autorise pas à refuser d'emblée toute cohérence à son épiscopat et à « lui imputer un mensonge systématique ». Yves-Marie Duval souligne ici un point capital, méconnu de ceux qui contestent systématiquement les affirmations d'Ambroise : les écrits de l'évêque étaient d'abord « des actes publics, destinés aux contemporains et donc susceptibles d'être contestés ou poursuivis ». Un second principe, essentiel pour Yves-Marie Duval, est l'obligation de distinguer soigneusement le possible et le certain, l'hypothétique et le démontré, fût-ce en sacrifiant l'image lisse et le récit coulant. Ce principe trouve une application particulièrement nette dans l'interprétation de l'élection d'Ambroise à l'épiscopat. Pour Neil B. McLynn, loin d'être le fruit d'un élan populaire comme le veulent Rufin et Paulin, c'est l'aboutissement d'un plan de campagne soigneusement préparé par le pape Damase à Rome et le préfet du prétoire Probus à Sirmium. Yves-Marie Duval n'a pas de mal à montrer les points faibles de ce « montage ingénieux et progressif », balisé par des *probably*, des *perhaps* et des *could be read*. Un autre atout de sa méthode est le souci de rassembler sur

<sup>9</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Sur quelques études récentes concernant Ambroise et l'arianisme occidental », dans ID., *L'extirpation de l'arianisme en Italie du Nord et en Occident*, Aldershot, 1998, texte XI, p. 1-39. Voir aussi son compte rendu de l'ouvrage de McLynn : *Recherches de Science religieuse*, 84 (1996), p. 450-453.

chaque détail d'un texte un faisceau de parallèles et d'indices, grâce à une connaissance hors de pair du contexte. À Neil B. McLynn, qui voit un aveu d'impuissance théologique dans le fait que le premier ouvrage d'Ambroise est adressé aux vierges consacrées de Milan, Yves-Marie Duval réplique que le jeune évêque s'inspire ici de la *Lettre aux Vierges* d'Athanase où l'on trouve de longs développements contre les ariens, et que les vierges constituaient, avec les moines, les « bataillons de choc » des évêques dans les affrontements doctrinaux, comme Ambroise le souligne lui-même dans l'une de ses lettres. Pour Yves-Marie Duval, le grand danger est d'aller trop vite, c'est de faire crédit à une première impression ou à une thèse préalablement adoptée, au lieu de « prendre son temps », au lieu de se donner le temps de procéder aux enquêtes, aux rapprochements et aux distinctions nécessaires, en acceptant à l'occasion de « maintenir le point d'interrogation ».

Toujours préoccupé d'aider à l'intelligence de textes difficiles, Yves-Marie Duval devait tout naturellement en venir au genre du commentaire. De fait, il a laissé à sa mort un commentaire à peu près achevé du *De obitu Theodosii*. On trouvera dans une communication donnée à Metz en 2005 deux échantillons de ce commentaire précédés par six pages essentielles où Yves-Marie Duval résume son expérience de lecteur et d'interprète de l'évêque de Milan<sup>10</sup>. C'est une présentation de ce qu'on peut appeler la « manière » d'Ambroise, un examen des problèmes qu'elle pose et de la façon dont on peut les résoudre. On notera en particulier les remarques très éclairantes sur les répétitions d'Ambroise. Celles-ci ne sont presque jamais littérales. Ambroise remodèle ce qu'il a dit ailleurs dans un environnement différent. Ces thèmes lui sont tellement familiers qu'il omet parfois les maillons qui devraient en souligner l'enchaînement et la cohérence. C'est là notamment que le commentateur doit intervenir pour expliciter la liaison restée sous-jacente. On est également frappé par la façon dont Yves-Marie Duval explique les irrégularités de la composition

<sup>10</sup> ID. « Commenter Ambroise : principes et application », dans *Lire et éditer aujourd'hui Ambroise de Milan, Actes du colloque de l'Université de Metz (20-21 mai 2005)*, éd. G. NAUROY, Berne, 2007, p. 125-164.

d'Ambroise qui ont donné tant de fil à retordre à ses interprètes : « Je croirais plutôt à un tâtonnement de la pensée, avec des anticipations et des reprises, jusqu'à ce que l'orateur trouve une sorte de plaine où elle puisse se répandre en larges vagues déferlantes. »

On le voit, Yves-Marie Duval ne nous a donné ni une biographie composée d'Ambroise, ni une vue d'ensemble systématique de son œuvre. Du fait même des exigences qui s'imposaient à lui dans un tel travail, il n'en a pas eu le temps. Ce qu'il nous a laissé est plus rare sans doute et non moins précieux. Au lecteur de rassembler les remarques, les analyses, les conclusions répandues au fil des articles et des contributions et d'en suivre les leçons de rigueur, d'honnêteté et de mesure. Le recueil de onze de ses articles, réunis en 1998<sup>11</sup>, est l'un des ouvrages que le lecteur, l'interprète ou l'historien d'Ambroise devra toujours avoir à portée de sa main.

<sup>11</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, *L'extirpation de l'arianisme en Italie du Nord et en Occident*. Voir ci-dessus n. 9.

# Yves-Marie Duval, Aquilée et Rufin

par

Françoise THELAMON

(Rouen)

À partir de 1972, Yves-Marie Duval a fréquemment répondu à l'invitation du professeur Mario Mirabella Roberti et de Sergio Tavano à participer à la *Settimana di Studi Aquileiesi*. Chacune de ses communications permettait aux auditeurs d'apprécier sa vaste culture, son érudition, la clarté de sa pensée, sa rigueur dans l'analyse des textes et du contexte historique.

En 1973, dans *Le 'Livre de Jonas' dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine. Sources et influence du Commentaire sur Jonas de saint Jérôme*<sup>1</sup>, Yves-Marie Duval consacre une vingtaine de pages à « Jonas dans l'iconographie antique », mesurant la distance entre textes et images. Il ne pouvait donc qu'être attiré par la mosaïque de la basilique d'Aquilée qu'il a si souvent contemplée et commentée. Trente ans plus tard, il s'interrogea à nouveau sur « Jonas à Aquilée : de la mosaïque de la Theodoriana sud aux textes de Jérôme, Rufin, Chromace ? »<sup>2</sup> montrant les écarts d'interprétation de l'histoire de Jonas chez ces auteurs et voyant dans la mosaïque, « à travers la célébration de l'évêque constructeur » que fut Théodore, « l'expression de la croyance en la vie dans l'au-delà et en la résurrection de la chair », sans lien avec la préparation au baptême ni avec une éventuelle fonction de la salle dans le déroulement de la cérémonie.

<sup>1</sup> Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1973, 2 vol.

<sup>2</sup> Dans « Aquileia romana e cristiana fra il II e V secolo, *Antichità alto-adriatiche* », 47 (2000), p. 273-296.

Le colloque *Chromatius episcopus*, qui célébrait, en 1988, le XVI<sup>e</sup> centenaire de l'accession à l'épiscopat de l'évêque d'Aquilée, en qui il voyait «un homme de paix», lui avait fourni l'occasion de faire le point sur les relations entre «Chromace et Jérôme», de montrer les influences réciproques, en particulier celle de l'*In Ionam* de Jérôme sur l'œuvre de Chromace à qui il l'avait dédié. Yves-Marie Duval évoque ce *Tractatus in Matthaeum* «sur le signe de Jonas» de Chromace, dont le Père Joseph Lemarié lui a alors communiqué le texte, dans la basilique même d'Aquilée, «à quelques pas, dit-il, de la splendide mosaïque de Théodore<sup>3</sup>». Il en conclut : «Ce *Tractatus* supposait la lecture de l'*In Ionam* de 396-397», fût-ce pour en prendre le contre-pied ; les *Tractatus in Matthaeum* de Chromace d'Aquilée pouvaient désormais être datés. Il montra aussi que dans les derniers *tractatus*, Chromace invitait Jérôme à se réconcilier avec Rufin quand il écrivait : «Le Seigneur qui est l'auteur de la paix et de la concorde veut que nous gardions à tout prix la charité de l'amour fraternel». On ne sera donc pas étonné que, vingt ans plus tard, un des dossiers laissés inachevés soit la traduction de ces *Tractatus in Matthaeum* que le Père Joseph Lemarié lui a confiée. Dans la fidèle amitié qui l'unissait à celui-ci, il en avait fait la relecture et il devait en assurer l'annotation. Souhaitons que ce travail puisse être mené à bien.

Aquilée et les relations qu'elle entretint tant avec l'Orient qu'avec l'Occident, en raison de sa position géographique et de son importance politique, économique et religieuse, furent souvent au cœur des préoccupations d'Yves-Marie Duval ; nombre de ses travaux en témoignent. Il souligna la position stratégique d'Aquilée et des Alpes juliennes où se joua plusieurs fois le sort de l'Empire, à la charnière de l'Orient et de l'Occident, l'enjeu que constituait le contrôle des *claustra Italiae*, l'angoisse suscitée par la proximité des Barbares et leurs incursions, que l'on trouve exprimée par Chromace et Rufin<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>3</sup> «Chromace et Jérôme», dans *Chromatius episcopus 388-1988*, Udine, 1989 (Antichità altoadriatiche, 34) p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Chromace, *Sermo* 16, 4 ; Rufin, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Préface ; cf. Maxime de Turin, *Sermo* 85, 2.

montrant néanmoins, à l'encontre de certaines idées reçues, que la ville ne fut prise ni en 402 ni en 408, mais le fut en 450 par Attila<sup>5</sup>. Grand port cosmopolite, Aquilée, où la présence de Juifs et de Syriens est bien attestée, était en relation avec l'Orient ; par des itinéraires maritimes et/ou terrestres on gagnait Alexandrie et l'Égypte, comme le fit Rufin ; par Constantinople et la Cappadoce, on arrivait à Antioche, comme le fit Jérôme ; et tous deux finalement se fixèrent en Palestine : les péripéties de leur querelle à propos de la traduction des œuvres d'Origène, ont l'intérêt de nous informer sur les échanges entre Aquilée et la Palestine à la fin du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui ne sauraient néanmoins être réduits aux démêlés entre ces deux « personnalités ». En contrepartie d'offrandes et aumônes pour soutenir le monastère de Bethléem, Jérôme faisait parvenir en remerciement ses traductions et commentaires et Rufin fut lui aussi un « grand importateur de marchandises orientales<sup>6</sup> ». C'est ainsi que par Aquilée furent introduites en Occident des œuvres d'Origène, Athanase, Didyme, Basile, Grégoire de Nazianze et l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe de Césarée, ce qui conduit Yves-Marie Duval à conclure : « L'Occident doit à Aquilée et à ses fils d'être demeuré en contact avec la pensée orientale pendant un millénaire, en attendant que l'on puisse avoir accès à nouveau au grec<sup>7</sup> ». Les *merces orientales* furent aussi des reliques dont Aquilée fut un centre de diffusion pour l'Italie du Nord et au delà.

On ne manquera pas de souligner également l'importance de certains des articles réunis dans le volume paru en 1998 sous le titre *L'extirpation de l'arianisme en Italie du Nord et en Occident*<sup>8</sup>. Ils concernent les relations doctrinales entre Aquilée et Milan, autant dire entre Chromace et Ambroise, la convocation du concile d'Aquilée de 381, sa présentation arienne dans les *Scolies* comme le sens des débats pour les nicéens, l'enjeu

<sup>5</sup> « Aquilée sur la route des invasions (350-452) », dans *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale*, Udine, 1976 (*Antichità altoadriatiche*, 9), p. 237-298.

<sup>6</sup> « Aquilée et la Palestine entre 370 et 420 », Udine, 1977 (*Antichità altoadriatiche*, 12), p. 263-321. Avant Rufin l'image des *merces orientales* se trouve chez Jérôme dans une lettre à Paul de Concordia (*Ep.* 10, 3).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

<sup>8</sup> *Variorum Collected Studies Series* (C.S., 611), Aldershot, Brookfield, 1998.



étant la pleine affirmation de la divinité du Christ, Aquilée et Sirmium durant la crise arienne avec les séjours d'Athanase à Aquilée puis la place d'Aquilée « îlot nicéen dans le déferlement homéen (351-360) » entre Milan et Sirmium, où la foi nicéenne semble encore mal affermie en 381 et où plane l'ombre des photiniens ; sur tous ces sujets l'apport d'Yves-Marie Duval fut de première importance.

Si l'un des dossiers laissés inachevés par Yves-Marie Duval concerne l'*Oraison funèbre de Théodose* par Ambroise, il convient de rappeler que l'intérêt qu'il portait à cet empereur était fort ancien : dès 1966, il avait analysé « L'éloge de Théodose dans la *Cité de Dieu* », aimant à rappeler qu'Henri-Irénée Marrou, son maître, avait été le premier lecteur de cet article<sup>9</sup> ; puis ce fut « La figure de Théodose chez Claudien » en 1984 et « Le panégyrique de Théodose par Paulin de Nole », en 1998, sans oublier l'importance qu'il reconnaissait au récit de Rufin concernant la bataille de la Rivière Froide (en *HE* II, 33) écrivant : « Un de nos meilleurs observateurs se trouve justement être Rufin, même s'il ne se trouvait pas à l'époque à Aquilée<sup>10</sup> », et de fait celui-ci avait pu quelques années après recueillir sur place bien des témoignages. Cet intérêt conduisit Yves-Marie Duval à la Rivière Froide ! En réponse à l'invitation des collègues slovènes présents à Aquilée, « l'expédition » fut décidée ; nous ne saurions oublier sa joie d'aller sur le site même de la célèbre bataille, au grand dam du professeur Marjeta Šašel, inquiet de le voir partir en costume de ville dans cette région montagneuse où il risquait d'être encore pris par la neige début mai ! Il y retourna même une seconde fois. Cette expérience du terrain lui permit d'évoquer concrètement quelques années plus tard « Les *aurea fulmina* des Alpes juliennes : le rôle des statues divines dans les lieux stratégiques » dans l'ouvrage que publia le Professeur Rajko Bratož<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Voir son recueil d'articles *Histoire et historiographie en Occident aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles*, *Variorum Collected Studies Series* (CS, 577), Aldershot, Brookfield, 1997, p. viii.

<sup>10</sup> « Aquilée sur la route des invasions », p. 270.

<sup>11</sup> Dans *Symposium Westillyricum und Nordostitalien in der Spätromischen Zeit* (1994), éd. R. BRATOŽ, Ljubliana, 1996, p. 95-108.

Yves-Marie Duval avait participé, avec d'autres, dans les années soixante, au séminaire consacré par Henri-Irénée Marrou à l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin d'Aquilée. Sans jamais empiéter sur notre travail, ce fut pour lui aussi un sujet de prédilection<sup>12</sup>. Un des apports fondamentaux de ses travaux dans ce domaine, le plus important peut-être, et auquel il tenait fortement, est d'avoir invalidé la thèse traditionnelle d'Anton Glas et de ses successeurs, maintes fois battue en brèche, mais qui ressurgit périodiquement, concernant les sources de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin. Au début du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle en effet, Anton Glas avait «affirmé que les deux livres de Rufin dérivait pour l'essentiel d'un modèle grec qu'il n'aurait fait que traduire<sup>13</sup>», il s'agissait d'une hypothétique *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Gélase de Césarée, neveu de Cyrille de Jérusalem. Yves-Marie Duval s'est employé à montrer de manière convaincante que Rufin, qui fait état dans la préface de son *Histoire ecclésiastique* de l'utilisation de sources écrites et orales et de son expérience, a eu recours de manière incontestable à des sources latines, qui permettent même de découvrir l'origine de certaines erreurs : Rufin doit, par exemple, à la préface de l'*Ad Benivolum* de Gaudence de Brescia ce qu'il dit de l'attitude courageuse de Benivolum face à l'impératrice Justine, incident qui n'est pas autrement connu ; il évoque les *libri de fide* d'Hilaire de Poitiers, dont il tient la façon dont les évêques occidentaux ont été trompés au concile de Rimini : « On doit y reconnaître [...] ce que Jérôme a désigné comme le *Liber adversus Vrsacium et Valentem*, qui contenait l'histoire du concile de Rimini [...] Il est peu probable qu'un tel ouvrage ait gagné l'Orient<sup>14</sup> » remarque Yves-Marie Duval qui, plus encore, a été le premier à montrer que c'est la *Chronique* de Jérôme qui fournit à Rufin

<sup>12</sup> Voir son analyse dans « Les métamorphoses de l'historiographie aux iv<sup>e</sup> et v<sup>e</sup> siècles. Renaissance, fin ou permanence de l'Empire romain », Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> congrès de la F.I.E.C., II, Budapest, 1983, p. 137-182.

<sup>13</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Sur quelques sources latines de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin d'Aquilée », *Cassiodorus. Rivista di studi sulla Tarda Antichità*, 3 (1997), p. 131-151, faisant référence à A. GLAS, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia, die Vorlage für die letzten Bücher der Kirchengeschichte Rufinus*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1914 (Byzantinisches Archiv, 6).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

ses cadres chronologiques ; il en fait la démonstration sur une série de cas précis, en faisant observer que si Rufin s'en sépare souvent dans ses appréciations, c'est à cette source qu'il 'doit' ces erreurs qui ont conduit certains, depuis Socrate, à décrier son œuvre : ainsi est-ce notamment à la suite de Jérôme que Rufin fait débiter sous Constance – et non sous Constantin – la persécution d'Athanase d'où la date erronée du concile de Tyr et des exils de l'évêque d'Alexandrie, pour ne prendre qu'un seul exemple. « J'espère avoir définitivement rendu à Rufin les deux livres dont on a voulu ne faire pendant près d'un siècle que la simple traduction d'une prolongation *grecque* de l'*Histoire de l'Église* d'Eusèbe<sup>15</sup> » pourra conclure plus tard Yves-Marie Duval.

Il a contesté à nouveau la thèse d'Anton Glas en traitant de la place et de l'importance accordées par Rufin au concile d'Alexandrie de 362<sup>16</sup>, montrant en particulier l'application en Occident par Hilaire de Poitiers et Eusèbe de Vercel des mesures disciplinaires qui s'ensuivirent, ainsi que l'intransigeance de Lucifer de Cagliari, alors même que le schisme des lucifériens, aux dires de Rufin, existe toujours au moment où il écrit, quarante ans après. Et Yves-Marie Duval de conclure : « Il ne suffit cependant pas de dire que la place donnée à ce concile et à ses suites s'explique par le fait que Rufin, un Occidental, écrit pour des Occidentaux. Les historiens grecs qui le suivront, et qui l'utiliseront, auraient pu nous donner le pendant oriental s'ils en avaient disposé dans l'*Histoire* de Gélase. Leur silence est éloquent *a contrario*<sup>17</sup> ».

Yves-Marie Duval traqua aussi dans la littérature latine chrétienne qu'il connaissait si bien les lecteurs possibles de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin : le plus illustre est Augustin qui indique explicitement, en 421, que c'est dans la traduction

<sup>15</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Rufin d'Aquilée émule de Jérôme de Stridon », dans *Dieu(x) et hommes. Histoire et iconographie des sociétés païennes et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, *Mélanges en l'honneur de Françoise Thelamon*, textes réunis par S. CROGIEZ-PÉTREQUIN, Rouen, 2005, p. 163-185.

<sup>16</sup> « La place et l'importance du concile d'Alexandrie de 362 dans l'*Histoire de l'Église* de Rufin d'Aquilée », *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 47 (2001), p. 283-302.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 300.

de Rufin qu'il lit l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe<sup>18</sup>. Il le redit, en 428, dans le *De haeresibus*, composé pour Quodvultdeus alors diacre de Carthage, mais en mentionnant cette fois les deux livres ajoutés par Rufin<sup>19</sup>. Mais Yves-Marie Duval a démontré, de manière indubitable, qu'Augustin les avait utilisés dès 415 quand il a composé le livre V de la *Cité de Dieu* : il discerne sept occurrences concernant le règne et la personne de Théodose, notamment la bataille de la Rivière Froide et l'affaire de Thessalonique, où il est évident qu'Augustin a puisé ses informations dans l'œuvre de Rufin<sup>20</sup>. Il l'a montré également pour le livre XVIII à propos des persécutions dont furent victimes les chrétiens sous Julien et les nicéens en Orient du temps de Valens<sup>21</sup>, et enfin il a repéré un autre lecteur africain probable en la personne même de Quodvultdeus, l'auteur du *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*<sup>22</sup> : ce dernier paraît bien avoir emprunté au récit de Rufin la description des « truquages » du Sérapeum d'Alexandrie.

Parmi les lecteurs de Rufin, non seulement de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*, mais aussi de la traduction rufinienne du *Peri archôn* d'Origène et du livre I de l'*Apologie d'Origène* de Pamphile augmentée en postface du *De adulteratione Origenis librorum*, Yves-Marie Duval, « voulant rendre à Rufin la place qu'il mérite », a montré qu'il y a eu parmi eux Sulpice Sévère et son ami Postumianus ainsi que Paulin de Nole<sup>23</sup>, qui lui avait aussi demandé de lui expliquer les *Bénédictions des Patriarches*, et aussi Pélage qui avait lu la traduction par Rufin du *Commentaire de*

<sup>18</sup> *De cura gerenda pro mortuis*, VI, 8 ; VIII, 10 (*Bibliothèque Augustinienne*, 2), p. 480 et 488.

<sup>19</sup> *De haeresibus*, 83 (PL, 42, 46).

<sup>20</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « L'éloge de Théodose dans la *Cité de Dieu* (V, 26, 1) », *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 4 (1966), p. 135-179.

<sup>21</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Saint Augustin et les persécutions dans la deuxième moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (Ciu. Dei XVIII, 52) », *Mélanges de science religieuse*, 33 (déc. 1966), p. 175-191.

<sup>22</sup> Id., « Un nouveau lecteur probable de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Rufin d'Aquilée : l'auteur du *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, III, xxxviii, 42 », *Latomus*, 26 (1967), p. 762-777.

<sup>23</sup> Id., « Sulpice Sévère entre Rufin d'Aquilée et Jérôme dans les *Dialogues* 1, 1-9 », *Mémorial Dom Jean Gribomont*, Rome, 1988 (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 27), p. 199-222.

*l'Épître aux Romains* d'Origène. Dans cet esprit il a montré également, après avoir examiné finement la situation de Rufin gravement mis en cause par Jérôme et ses amis romains à propos de la traduction du *Peri archôn* dans les années 398-400, que c'est à lui qu'il fallait attribuer le *Liber* adressé à Gaudence de Brescia, dans les années 400-405<sup>24</sup>. C'est d'ailleurs aussi à cet évêque, dont il ne manque pas de faire l'éloge dans la préface, que Rufin a finalement dédié sa traduction des *Reconnaisances clémentines*, initialement promise à la « vierge Silvie ». C'est au colloque de Lausanne, le 30 août 2006, qu'Yves-Marie Duval s'est interrogé sur les raisons de cette traduction et l'importance que l'œuvre pouvait avoir au début du v<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>25</sup>. À un moment où les questions du libre arbitre et de la Providence, du destin et de l'horoscope étaient d'actualité, l'ouvrage qui délivrait un enseignement sur la liberté et contre l'influence déterminante des astres, n'était pas seulement un beau « roman de reconnaissance » mais Rufin se félicitait d'ouvrir à ses concitoyens « les trésors cachés de la sagesse, grâce à la clé de notre langue ». Cette étude figurera dans le volume d'articles sur Rufin, traduits en italien, qui sera prochainement publié à Trieste. Yves-Marie Duval avait accepté avec joie cette initiative du professeur Giuseppe Cusito, qui vient couronner de longues années d'amitié et d'intérêt commun pour Aquilée.

« Il ne me paraît pas possible de regarder la moindre œuvre de Rufin en dehors de son contexte chronologique, ni de sa référence – fût-ce voilée – à Jérôme et aux discussions, orales et écrites, qu'il a eues avec lui<sup>26</sup> ». De fait, on ne saurait parler de Rufin sans parler de ses relations avec Jérôme depuis leur

<sup>24</sup> ID., « Le '*Liber Hieronymi ad Gaudentium*' : Rufin d'Aquilée, Gaudence de Brescia et Eusèbe de Crémone », *Revue bénédictine*, 97, 3-4 (1987), p. 163-186.

<sup>25</sup> ID., « Le texte latin des *Reconnaisances clémentines* : Rufin, les interpolations et les raisons de sa traduction », à paraître dans les Actes du colloque, éd. Albert FREY, Lausanne, Éd. du Zèbre. Pour la trad. italienne, voir ci-dessus.

<sup>26</sup> Y.-M. DUVAL, « Rufin et le canon de l'Ancien Testament. Fondements doctrinaux et arrière-plan pastoral de la controverse avec Jérôme sur la Bible des chrétiens », *Storia ed esegesi in Rufino di Concordia*, Udine, 1992 (Antichità altoadriatiche, 39), p. 45-76.

jeunesse, de leurs itinéraires parallèles, mais aussi de leurs différences et de leurs différends, c'est ce qu'a fait Yves-Marie Duval et ce qu'il nous invite à faire. Ainsi quand Jérôme déploie à Bethléem une activité littéraire ininterrompue, il y a le « silence 'éditorial' de Rufin durant tout son séjour en Orient », son activité écrite ne débute qu'à son retour en Italie et encore s'agit-il surtout de traductions réalisées en un court laps de temps, qui provoquèrent, dans le cas des traductions des œuvres d'Origène, les réactions violentes de Jérôme et de ses amis romains au point que Rufin eut à se défendre et à prouver son orthodoxie. Yves-Marie Duval souligne alors que l'*Exposition du symbole* adressée par Rufin à un évêque Laurentius fut le premier exposé occidental de ce genre, affirmant à plusieurs reprises la résurrection de la chair et l'éternité du règne du Christ ; Rufin expliquait aussi que ce symbole avait été composé par les Apôtres après avoir reçu l'Esprit Saint et avant de partir évangéliser les nations. Yves-Marie Duval a montré également ce qui séparait les deux hommes à propos du canon de l'Ancien Testament : Rufin considérait que Jérôme avait jeté le trouble en en appelant à l'*hebraica ueritas* et que son entreprise de traduction à partir de l'hébreu était condamnable, parce qu'elle remettait en cause l'héritage des Apôtres et leur inspiration par l'Esprit Saint à qui, en définitive, s'en prenait Jérôme à travers les Apôtres. Ces approches différentes des deux anciens amis s'explique par l'arrière-plan pastoral de la controverse : quand Jérôme se livre à une discussion érudite, Rufin se range du côté des *imperiti* et veut confirmer la foi des humbles, cette *simplicitas fidei* si souvent exaltée dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique*, car, explique encore Yves-Marie Duval : « Rufin cherche avant tout à affermir la crédibilité de la foi chrétienne auprès d'un public issu exclusivement du paganisme. Il insiste donc sur l'unité de la foi, la solidité de sa transmission, l'antiquité de son origine, puisque ce canon semble, comme le symbole, remonter aux Apôtres et, en définitive, à l'Esprit Saint qui agissait en eux<sup>27</sup> » ; pour cette raison l'entreprise de Jérôme lui paraissait dangereuse.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Mais Yves-Marie Duval relève aussi chez Rufin une volonté d'imiter Jérôme et de faire mieux que lui, qui évolua de la saine émulation à la rivalité hostile : Jérôme avait traduit la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe et l'avait continuée jusqu'en 378, Rufin traduisit l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* du même Eusèbe et la continua jusqu'en 395, ne manquant pas d'utiliser la *Chronique* de Jérôme. Les apports de Rufin sont incontestables<sup>28</sup>, mais ses choix et jugements sont différents de ceux de Jérôme jusqu'à en prendre le contre-pied. Rufin traduit en adaptant pour des « oreilles latines » et il vise l'édification de ses lecteurs. Une fois passée la querelle à propos de la traduction du *Peri archôn*, Rufin se tourna vers des textes plus facilement accessibles pour les destinataires ; la référence aux travaux de Jérôme est quasi constante, pour ces raisons Yves-Marie Duval invite à « lire leurs œuvres comme à suivre leur vie en parallèle<sup>29</sup> » ; c'est bien ce qu'il a fait dans cet article qu'il nous offrit en 2005<sup>30</sup>, témoignage d'une longue amitié et d'une complicité qui restaurait aussi l'amitié entre Jérôme et Rufin<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Ce qu'Y.-M. Duval n'a pas manqué de souligner, non sans renvoyer à Fr. THELAMON, *Paiens et chrétiens au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'apport de l'« Histoire ecclésiastique » de Rufin d'Aquilée*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1981.

<sup>29</sup> « Rufin d'Aquilée émule de Jérôme », p. 185 et *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> « Rufin d'Aquilée émule de Jérôme de Stridon », dans *Dieu(x) et hommes. Histoire et iconographie des sociétés païennes et chrétiennes de l'Antiquité à nos jours, Mélanges en l'honneur de Françoise Thelamon*, textes réunis par S. CROGIEZ-PÉTREQUIN (dir.), Rouen, 2005, p. 163-185.

<sup>31</sup> N'avait-il pas eu la délicatesse, lors du colloque de Chantilly sur *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, en septembre 1986, d'adresser un message d'amitié à Rufin, ou plus exactement à ceux qui étaient au même moment réunis en son nom à Concordia, à l'initiative du professeur Antonio Quacquarelli, estimant qu'il était temps de faire enfin la paix !

# Bibliographie d'Yves-Marie DUVAL

par  
Benoît GAIN  
(Grenoble)

Jusqu'au numéro 140, les titres précédés d'un astérisque (\*) ne figuraient pas dans la bibliographie de *Chartae caritatis*<sup>1</sup>. A l'aide de *L'Année philologique* principalement, dont je reprends les sigles, j'indique les recensions des ouvrages dont Yves-Marie Duval est l'auteur.

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<sup>1</sup> *Chartae caritatis*, Études de patristique et d'antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval, éditées par Benoît GAIN, Pierre JAY, et Gérard NAUROY, PARIS, 2004 (Études Augustiniennes, série Antiquité, 173), p. 7-17.



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30 août -2 septembre 2006, édités par Frédéric AMSLER, Albert FREY, Charlotte TOUATI et Renée GIRARDET, Lausanne, Éd. du Zèbre, 2008 (Publications de l'Institut Romand des Sciences bibliques, 6), p. 79-92.

- \*138. *Scritti su Rufino di Aquileia*, s/d. de Giuseppe CUSCITO, trad. en italien par Enrico FUSCO [9 articles, les n° 36, 40, 70, 73, 80, 91, 104, 137 [article du Colloque de Lausanne (30.VIII.2006) sur les *Recognitiones Clementinae*] et 122. Introduction de Françoise THELAMON.

Aquilée sur la route des invasions (350-452), 1976; Aquilée et la Palestine entre 370 et 420, 1977; *Le Liber Hieronymi ad Gaudentium*: Rufin d'Aquilée, Gaudence de Brescia et Eusèbe de Crémone, 1987; Sulpice Sévère entre Rufin d'Aquilée et Jérôme dans les Dialogues, 1, 1-9, 1988; Rufin et le Canon de l'Ancien Testament, 1992; Sur quelques sources latines de l'Histoire de l'Église de Rufin d'Aquilée, 1997; La place et l'importance du Concile d'Alexandrie de 362 dans l'Histoire de l'Église de Rufin d'Aquilée, 2001; Le texte latin des Reconnaissances Clementines: Rufin, les interpolations et les raisons de sa traduction, 2008; Rufin d'Aquilée émule de Jérôme de Stridon, 2005.

Yves-Marie Duval avait exprimé, le 17. II. 2007, le souhait que ce recueil parût aussi en français.

- \*139. « Sur trois lettres méconnues de Jérôme concernant son séjour à Rome », dans *Jerome of Stridon. Religion, Culture, Society and Literature in Late Antiquity*, s/d. de Josef LÖSSL and Andrew CAIN, Cardiff, 13-16.VII.2006.
- \*140. « Iovinianus », *Augustinus Lexikon*, Basel, Stuttgart, Schwabe, 2007, 4 p.
- \*141. Contributions à la *Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature latine (NHLL)*, t. VI: *La littérature de l'Antiquité tardive, 2: L'âge de Théodose (374-430)*, sous la direction de Peter Lebrecht SCHMIDT (éd. allemande) et Jacques FONTAINE, Yves-Marie DUVAL et Jean-Denis BERGER (éd. française) à paraître chez C. H. Beck (Munich), en principe au cours du second semestre 2009, et aussitôt après chez Brepols (Turnhout).

D'après une table datée du 14.XII.2006, l'examen des dossiers et l'inventaire du disque dur effectué par la famille, la participation d'Yves-Marie Duval, qui dépasse de très loin le « cercle hiéronymien » (sans parler de sa relecture attentive de toute la littérature chrétienne et parfois de propositions de refontes importantes), comprend la rédaction des notices suivantes (plus de 700 p.):

*Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature latine (NHLL)*, t. VI: *La littérature de l'Antiquité tardive*, 3: *la prose d'art*.

A. Rome

(142) Introduction ;  
 (143) XIV. Prose chrétienne ; (144) exégèse biblique: Philip-  
 pus ; *Commentaire sur les épîtres de Paul* (CPL 759a) ; (145) apolo-  
 gétique et hérésiologie: *Indiculus de haeresibus* ; (146) le milieu  
 luciférien: Lucifer, Hilarius diaconus et Faustinus ; les faux lu-  
 cifériens ; (147) les adversaires du mouvement ascétique: intro-  
 duction, Helvidius, Jovinianus ; (148) Jérôme (398 p.) et son  
 milieu ; Astérius, Marius Mercator ; (149) Pélage et les péla-  
 giens (au total plus de 100 p.): introduction, Rufin le Syrien,  
 Caelestius, Pélage, Ps. Jérôme «pélagien», Ps. Sixte (Corpus  
 Caspari), Ps. Ambrosius (*Expositio fidei catholicae*), Anianus de  
 Celeda, Fastidius et Julien d'Eclane.

B. Italie du Nord et Illyrie

(150) XV. La Cisalpine: Introduction ; (151) *Constellation cisal-  
 pine autour d'Ambroise* ; (152) Rufin d'Aquilée.

C. Gaules et Espagnes (153)

(154) XII. Gaules ; (155) Mission et ascèse: (156) Vigilantius.

D. Afrique (157)

(158) XX. L'affermissement de la grande Église ; (159) Augus-  
 tin et son rayonnement: Les correspondants d'Augustin.

(160) Participation au t. VII du *NHLL*, à la demande de Willy  
 Schetter (lettre du 29 juin 1988).

Les contributions demandées à Yves-Marie Duval portaient sur:  
 (161) Cassiodore (§ 712.1) ; (162) Léon le grand, *Sermones* (740.3) ;  
 (163) Junilius Africanus (759.3) ; (164) Gennadius de Marseille  
 (768.1) ; (165) Honorat de Marseille ; (166) Musaeus de Marseille ;  
 (167) Vincentius presbyter.

Yves-Marie Duval souhaitait que fussent réunis plusieurs de ses  
 articles sur *Jérôme exégète*, projet en préparation par les soins de  
 Régis Courtray (Université de Toulouse) avec la collaboration  
 d'Aline Canellis (Université de Saint-Étienne), pour une publica-  
 tion à l'Institutum Augustinianum (Rome).

## TRADUCTIONS ET TRAVAUX RÉALISÉS

### AMBROISE :

169. *Oraison funèbre de Théodose*, introduction (inachevée), traduction  
 et commentaire étendu destinés à la collection Sources  
 Chrétiennes, dont je superviserai l'achèvement. Texte à  
 reprendre du *CSEL*, avec de menues corrections. Yves-

- Marie Duval avait réuni aussi un gros dossier sur « Théodose devant la postérité (VI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> s.) ».
170. *Oraison funèbre de Valentinien*, traduction et introduction (deux chapitres) dactylographiées et des éléments de commentaires sous forme d'un grand nombre de fiches manuscrites.
  171. *De obitu Satyri*: traduction dactylographiée du L. I, §§ 1-73 et fiches manuscrites.
  172. *Lettres aux empereurs (et à quelques autres destinataires)*: traduction et quelques éléments de commentaires, ayant fourni notamment le sujet de plusieurs séances de son séminaire de 2005-2006. Il s'agit des lettres suivantes, dans la nouvelle numérotation de Michaela ZELZER (CSEL 82, 3 [1982]), et entre parenthèses la numérotation des mauristes :
 

25 (53)	Ext. coll. 1 (51)
76 (20)	Ext. coll. 2 (61)
72a (17a)	Ext. coll. 3 (62)
73 (18)	Ext. coll. 10 (57)
74 (40)	Ext. coll. 12 (1)
75 (21)	Lettre de Gratien, <i>Cupio ualde</i>
75 a (21 a)	Lettre à Gratien
77 (22)	70 (56) à Théophile
  173. Extraits traduits du *De Fide* et du *De Spiritu sancto*.
  174. Chromace d'Aquilée : Yves-Marie Duval avait soigneusement relu une traduction de sermons faite par le R.P. Jean Lemarié († 2008), qui en avait publié le texte dans le *Corpus Christianorum*.
  175. Cyprien : trad. des § 3-7 de l'*Ad Donatum*. Voir aussi *infra*, le n° 260.
  176. Hugues de Breteuil (ou de Langres, † 1050), traduction de sa *Lettre à Bérenger sur les sacrements* (PL 142, 1325-1334) : 13 p. dact. et feuillets manuscrits, avec identification de citations. Ce travail fut demandé à Yves-Marie Duval par le Chanoine Jean-Charles Didier, son directeur de thèse de l'Institut catholique de Lille (lettre du 7.II.1971). Ce dernier publia, avec la collaboration de Mgr Philippe Delhay : « Hugues de Breteuil, évêque de Langres († 1050). Lettre à Bérenger de Tours sur la Présence réelle », *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 16 (1981), p. 289-331 (texte critique et traduction p. 312-331). Il ne semble pas qu'il soit fait la moindre mention du travail d'Yves-Marie Duval.
  177. Jean : *Lettre à Senarius*, traduction dactylographiée et commentaire pour le séminaire de l'Institut Catholique de Paris en 1993-1994. Édition prévue par les soins d'un liturgiste.

JÉRÔME : outre des chapitres préparatoires à une biographie :

178. Les *Commentaires sur les petits Prophètes* ont fourni le sujet de son séminaire du samedi matin pendant de nombreuses années. Il avait, à la suite de son édition de l'*In Ionam*, rassemblé une masse énorme de reproductions de manuscrits (plus de cinquante séries de reproductions), recueilli des collations et laissé une traduction complète, avec des éléments de commentaire sous forme de fiches, des traités suivants :
179. *In Michaeam*.
180. *In Malachiam* : le plus avancé, introduction (plan), commentaire (partie 1), des éléments d'apparat critique.
181. *In Sophoniam* : Aline Canellis, aidée de Pierre Jay, se propose de reprendre ces gros dossiers en vue d'une publication dans *Sources chrétiennes*.
182. *L'épître 22 à Eustochium (De uirginitate seruanda)*, texte, traduction et commentaire, sous presse dans la collection *Monastica* aux Éditions de Bellefontaine (transférées depuis janvier 2008 à l'Abbaye Sainte-Marie du Mont des Cats), un volume de près de 300 p. préparé pour l'impression par Patrick Laurence.
183. Paulin de Milan : *Vita Ambrosii* : l'ensemble du manuscrit, comportant une traduction et un abondant commentaire, avait été proposé à la Direction de *Vigiliae Christianae*. L'accord du Directeur était parvenu à Yves-Marie Duval le matin même de sa mort. Il désirait améliorer le texte, grâce à des collations complémentaires de manuscrits (notamment parisiens), l'édition de Michele Pellegrino lui paraissant insuffisante en plusieurs passages et l'édition de Antoon Bastiaensen n'étant pas véritablement une édition critique. J'ai retrouvé un appareil critique rédigé. Le texte avait fourni le sujet de son séminaire du samedi après-midi pendant plusieurs années jusqu'en 2005.
184. Pélage : *Liber de vita christiana* (CPL 730). Yves-Marie Duval était convaincu de l'authenticité de cet opuscule, et avait découvert un manuscrit carolingien où figurait le texte sous le nom de Pélage. La traduction pourrait paraître, par les soins de Benoît Jeanjean (Université de Brest), dans un recueil de ses articles relatifs au cercle des pélagiens, recueil

dont il avait exprimé le souhait le 17.II.2007, regrettant de n'avoir pu jusqu'alors en rédiger l'introduction.

185. Autres textes de Pélagé traduits :

186. *Ep. ad Demetriadem, De diuina lege, Ep. ad Claudiam de uirginitate, Ad Celantiam, Ad matremfamilias* (CPL<sup>3</sup> 737, 740, 741, 745 ; 755 : voir l'article de 1993 dans les *Textes rassemblés en hommage à Michel Spanneut*).

187. Themistios : traduction des discours d'après une édition in f° du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle (Jean Hardouin, Paris, 1684?), p. 63-71 ; 8 p. manuscrites : 8, *Quinquennalis Valentiniano dicta* (22 p. dact.) ; 10, *De pace ad Valentem* (17 p. dact.). Cet ensemble m'a semblé faire partie d'un dossier sur Athanaric et le traité de Noviodunum.

188. Zénon de Vérone : traduction (uniquement manuscrite) de *tractatus*<sup>2</sup> :

*De auaritia*, 5 p.

*Iob*, 5 p.

*De iustitia*, I, 3, 2 p.

*De Iona*, 6 p.

*De genesi contra Arianos*, 17 p.

*Isaïa*, II, 22, 13 p.

*De natiuitate*, 4 p.

*Mort. ad fontem*, II, 30, 8 p.

*De Abraham*, 14 p.

*Ad neophytos*, II, 28, 13 p.

*De somno Iacob*, 8 p.

*Pâques* 1, II, 45, 10 p.

*De Iuda*, 8 p.

*Exode* 1, II, 54, 9 p.

*Daniel*, II, 69, 9 p.

#### ARTICLES ET TRAVAUX COMMENCÉS

Nous pensons rendre service en répertoriant ci-après les travaux dont nous avons trouvé la trace dans ses dossiers, nous efforçant de donner une idée de leur importance et de leur présentation. Assez souvent, une datation n'est guère possible, aussi avons-nous opté pour un classement thématique ou par nom d'auteur ancien, dans toute la mesure du possible. Les guillemets indiquent que le titre est de l'auteur ; dans le cas contraire, il est de nous.

<sup>2</sup> Dans une lettre du 21.VIII.1963, le R.P. Claude Mondésert, directeur de l'Institut des Sources chrétiennes, proposa à Yves-Marie Duval de se charger de l'édition des *tractatus* de Zénon, mais le 10.XI.1966, l'invitation était partiellement modifiée du fait du projet éditorial de Bengt Löfstedt dans le *Corpus Christianorum*. Les traductions indiquées ci-dessus doivent dater des années 1963-1966.

189. Révision d'une notice « Hilarius 1, episcopus Pictaviensis », de toute évidence destinée à la *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire. Gaule*.
190. Comparaison des *Épîtres aux Éphésiens* et aux *Colossiens*.
191. *Psalmi-|psalmo-graphus*.
192. *Sapere ad sobrietatem*.
193. Tristesse de Jonas et tristesse de Jésus devant le sort d'Israël.
194. AMBROISE, 385-386.
195. Saint Ambroise et l'homélie *Attende tibi* de saint Basile.
196. La première et la dernière mention d'Ambroise par Augustin en Afrique.
197. La mort d'Ambroise (plan d'article pour un volume de *Mélanges*).
198. Le *De officiis d'Ambroise* : exposé fait à la Journée organisée à Lyon à l'Institut des Sources chrétiennes en décembre 2006.
199. Matériaux Ambroise. Ambroise parle en évêque, mais il parle aussi en aristocrate romain (4 p. rédigées à l'ordinateur, avec un développement sur Ambroise et les juifs).
200. L'Ambrosiaster et la collection latine d'Eusèbe d'Émèse.
201. Saint AUGUSTIN et saint Ambroise. Le contact des œuvres.
202. Le sermon *Mayence* (27 ?) d'Augustin sur l'incident d'Antioche entre Paul et Pierre. La valeur des prescriptions rituelles de la loi à l'époque chrétienne (plan et 22 p. rédigées).
203. Un épisode de la fin du paganisme : la prédiction de la ruine de l'Égypte païenne de l'*Asclépios* et la prophétie de Saturninus [hiérophante ?] chez Eunape de Sardes (introduction rédigée et nombreuses fiches).
204. BASILE de Césarée et les richesses. Attitudes chrétiennes et influences profanes, philosophiques.
205. Basile-Tertullien (quelques lignes, avec un renvoi au dossier *De ieiunio*).
206. Les Cappadociens et l'Occident.
207. Eucher de Lyon, *De laude eremi*.
208. La résurrection de la chair dans l'Espagne du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle : Grégoire d'Elvire et Tertullien (quelques pages rédigées).
209. Les invectives contre Julien de Grégoire de Nazianze et les historiens ecclésiastiques postérieurs.
210. [Dossier] sur l'influence ou la réception d'HILAIRE DE POITIERS, v<sup>e</sup>-vi<sup>e</sup> s.

211. Le témoignage du *Liber precum* sur le concile de Rimini et l'attitude d'Hilaire.
212. Saint Irénée : l'*Adversus haereses* d'Irénée comme défense de l'homme entier.
213. JEAN CHRYSOSTOME en Occident (esquisse).
214. Saint JÉRÔME lecteur de saint Ambroise (10-11 mai 1968) (4 p. manuscrites rédigées et quelques notes).
215. Jérôme devant le messianisme juif de son temps. Les oracles des nations et l'opposition juive à Rome.
216. Nouvelles lettres de Jérôme? (l'introduction seule est rédigée). Cet article, prévu pour la *RHT* ou la *RBén*, se proposait d'analyser le contenu du manuscrit de Porto, Santa Cruz 9 (s. XII).
217. Jérôme, *Contre Jovinien*: sa réception du VI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (Bossuet).
218. Jérôme et Rhéticius d'Autun (esquisse de plan).
219. Nouveaux éléments pour la datation de l'*Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* de Jérôme.
220. Jérôme et <sa> méthode (sur *commentaire* et *traité*, esquisse).
221. Jérôme. Recueil (esquisse sur la méthode de travail de Jérôme).
222. Jérôme et Apollinaire (quelques lignes).
223. Jérôme et Lactance : qui est le *Cicéron chrétien* ?.
224. Jérôme et les Juifs (esquisse).
225. Jérôme et l'Espagne (esquisse).
226. Jérôme traducteur de la Bible : exposé fait le 7.XII.2000 dans le cadre du Cycle de conférences thématiques de l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes, *Les traductions au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance* : journée consacrée aux *Traductions médiévales de la Bible : méthodes, transmission, correction* (résumé, 3 p. rédigées plan et notes).
227. Le traité de paix de Jovien avec les Perses en 363.
228. JULIEN chez les chrétiens occidentaux (Jérôme, Ambroise, Rufin, Augustin, Orose), prévu en février 2005 pour un volume de *Mélanges*.
229. La loi scolaire de l'empereur Julien.
230. Le retentissement de l'action de Julien en Occident à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle.
231. Gaudence de Brescia et saint LÉON (prolongement d'un article de C. R. NORCOCK, paru dans le *Journal of Theological Studies* 15 (1913-1915), p. 593-596 ; semble une version développée



- de l'article de 1960 (*supra*, n. 3), avec 2 p. manuscrites et 15 p.dact.)
232. Les fragments du *Contre Porphyre* de MÉTHODE d'Olympe (traduction et étude).
233. David et *uerus David* chez PAULIN DE NOLE.
234. Paulin de Nole entre Pélage et Augustin vers 405.
235. Comment rendre plus accessible la correspondance de Paulin de Nole.
236. Le tombeau de Félix et ses consultants (esquisse de plan).
237. Paulin de Nole et l'aristocratie romaine (esquisse de plan).
238. Paulin de Nole et le baptême (esquisse de plan).
239. Paulin de Nole, Sulpice Sévère et Vigilance (esquisse de plan).
240. Paulin et PÉLAGE (une petite partie est rédigée; ailleurs, indications de plan).
241. Sur la correspondance d'Augustin avec Pélage.
242. Pélage et le commentaire de Jérôme sur l'*Épître aux Éphésiens*.
243. Pélage et les *Sentences de Sextus* (gros dossier, une partie rédigée, dont 2 p. dact.).
244. Pélage et l'aristocratie de son temps (2 p. rédigées).
245. Le 'paradis des pélagiens' (Augustin, *C. Julianum opus imperfectum*).
246. Le commentaire de 1 Cor. 7 chez Pélage. L'*In primam epist. ad Cor.* 7 et la *Lettre à Celantia*, 28-30.
247. La 'lettre à une mère de famille' de Pélage: authenticité, date et sources (2 p. sur le texte acéphale [CPL 755], étudié dans les *Textes rassemblés en hommage à Michel Spanneut* en 1993). Cf. *supra*, n° 82.
248. Le synode de Diospolis de décembre 415. La mise en accusation de Pélage à Diospolis en décembre 415 (3 p.).
249. Élite (1 p.; Pélage s'adressait-il à une élite? Yves-Marie Duval répond négativement).
250. Pélage: qu'est-ce qu'être chrétien? (sous-titres de cette esquisse d'une demi page: l'essence du christianisme selon Pélage; l'identité chrétienne selon Pélage).
251. RUFIN, articles en attente (document d'une page énumérant une série de neuf sujets, dont deux sont un peu développés: 'destin d'un homme à la frontière des temps comme des empires'; 'Rufin et les conciles du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle'; voir *infra*).
252. L'*Apologie à Anastase* (CPL 198).
253. Saint Pierre chez Rufin.
254. Rufin et les Anicii (esquisse).

255. Rufin et les conciles du iv<sup>e</sup> siècle.
256. Rufin et l'*Expositio symboli*.
257. Symmaque, *Relationes* sur l'autel de la Victoire.
258. Le culte des reliques en Italie du Nord (tableau synoptique par lieux ; fiches).
259. Milan 2007 : la poésie des psaumes et le génie latin (projet d'article en quelques lignes).
260. *Vita S. Cypriani*, par le diacre Pontius : projet (fin des années 70?), retrouvé le 11 avril 2008, d'une monographie d'ensemble sur saint Cyprien, comprenant notamment une traduction dactylographiée des chapitres 4 à 15.

Nous n'indiquons pas les sujets de séminaires assurés par Yves-Marie Duval soit à l'Institut catholique de Paris (voir cependant *supra*, p. 393 note 5), soit à l'Université de Paris Nanterre, soit en Sorbonne. Il en avait dressé une liste manuscrite succincte.

Les dossiers de toute nature laissés par Yves-Marie Duval – préparations de cours et de séminaires, dossiers en rapport avec des livres ou articles publiés, travaux inédits et projets énumérés plus haut – (à l'exception de ceux qui ont été confiés aux chercheurs chargés de mener à leur terme les éditions laissées inachevées), ainsi que sa bibliothèque, seront déposés à l'Abbaye bénédictine, 3 rue de la Source, F-75016 Paris, où l'on pourra les consulter sur demande (classement et inventaire en cours).

#### AUDIOVISUEL

261. Yves-Marie avait participé, comme « conseiller latiniste » à la réalisation d'un film de Dominique Delouche, *Les Trois sœurs provençales : le Thoronet, Sénanque, Silvacane. Textes de saint Benoît, saint Bernard, Suger (...)*, Paris, Mondial/Dixia Vidéo, 1989, une vidéocassette de 27 mm, consultable dans les bibliothèques de Lettres & Droit des Universités de Besançon et Reims (notice de SUDOC). Nous n'avons rien retrouvé dans les papiers qui se rapporte à cette réalisation.

# Recensions d'ouvrages effectuées par Yves-Marie Duval Une sélection

par  
Michel COZIC  
(*La Rochelle*)

Chargé du choix – forcément limité et arbitraire – des recensions d'ouvrages (plus de 400 à ce jour) effectuées par le regretté Yves-Marie Duval, je fais part ici de deux constatations qui m'ont frappé au cours de ma lecture de ces recensions :

D'abord un grand souci du lecteur moyen, qu'il ne faut pas rebuter par un langage trop spécialisé, sans pour autant sacrifier l'acribie – parfois redoutable – dont sut toujours faire preuve Yves-Marie Duval.

Ensuite, une présence, toujours discrète, de l'homme de convictions qu'il était ; parmi d'autres citations possibles, je relève celle-ci à la fin d'une recension du livre de Rowan Allen Greer : « *Broken lights and mended lives* », au titre significatif par rapport à ce qu'Yves-Marie Duval aurait pu encore apporter comme lumières ; il dit en effet :

« L'auteur n'est d'ailleurs pas seulement tourné vers le passé. Se trouve posée pour chacun aujourd'hui la question de savoir comment son salut par le Christ influence sa vie familiale, communautaire, politique, participe ou anticipe la vision de Dieu, qui seul est la lumière transcendant toute lumière. » (*RecSR*, 77 [1989], p. 596-597 ; *infra*, n° 311).

Cette remarque ne récapitule-t-elle pas en quelque sorte l'homme, le savant et le chrétien qu'Yves-Marie Duval s'efforça d'être durant toute sa vie ?

Cette présentation insiste, dans une première partie, sur des recensions de la Patrologie Latine et Grecque à travers des revues de portée nationale et internationale, et signale, dans une seconde partie, parmi d'autres disciplines, l'intérêt d'Yves-Marie Duval pour la littérature et l'archéologie.

Yves-Marie Duval n'avait pas laissé de liste de ses recensions. Son ordinateur en contenait une quarantaine. *L'Année philologique* en ligne, interrogée par « auteur de comptes rendus », n'en a livré que 68. Les livraisons d'*Esprit et Vie* (pas de tables à ma connaissance) en ont fourni en outre un bien plus grand nombre, d'ampleur et d'importance comparables à celles de revues de premier plan. Il n'a pas été possible non plus, faute de temps, de répertorier systématiquement ses contributions au Bulletin augustinien de la *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes* [et *Patristiques*], quoique parfois Yves-Marie Duval ait consacré à certains articles de longs comptes rendus assortis de discussions fouillées.

Les sections proposées ci-après s'inspirent des subdivisions établies par Yves-Marie Duval dans les « Bulletins de patristique latine » qu'il a donnés dans les *Recherches de science religieuse*. De quelques ouvrages, Yves-Marie a donné plusieurs comptes rendus : il en a été fait mention autant que possible, mais sous une seule entrée. Enfin, on n'a pas pu déterminer à quelle revue avaient été envoyées quelques recensions assez récentes, retrouvées sur son ordinateur.

#### RECHERCHES DE SCIENCE RELIGIEUSE (*RecSR*)

*RecSR*, 77, 4 (1989), p. 567-601 : Éditions de textes (300-306) ; études d'auteurs et d'ensemble (307-315)

300. Tertullien, *Exhortation à la chasteté* (*Exhortatio castitatis*), par Cl. MORESCHINI et J.-Cl. FREDOUILLE, Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1985 (*SChr*, 319), 224 p.
301. St Cyprian of Carthage, *Letters of St Cyprian of Carthage*, I: 1-27, by G. W. CLARKE, New York, Newman Press, 1984 (*Ancient Christian Writers*, 43), iv-380 p.
302. Lactance, *Institutions divines*, Livres I-II, par P. MONAT, Paris, Éd. du Cerf, 1986-1987 (*SChr*, 326-337), 280 et 240 p.
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# Index à la bibliographie et aux recensions d'Yves-Marie Duval

par  
Benoît GAIN  
(Grenoble)

Sont relevés les noms des auteurs anciens et les noms géographiques. Pour les thèmes et sujets, nous ne prétendons pas à l'exhaustivité et toute sélection est en partie subjective. Ne sont pas répétées les entrées des articles dans les deux recueils qui reprennent ceux-ci. Nous avons dû renoncer à répertorier les noms d'auteurs modernes (auteurs des ouvrages recensés par Yves-Marie Duval ou qui ont recensé ses travaux), à l'exception de ceux qui figurent dans les *titres* de ses propres travaux.

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*Résumé*

Deux doctorats successifs, en théologie catholique et en lettres, forment l'assise qui permit à Y.-M. Duval de déployer ses recherches dans des domaines variés (centrés cependant sur la Cisalpine aux <sup>iv</sup><sup>e</sup>-<sup>v</sup><sup>e</sup> siècles) et d'exceller en codicologie, philologie, histoire littéraire, géographie historique, iconographie, et surtout peut-être en histoire de l'exégèse. Non seulement Jérôme, mais Ambroise, Rufin, Pélage, Augustin et même Hilaire, Origène et Tertullien ont été ses auteurs de prédilection. Ses collègues et disciples, auteurs des articles, montrent, chacun dans sa spécialité, quels progrès décisifs les travaux de M. Duval ont fait accomplir à la connaissance de ces auteurs et de leur environnement, culturel, doctrinal et ecclésial. Cette série d'analyses se clôt par la bibliographie d'Y.-M. Duval, en principe complète, comprenant en outre la liste (établie d'après le dépouillement de ses dossiers) des travaux interrompus par la maladie ou seulement esquissés, un large choix de recensions et enfin un index des auteurs et des matières.

# CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM

## LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE

The Sint-Annaconvent in the beguinage of Turnhout houses the CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM – LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE or CCBK (the Dutch acronym for *Corpus Christianorum – Bibliotheek en Kenniscentrum\**). This centre manages and develops a specialized research library of over 25,000 books and current journals, primarily for the study of Christian texts from the Patristic period and the Middle Ages, transmitted in Latin and Greek. It is also a knowledge centre, where the editorial team of *Corpus Christianorum* oversees numerous projects for the editing of texts and studies on the Christian cultural heritage, and where the Centre ‘*Traditio Litterarum Occidentaliū*’ offers computer-assisted research into Latin language and literature.

The CCBK aims to be a lively place of support for scholars with interests and specialisms in the field. The official opening of the new site took place on Saturday 7 June 2008. One week before, CCBK hosted, as its very first activity, an international conference on Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum*.

### *Ministerium Sermonis*

#### Recent Contributions to the Research of the *Sermones ad Populum* of Augustine

On May 29-31, 2008, the research units *History of Church and Theology* and *Literary Studies: Latin Literature* of the Catholic University Leuven organized an international conference on Augustine’s *Sermones ad populum* in collaboration with the Scientific Committee of the *Series Latina* of the *Corpus Christianorum* (Brepols Publishers), the *Revue bénédictine* (Maredsous) and the

\* CORPVS CHRISTIANORVM – LIBRARY & KNOWLEDGE CENTRE, Begijnhof 37, B-2300 Turnhout (Belgium): <http://www.corpuschristianorum.org/ccbk/ccbk.html>.

*Augustinian Historical Institute* (Heverlee). The conference, called *Ministerium sermonis*, took place on Thursday and Friday 29-30 May at the *Corpus Christianorum Library & Knowledge Centre* (Sint-Annaconvent, Turnhout) and on Saturday 31 May in the 'Louis Janssens Room' of the Holy Spirit College (*Catholic University Leuven*). It brought together scholars who have recently made important contributions to the study of Augustine's work in general and his preaching in particular, as well as specialists in the field of Early Christian homiletics and text editions. The conference was chaired by Rita Beyers on behalf of *Corpus Christianorum* and Mathijs Lamberts on behalf of the *Catholic University Leuven*. Gert Partoens and Anthony Dupont were the organizers of this conference, the proceedings of which will be published in the Series *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*.

The *sermones ad populum* are a part of Augustine's work that deserves more attention, especially in its relation to the rest of the Augustinian *corpus*. Frequently studied topics are the transmission of the sermons, the bishop's homiletic methodology, his use of Scripture and classical rhetoric, his view on the episcopate, his theology of proclamation and his opinions about the cult of the martyrs. Augustine's sermons also serve as an invaluable source for the study of the North African Church and its liturgical practices at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. The dating and the chronology of the sermons have likewise been the object of many publications. As a matter of fact, they are still much debated. In any case, several important lacunas can be detected in the study of the *sermones*. One important element that demands more discussion is the specific way in which Augustine's preaching deals with divine grace and other theological issues. Research of this kind is of the utmost importance because the sermons not only reveal Augustine's pastoral and spiritual intentions, but also the way in which the bishop translated his often complex theories for an actual public. Another important theme which awaits further study concerns the sermons' intended audiences and the way in which the interaction with them influenced Augustine's expositions with respect to content and style. Further, it should be stressed that many *sermones* can only be consulted in a 300 year old edition. The organizers of the conference aimed at



giving systematic research on these texts a renewed impulse. Three important topics were studied in the several lectures and the subsequent discussions: the transmission of Augustine's sermons, the dating and chronology of the sermons, Augustine's argumentation (doctrine, exegesis and rhetoric).

Clemens Weidmann opened the conference with *The Recently Discovered Erfurt-Corpus of Augustinian Sermons*. During her work on manuscripts in Eastern Germany libraries as part of the project 'The manuscript tradition of the works of Saint Augustine' carried out by the Church Father Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Isabella Schiller came across a remarkable manuscript. The codex Erfurt, Univ. bibl. Dep. Erf. CA. 12°11, written in the twelfth century, consists of three collections of sermons. The first section contains sermons of Caesarius and Ps.-Chrysostom for Lent, the second section sermons from different epochs mainly for feast-days in September, and finally the third section twenty eight sermons which are, apart from two texts, attributed to Augustine and are for the major part authentic. This Augustinian section comprises not only some sermons transmitted very rarely (partly complete, partly in an abridged form), but also six new texts, four of which are completely new, two partially unknown. These six sermons will be edited in *Wiener Studien* 121 (2008) and 122 (2009). This paper dealt with the composition and the structure of the Erfurt collection and compared this one with other late-antique and early-medieval collections of Augustine's sermons including the *Indiculum*. Parallel texts, quotations, and other evidence suggest that this *corpus* was put together in the 6th/7th century in southern Italy and that old African material was included. Palaeographical details as well as striking parallels with English manuscripts such as the homiliary of Worcester (Cath. Libr. F. 93; from this codex Wilmarit edited some unknown Augustinian sermons) are strong arguments for the hypothesis that the sermons were transmitted via England.

Dorothea Weber introduced these recently discovered sermons in her paper *The New Erfurt Augustinian Sermons: Contents, Argumentations, and Questions of Authenticity*. Regarding the content, she observed that two of the sermons are on saints (Erfurt 1: Perpetua and Felicitas, Erfurt 6: Cyprian), one on the resurrection of the dead (Erfurt 5), and three on alms-giving (Erfurt 2, 3, 4). Erfurt 1 and Erfurt 4 are complete versions of what was up to now known only in fragments, the remaining four are entirely new.

From the sermon on Cyprian (Erfurt 6) only the beginning and the end are preserved, the middle part is missing. Weber argued for the authenticity of these Erfurt *sermones*. For each sermon there is clear evidence of authenticity from style (rhyme, assonance, play on words, etc.) resp. from biblical quotations differing from the Vulgate. Furthermore, Erfurt 2, 3, 4 are attested as authentic by Possidius' *Indiculum*, where they are listed in the same order. The last part of the paper dealt with the concept of *misericordia* as contained in Erfurt 2, 3, and 4, and discussed the problem of whether these sermons were delivered one after the other.

Luc De Coninck, *Expériences d'une équipe de chercheurs ayant pris le relais pour continuer l'édition Lambot*, presented the new edition of the *sermones in Matthaeum* 51-70A edited by Bertrand Coppieiers 't Wallant, Luc De Coninck, and Roland Demeulenaere in the *Series Latina* of *Corpus Christianorum* (CCSL 41 Aa). De Coninck first elaborated on the pre-existing critical editions and on the extensive dossier composed by dom C. Lambot regarding these sermons. Secondly, certain aspects of the textual criticism used by these editors were explained. Principally, the manuscripts with authentic titles and/or the manuscripts that most respect the original order of the sermons should be privileged. Sometimes, however, the texts are modified (*De paenitentia* collection), or there are equivalent traditions (Cluny collection). CCSL 41Aa gives an evaluation of the important collections. If there are no well established witnesses, the nature of the sources and the applied textual criticism are stated in the *monita* above the sermons. Regarding the chronology of the twenty-nine newly edited sermons in CCSL 41Aa, De Coninck observes: six are datable (year, period, *terminus ante* or *post quem*), ten can be situated in a broader period, the arguments used traditionally to date seven others should be re-evaluated, six sermons do not have any chronological indication.

Thomas Martin, '*Si consideremus, fratres ...*' (*sermo* 163.1) : *Augustine's preaching as a modus inueniendi*, asked the question: can preaching be considered a *modus inueniendi*? In Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* a model is proposed that envisions the exegetical task as two-fold: there is a first phase, the *modus inueniendi*, where the truth of scripture is uncovered; this is followed by a second phase, the *modus proferendi*, where the truth already found is now sought to be communicated effectively. The model seems to be clearly prioritised: first *modus inueniendi*, then *modus proferendi* – a linear hierarchy is set out. However, perhaps in reality, the dynamic flow

from *inueniendi* to *proferendi* is more complicated. Martin proposed various aspects, essential to the nature of Augustine's preaching situation, which could point to this opposite flow (the juxtaposition of diverse readings, its dialogical make-up, its sacramental character, etc.), and suggested that preaching (*modus proferendi*) of itself has the potential to be a *modus inueniendi*. Based upon these preliminary considerations, Martin then turned to *sermo* 163 as a test case. It is a Pauline sermon preached by Augustine in September of 417, in a former pagan temple, now Christian church, in Carthage. Augustine acknowledges the scriptural text of the day as Galatians 5, 16-21, though it would have been complemented by a responsorial psalm and gospel. Various striking aspects of the *sermo* were explored for their potential to impact upon exegesis: an emphasis on the "now," the persistent themes of *aedificatio* and *certamen*, rhetorical devices that seem to be bearers of "persuasive power," etc. The *sermo* concludes in the grand style, culminating somewhat unexpectedly with a text from Romans 7, 24-25. In the analysis of the *sermo* the principal question raised is whether preaching such as this played a part in Augustine's shift from seeing Romans 7 as a *sub lege* text to his eventual conviction that it is a *sub gratia* text. The conclusion of this contribution returned to the question with which it began: can the *modus proferendi* of preaching have exegetical potential, can it be a *modus inueniendi*. Martin suggested an answer in the affirmative.

Paul Tombeur, *Saint Augustin dans l'environnement informatique actuel. Possibilités de recherche et problématique générale*, emphasised the need for having the necessary instruments to consult the *ipsissima uerba* of patristic authors in theological or philosophical interpretations and translations of these writers. *The Library of Latin Texts Online* aims at providing these tools. Tombeur gave an introduction into this project and showed how to use its facilities.

Hildegund Müller gave the following lecture: *Tractatus in Iohannis evangelium: On the liturgical context and the literary structure*. Augustine's *Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis* belong to the genre of the homiletic commentary, which often overlooks the fact that they actually started out as a series of *sermones ad populum*. In view of his sermon production as a whole, Augustine's homiletic commentaries can by no means be regarded as a matter of course; they rather seem to be an interesting, and well-planned, exception from his habits that must be explained in the context both of patristic literary production and of specific pastoral needs. The interpretation

of a continuous series of readings is even more remarkable because of the temporal coincidence of this series with two others, the *Enarrationes in psalmos graduum* and the *Tractatus in epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos*. Müller presented a consistent view of this threefold series of exegetical homilies, the historical and liturgical circumstances of their deliverance and the possible conception behind them. In particular, the role of the catechumenate in the conception of the sermons was explained. While the homiletic concept of *Tractatus in evangelium Iohannis* may not have succeeded the way Augustine planned, it certainly formed the rhetorical style and the didactic attitude of the whole cycle of *Tractatus*, whether preached or dictated, as was shown in some examples. The question of the absolute date of the sermons was discussed, on the basis of the sequence of *En. Ps.* 119-133, *Io. eu. tr.* 1-16 and *In Iohannis Epistolam ad Parthos Tractatus Decem* 1-8.

Hubertus Drobner, *Weihnachten, Neujahr und Epiphanie in Hippo: Festgehalt und -umstände* (*Sermones* 184-204A, 369-370, 373-375), dealt with six theses. (1) Augustine is convinced that the 25<sup>th</sup> December is Christ's historical birthday. Being God He chose the date for himself because of its solar symbolism. This may provide an explanation for the origins of Christmas ('calculation hypothesis'). (2) Augustine's Christmas sermons do not support the so-called 'apologetic hypothesis' for the explanation of the origins of Christmas. It is true that they are very anti-heretically minded and frequently quote the Nicene Creed. However, there may be other sacramental and catechetical reasons for this because Augustine does not intend to explain the origins of Christmas anywhere in his sermons. (3) The fact that Augustine does not mention Epiphany in his letters 54, 1 and 55, 2 to Ianuarius (c. 400) does not mean that it does 'not belong to the most important celebrations of Christian mysteries' (against Martin Klöckener, *Epiphania, Augustinus Lexikon*, 2 (1996-2002), c. 862). (4) The context of *sermo* 202, 2 rather suggests that the Donatists did not celebrate Epiphany at all than that they celebrated it on another day than the Catholic church (against Fr. Dolbeau, *Augustin d'Hippone, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, Paris, 1996, 585 f., n. 21). (5) One may not draw any conclusions from this fact regarding the celebration of Christmas by the Donatists nor formulate hypotheses about the historical origin of the liturgical feast of Christmas (against H. Förster, *Die Feier der Geburt Christi in der Alten Kirche. Beiträge zur Erforschung der Anfänge des Epiphanie- und des Weihnachtsfests*, Tü-

bingen, 2000, p. 107-109). (6) The conclusion that in North Africa (Hippo) "... the beginning of the year ... was also celebrated by Christians, lest the day was left to the pagan feast of the Calends" is not sufficiently supported by the sources available (against V. H. Drecoll, *Augustin Handbuch*, Tübingen, 2007, p. 230). Drobner ended his contribution with three unresolved questions. (1) Why did Augustine preach on New Year's Day? (a) Because Eucharist was celebrated daily? (b) Because the octave of Christmas was celebrated? (c) Only when New Year's Day and Sunday coincided? Or, (d) because he is a guest preacher outside Hippo? (2) Who celebrated the pagan New Year's rites? (a) Christians and pagans together or (b) also purely Christian communities? It is certainly not a merely literary reminiscence (against J. Scheid, *Les réjouissances des calendes de janvier d'après le sermon Dolbeau 26, Augustin prédicateur (395-411)*, Paris, 1998, p. 354). (3) May the substantial differences between the two augustinian sermons on New Year's Day be used for identifying the *auditoria*, the dates, and thus historical development of the feast?

Paul van Geest, in his contribution '*Si comprehendis, non est Deus*' (*sermo 117*). *The Merging of Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy and Negativity in Augustine's Preaching*, explained that Augustine refused to resign himself to the notion that God was so mysterious as to preclude the possibility of saying anything about him at all. He admittedly acknowledged in *sermo 117* that he preferred to remain silent about God, and his awareness of the incomprehensibility and ineffability of God even led him to credit an image derived from Arianism with some significance. On closer inspection Augustine in fact presupposes the negation of any claim of knowing God as a precondition for credible propositional discourse about him. *Sermo 117* is also proof that it is impossible to maintain the theory that Augustine weakened apophatic theology with his dogmatic assertion. In fact the opposite is true. In this sermon he shows pre-eminently that affirmative and negative speaking about God are inextricably connected to each other and as such greatly add to the value of the other. In *sermo 117* he actually expands on the difficulties resulting from speaking affirmatively about God. It might also be inferred that Augustine did not really feel the Arians to be a threat to the unity of the *Catholica* (the universal, undivided, Catholic Church). If the danger was present that the 'heresy' could actually have led to a schism, as he thought was the case with the Pelagians, his tone would probably have been much

more decisive. As soon as the unity of the church was at stake, he proved to be much more reluctant to emphasise the incomprehensibility of God. The measure of Augustine's doubt and uncertainty seemed to depend on the measure in which he perceived the unity of the church to be at peril. What can be discerned from *sermo* 117 is that the uncertainty which is the necessary consequence of the incomprehensibility of God did not fail to leave its mark on the man Augustine. Van Geest concluded that every attempt of Augustine to speak thematically about God is in fact an attempt to remain silent about him.

Anthony Dupont demonstrated, in *Gratia fidei in the Anti-Pelagian Sermones ad Populum. Sermones 143 and 144: the Rare Appearance of John 16, 7-11*, that John 16, 7-11 – and in particular the explanation of the triptych *peccatum, iustitia, iudicium* – only occurs three times in the oeuvre of Augustine. The elaboration of these three concepts in *sermo* 143 – not believing in Christ, *spiritualiter* believing Christ, actively resisting the devil – suggests that within the framework of faith as a gift of grace, there is still a special aspect to the human role in faith. *Sermo* 144 generally puts more emphasis on the divine *gratia*, while specifically explaining *peccatum, iustitia, iudicium*, especially by connecting *iustitia* to the Lord's *ascensio*. From this perspective, the interpretation of *iustitia* in *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* 94-95 (namely believing in the no-longer-visible Christ and recognizing one's own sinfulness) dovetails more with *sermo* 143, despite the links indicated by A. Kunzelmann (*Die Chronologie der Sermones des Hl. Augustinus*, Rome, 1931) and M. F. Berrouard (*Homélies sur l'Évangile de Saint Jean LV-LXXIX*, Paris, 1993) between these tractates on John and *sermo* 144. Also interesting is that one can find the only significant link regarding the content of these sermons within the anti-pelagian *corpus* in *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*, situated at the beginning of the Pelagian Controversy (411). There, on the one hand, one has the task to believe in the non-visible Christ, and on the other, it is pointed out that Christ's Ascension makes this faith possible. A second general conclusion could be drawn regarding the thesis that faith – *initium fidei* and *perseuerantia* – is grace, without excluding human will, and is present in the anti-pelagian homiletics in general and more specifically in the *sermones* 143 and 144, however not in the same clear and explicit way as in the anti-pelagian tractates. Perhaps this can partly account for the fact that Augustine in his *sermones* wishes to exhort

his audience to hold the (correct) faith rather than to give a description of the (*gratia*-)nature of this *fides*. Regarding *sermones* 143 and 144, this observation can support situating these sermons at the beginning of the Pelagian Controversy. Secondly, we can also observe that *sermo* 144 puts more emphasis on grace in general and more of a specific emphasis on faith. This can suggest a date for *sermo* 144 later than *sermo* 143, but not necessarily, since the theme of *gratis gratia* can already be found in the early writings of Augustine.

Robert Dodaro delivered a paper entitled *Preaching on Non-violence: Augustine of Hippo in Sermo 302*. Augustine's confidence in the power of language as a fundamental means for the promotion of justice in society is a consistent, major theme throughout *sermo* 302. Dodaro examined four key discourses or dialogues that interact with each other and with other more marginal discourses in *sermo* 302. They appear in the sermon as follows: (1) Lawrence's dialogue with his persecutors, found at §8; (2) Christ's dialogue with the Pharisees and scribes who wanted to stone the adulteress to death (Ioh. 8), found at §14; (3) Augustine's dialogue with a fictional interlocutor, found at §16; (4) the dialogue that Augustine proposes between his congregants and their families, found at §19. The number of discourses on non-violence and the various levels (divine, historic, contemporary) at which they interact in this sermon is illustrated by, but not limited to, these four key instances. These discourses, considered in tandem with each other, provide the sermon with a unity that cannot be appreciated without awareness of them. They also find parallel applications in other of Augustine's *sermones ad populum*, as well as in his preaching on the Psalms and on John's Gospel. Scholars who wish to study Augustine's social ethics have, in his sermons, a rich field for cultivation, which has heretofore been largely neglected. Dodaro expressed his hope that the method he has illustrated in his paper will contribute to this further study.

In his contribution *Sermo 154A on the background of Augustine's preaching in Carthage 416-418* Volker Henning Drecoll focussed on Augustine's exegesis of Rom. 7, 14-25 in *sermo* 154A. More specifically he challenged J. Lössl's view, according to which this sermon equates the 'speaking I' of Rom. 7, 14-25 with humanity in general (see *CCSL* 41 Ba, p. xlii). According to Drecoll, the sermon presupposes that the first person singular confessing his infirmity and sinfulness in Rom. 7, 14-25 is identical with the apos-

tle Paul himself. If this interpretation of Augustine's exegesis of the Pauline pericope in *sermo* 154A is correct, Drecoll concluded, the sermon has to be dated to around 417 or later. During his presentation, Drecoll also challenged the conjecture *facio quia* in the most recent edition of *sermo* 154A, 1 (CCSL 41 Ba, p. 175, ll. 8-9), proposing the readings *est in me* or *est* instead.

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, *Les cantiques bibliques dans l'homilétique africaine*, asked the question what was the place of the biblical canticles in African preaching. As his point of departure, Bogaert observed that Augustine extensively commented the psalms in his preaching, but rarely did this with other biblical canticles – which are poetic compositions comparable to the psalms and dispersed throughout other books of the Old and New Testament. The earliest witnesses are found in Augustine's sermons, but they are rare and specific to the Easter vigil. The Donatists were preaching on some of the biblical canticles in their liturgy, and later Quodvultdeus gave a sermon on the Canticle of the Vineyard (Is 5) but not in a paschal context. As to the commentaries of Verecundus, they are not sermons, but they provide clear evidence that the biblical canticles became a common appendix to the Psalter in the sixth century. The *Verona Psalter* and the *Sinai Psalter* show similarities that allow a reconstruction of an African source. The fact that the Canticle of Jonas soon appears in a text influenced by Jerome's translation may be put in relation with the event in Oea, reported by Augustine. Visigothic Spain made extensive use of biblical canticles. Was it based on an African use? This question is well founded; the answer, however, is not available.

After a brief and systematic overview of Augustine's homiletic use of Phil. 3, 3-16, Gert Partoens, *Philological considerations on Augustine's homiletic use of Phil. 3, 3-16*, focussed on the most important homilies on these verses, viz. *sermones* 169 and 170. He discussed in particular Kunzelmann's dating of both sermons (respectively 416 and 417), which is not, in contrast to what is commonly assumed, based on an inaccurate argumentation. Next, Partoens presented two passages of *sermo* 169 which have often been misinterpreted and have – in his opinion – some relevance to the problem of the sermon's date: §1 on the variant readings *Spiritui Dei* and *spiritu Deo* in Augustine's Latin manuscript witnesses of Phil. 3, 3, and §§16-17 as an instance of Augustine's Platonizing exegesis of the word *unum* in Phil. 3, 13. Starting from his interpretation of both passages Partoens presented his own view on



the date of *sermo* 169: during one of Augustine's Carthaginian stays of 416-419, 421 or 424.

Jonathan Yates demonstrated in his presentation *Anti-Pelagian or anti-Semi-Pelagian? A Close Reading of Augustine's Sermones 168 and 333*, that there is a need for a thorough re-evaluation of the current thinking regarding both the date and the context of two of Augustine's anti-Pelagian *sermones ad populum*. Yates's rationale for dealing with sermons 168 and 333 together is rooted in the fact that A. Kunzelmann mentioned them together in the same paragraph of his *Chronologie* of 1931. After a brief critical review of Kunzelmann's argument, Yates analyzed the internal evidence in each of these two sermons, paying special attention to the way Scripture is cited and exegeted. In the case of *sermo* 168, the traditional chronology situates it from "about" or "just before" 416. Yates argued that it cannot date from any point before late 418 or 419/420. This sermon's use of particular verses of Scripture such as Eph. 6, 23 and its close ties to the themes, ideas, and wording of other Augustinian compositions, such as *epistula* 194, make it all but certain that *sermo* 168 was composed contemporaneously to *epistula* 194 or at some later point, e.g. 426-430, when the ideas contained in *epistula* 194 were once again under discussion by Augustine and his so-called semi-Pelagian correspondents. Yates also demonstrated why A.-M. La Bonnardière called the case of *sermo* 333 extremely complex. This sermon, which usually goes undated, is complex because it is relatively indistinct in its contents and because, at least in the form in which it has come down to us, it has clearly been corrupted by the hand of at least one redactor. Yates argued that through a closer look at a few other texts, such as *sermo* 299C, that have much in common with it, and through a close analysis of the ways in which *sermo* 333 uses Scripture passages such as the LXX version of Prov. 8, 35, a more accurate assessment of its authenticity and of its proper date and context is probably attainable. Yates concluded by arguing that, much like *sermo* 168, there are several compelling reasons for dating *sermo* 333 either to the period 418/420 or to the period 426-430; however, Yates also pointed out that, even if it does turn out that these two sermons do belong to the same time period and context, this new conclusion will be due to reasoning and analysis that is far more detailed and intricate than anything Kunzelmann offered us back in 1931.

In *Résurrection et réincarnation. La polémique d'Augustin contre Porphyre dans les Sermons 240-242*, Isabelle Bochet discussed the presence of the platonic theory of reincarnation in *sermones* 240-242, three *sermones contra philosophos*. In these sermons, Augustine singles out Pythagoras, Plato and Porphyry, he exposes the Platonic claims and even quotes Plato and Porphyry. *Sermo* 240 deals with the affirmations of faith based on the quality of the resuscitated body and the philosophers's theses regarding the immortality of the soul and reincarnation. *Sermo* 241 discusses the hypotheses of the philosophers regarding the destiny of the soul after death. *Sermo* 242 refutes the objections of the philosophers against the resurrection. There are numerous parallels between these sermons and book XIII of *De ciuitate Dei*. This observation suggests a chronological proximity. *De ciuitate Dei* XIII is probably situated in 418 (cf. *Epistula* 184A). *Sermones* 240-242 thus could be dated as Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of Easter 418, April 8, 9, 10, preached in the afternoon. In the second part of her lecture, Bochet focussed on *sermo* 241. In this sermon Augustine opposed not only Porphyry, but also the other platonists. *Sermo* 241, 4-6 is directed against the platonists in general. The analysis of *sermo* 241 confirms the clear links with book XIII of *De ciuitate Dei*, further enhanced by the specific genre of homiletics. Augustine simplifies the argument, choses a fictive dialogue to present and to rebuke the claims of his opponents. These two elements invite prudence in identifying the envisaged opponents and describing their theses.

Eric Rebillard, *Augustin et le culte des statues*, opened his lecture with the observation that the collection of Augustine's texts regarding the cult of statues is well known since the studies of Jean Pépin and André Mandouze. However, the contribution made by rereading these texts, and especially the *sermones ad populum*, is double. First, one must emphasise that allegorical interpretations were made only by the cultivated pagans, or at least the group that distributed their ideas amongst a popular audience, also addressed by Augustine. Second, one must observe that Augustine's argument takes into account the social experience of his audience and that he adapts his argument to it. Rebillard showed the contrast between the sermons preached in the period the temples were still open and frequented, and the sermons preached after their closure and the destruction of the statues. Rebillard concluded that general external facts, such as the legislation of 399, are not sufficient for dating the sermons. It is not always possible, or even desirable, to

suggest a precise date for these texts. The *sermones Dolbeau*, however, offer new elements, and studying the way in which these sermons refer to the social experience of his audience allows us to revise some dates and to understand better why Augustine placed this theme in his *sermones ad populum*.

Johannes van Oort delivered the closing lecture *Was Augustine an Anti-Semite? Jews and Judaism in Augustine's sermones de tempore*. In answering the question whether Augustine was an anti-Semite, van Oort first indicated that there are elements in Augustine that reveal his positive attitude vis-à-vis Jews and Judaism. *Epistula Divjak* 8 teaches that Augustine had direct contact with contemporary Jews and that he even defends the (secular) rights of a Jew. Furthermore Augustine explains the Jewish Diaspora in a positive way: by preserving the Jewish Scriptures, the Jews testify to the Christian truth. From the other side though one can also discern negative elements in Augustine's approach to Jews. He also gives a negative explanation of the Diaspora: it is the consequence of their putting Christ to death. Although Augustine avoids speaking of 'deicide', he charges the Jews with 'homicide', committed in their *caecitas*, *pertinacia*, *obstinatio*, *superbia*, *infidelitas*. This negative tone however remains within the line of Pauline theology, namely that there is no salvation without Christ. Moreover, Augustine is much less negative about Judaism than church fathers like John Chrysostom, or his contemporary Severus of Menorca. This interpretation of Augustine as not truly being anti-Semitic was the conclusion of scholars like B. Blumenkranz (i.a. *Juifs et chrétiens, patristique et moyen âge*, London, 1977) and P. Frederiksen (i.a. "Exaecati Occulta Iustitia Dei": *Augustine on Jews and Judaism*, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 3 (1995), p. 299-324; *Augustine and Israel: Interpretatio ad litteram, Jews, and Judaism in Augustine's Theology of History*, *Studia patristica* 38 (Leuven, 2001), p. 119-135). In recent research van Oort discovered elements that go beyond this Pauline approach in a negative manner and agree with anti-Semitism in the sense of an 'intense dislike of and prejudice against Jewish people'. Especially the *sermones de tempore* contain comments about Jews and Judaism currently deemed to be incorrect. The most striking examples can be found in the sermons on the feast of Epiphany (especially the contrast between the illuminated Magi *versus* the blind Jews) and on Christ's passion (especially by amplifying the role of the Jews in the passion, e.g. blaming them for putting the crown of thorns on Jesus' head). Van

Oort concluded that unexpected traces in Augustine force one to characterise Augustine an anti-Semite according to some current standards.

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